00030856

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

GRAFTON'S

CHRONICLE;

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

HIS TABLE OF THE BAILIFFS, SHERIFFS, AND MAYORS,

OF THE

CITY OF LONDON.

FROM THE YEAR 1189, TO 1558, INCLUSIVE.

30856

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES AND ORME; CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

1809

00030856

[*Original Title.*]

A

CHRONICLE AT LARGE,

AND MEERE

HISTORY OF THE AFFAYRES OF ENGLANDE,

AND

KINGES OF THE SAME,

DEDUCED

FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLDE, VNTO THE FIRST HABITATION OF THYS ISLANDE:

AND

SO BY CONTYNUANCE VNTO THE FIRST YERE OF THE REIGNE OF OUR MOST DEERE AND SOUEREIGNE LADY

QUEENE ELIZABETH:

COLLECTED OUT OF SUNDRY AUCTHORS,

WHOSE NAMES ARE EXPRESSED IN THE NEXT PAGE OF THIS LEAFE.

Anno Domini.

1560

¶ Cum priuilegio.

& armie of his enemy king Edward. The which armie was iudged to be the greater, because he spoyled, & burned townes, and destroyed fieldes wheresoeuer he came. King Edward (as you coulde not blame him) was with these doyngs nothing content: wherefore like a wise Prince, intending to stop the gut of *king* Henryes power, or it made any further issue: prepared all munitions, conuenient for the warre, rigged and apparailed a great nauye of shippes, of which some were vitayled at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with Souldiors. When his army by the sea was thus warlikely set forward: he sent the Lorde Montacute (whome both for his hardinesse and sage conduite in marciall affayres, he much trusted and beleued) into Northumberland, there to rayse the people to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his Realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched towarde his enemyes, and came to the Citie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faythfull subiectes, to the ayde of the Lorde Montacute, least paraduenture he geuyng to much confidence to the men of the Bishoprike and Northumberlande, might by them be deceyued and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not the office of a good Capitaine, and beyng well furnished with such as he knewe would neyther flye backwarde, nor stande still lokyng on, thought no lenger to tract the tyme, but with a valiant courage marched forwarde towarde his enemies, and encountered with the Lorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, syr Raufe Percye, and diuers other, at a place called Hegely More. Where sodainly the sayde Lordes in maner without stroke strikyng fled, and onely syr Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slain, with diuers other, saiyng, when he was diyng: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe to king Henry the sixt. The Lorde Montacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his sayle, was aduaunced with hardie courage towarde his enemies, and then in passyng forwarde, he had by his espialles perfect intelligence, that king Henry with all his power, was encamped in a fayre plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Exhamshire. It was no neede to bid him haste haste, as he that thought not to leese the occasion to him so manifestly geuen, & therfore in good order of battaile, he manfully [illegible] enemies in their awne campe, which like desperate persons, with no smal cou[illegible] him. There was a sore fought field, and no partie by a long tract, could [illegible] of the other, till at the last, the Lorde Montacute criyng on his men [illegible] by plaine force the battaile of his enemies, and brake their array, [illegible] thether and thether, desperate of all succor. In which flight [illegible] of Sommerset, which before was reconciled to king [illegible]lyns, the Lorde Hungerford, syr Thomas Went[illegible] other. King Henry was this day [illegible] could ouertake him, [illegible] were taken.

Hegeley Moore.

The battaile at Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Exham shire.

Exham field.

lurkyng in a Caue, was taken in Holdernesse, and at Yorke behedded. Thus euery man almost that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it shewld seeme that God had ordeyned all such persons as rebelled agaynst king Edward, to haue in conclusion, death for there rewarde.

After this battaill called Exham fielde, King Edwarde came to the cytie of Duresme, to the intent to be more neerer to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempt: and sent from thence in Northumberlande the Erle of Warwicke, the Lorde Montacute, the Lordes, Fawconbridge and Scrope, and diuers other, to recouer such Castels and fortresses as his enemies, there helde, and wyth force defended. These Lordes first besieged the castel of Alnewike, which sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchmen, by force and strong hande kept, & in no wise woulde yelde, sending for ayde to the Scots, wherevpon sir George Douglas, Erle of Angus, with. xiij. M. men well chosen, in the day time rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell, the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castel, without losse of their men, then to leese both the castel and their men, considering the power of the Scottes, and their small number: and so they entred the castell and manned it, and after the sayde lordes, besieged the castell of Dunstanbrough, and by force tooke it, and Iohn Goys, seruaunt to the Duke of Sommerset capytayne of the sayde castle, was taken and brought to Yorke: where, wyth a Hatchet he was behedded. These Lordes also tooke by force, the strong Castle of Bamberough, & in it sir Raufe Gray, which was before sworne to King Edwarde, for the which periurie to both the Princes, he was disgraded of the high order of knighthoode at Dancastre, by cuttyng of his guylt spurres, rentyng his Cote of armes, and breaking his sworde ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was shortned, by the length of his hed.

The disgrading of a knight.

After this victory, king Edwarde returned to Yorke, where, in despite of the Erle of Northumberlande, which then lurked in the realme of Scotlande, he created syr Iohn Neuell, Lorde Montacute, Erle of Northumberlande, and in reproofe of Iasper Erle of Penbroke, he created William Lord Herbert Erle of the same place: but after when by mediacion of friends the Erle of Northumberlande, was reconciled to his fauor, he stored hym fully to his possessions, name, and dignity: and not intending ther[illegible] nish the honor of his friend, he preferred sir Iohn Neuel, to the stile of M[illegible] cute, & so by that meanes, he was in estate and degree higher, ther[illegible] wicke his elder brother, but in power, pollecie and possessions [illegible]

1463

Although King Edwarde might now thinke, all things to [illegible] also to be of puissance sufficient against all his enim[illegible] a victory:) yet did he prouide with all dylige[illegible] Margaret his wife, shoulde by [illegible] perswasions of them [illegible] the myndes, a[illegible]

whome the Erle of Warwicke met on the way, by the kings commaundement, and brought him through London, to the towre, and there he was layde in sure holde. Queene Margaret hys wife hearing of the captiuitie of her husband, mistrusting the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse, departed out of Scotlande, and sayled into Fraunce, where she remayned with Duke Reyner her Father, till shee toke her infortunate iorney into Englande agayne: where she lost both husbande and sonne, and also all her welth, honor, and worthy felicitye. The new Duke of Sommerset & his brother Iohn, sailed into Flaunders, where they also lyued in great miserye, till Duke Charles, because he was of their kinne, and discended of the house of Lancastre by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, which to them was a great comfort. The Erle of Penbrooke went from countrye to country, not alwayes at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of lyfe, or surety of lyuing. Such an vnstable and blynde goddesse is fortune: for when he that sitteth highest on the wheele falleth to the ground all that be vnderneth fall also, and can neyther haue ayde nor helpe of her, nor yet of themselues.

King Henry the sixt taken and committed to the Tower of London.

After the taking of king Henry the. vj. and the departing of his wife, this Realme was in more quietnesse, and tranquilytie, because that men of the contrary part and faction, durst not once attempt nor yet mooue any new tumult or conspiracie, considering that both the hed was fallen, and the chiefe members fled, and vanquished. Wherefore king Edwarde, beyng cleerely out of doubt, of all hostilitye and daunger, set all his minde the whole foure yeres folowing, for both amending things preiudiciall to the common welth and also for stablishing of things, meete and necessarye, for the people of hys Realme and dominion. And first of all, folowing the olde auncient adage which sayeth, that the husbandman ought first to taste off the newe growen fruite: he destributed the possessions, of such as tooke part with king Henry the. vj. to his souldiors and capitaynes, which he thought had well deserued it. And beside, he left no poynt of lyberalitie vnshewed, by the which hee might allure to him, the beneuolence and louyng heartes of his peoples: and in especiall to his nobilitie, he gaue both large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because that he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed himselfe more familier, both with the Nobilitie & the Commonalty, then (as some men thought) was conuenient eyther for his estate, or for his honor: which gentlenesse and friendly familiaritie he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newely augmented. The coyne both of Gold & of Siluer, which yet at this day is currant, he newly deuised and deuided: For the Golde he named Royals, and Nobles, and the Siluer he called Grotes, and halfe grotes. After this he caused open Proclamation to be published, that all persons which were adherent to his aduersaryes part, and woulde leaue their armure, and submit themselues wholy to his grace and mercye, should be clerely remitted, pardoned, and released: and they that obstinately would so refuse, should haue such paynes, as by the lawe to suche transgressors was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle entertaynyng of his people brought him to, and what good will and fixed heartes of the people, he obteyned by this kinde and friendly handlyng, all men may easely coniecture. For onely by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror: so that all enterprises afterwarde agaynst him attempted, had eyther euill successe, or were soone refelled, as afterward you shall perceyue. When he had brought his realme into thys estate, he surely thinkyng, and no lesse trustyng, but that he was set in the sure stall, stable throne, and vnmoueable Chayre of the crowne of his realme and kingdome, was not onely desyrous of himselfe, beyng a prince of haute courage, yong, lustie, and sanguine of complexion, to haue a wyfe, but was also dayly solicited, requyred, and mocioned of the peeres and nobilitie of the realme, to ioyne with such a Make, as should be both to his honour, and contentacion, and also for the securitie and establishment of the royall succession, and continuance of his progenie, in his newe possessed Countrie, and late recouered kingdome. Wherevpon like a wise and circumspect Prince, very desyrous

The liberalitie of king Edwarde.

King Edwarde the fourth deuised ye names of the coynes.

syrous of a Quene, but more thirstyng for such a Make, by the ayde of whose parentes, allyes, and confederates: he beyng ioyned with them in perfect affinitie, might little or nothyng doubt the attemptes of his aduersarie king Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret friendes and priuie fautors. This matter (as it was of great waight and importaunce) hangyng long in consultacion: Amongest other it was moued, to sende to Iames the thirde king of Scottes, for the obteinyng of the fayre Ladie Margaret his sister, to the entent, that on that syde, king Henry his aduersarye, should be destitute of all ayde, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it were for a priuie sicknesse, or an open impediment, to him and his Counsaile declared, or by them spyed, this mocion vanished, and tooke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue sayde, and fewe or none haue written) it was farther consulted, that the Ladie Elizabeth, sister & heyre apparant, to Done Henry king of Castell (which afterward was his heyre in deede, and maryed to Done Fernando, king of Aragon) was a maryage for him most conuenient, and them that should lineally succeede him, considerying that if he might obteyne the kingdome of Castell, of the which his great Grandmother was one of the heyres, as daughter to Done Peter, late King of Castell, (by the valiaunt knight, Edward Prince of Wales, restored to his Seigniorie, Realme, and Kingdome) then were he in case, not only able to defend himselfe and his realme of England, agaynst all foreyn enemies, and vtter inuasions, but also he should be of puyssance sufficient to inuade, and likely to recouer the Duchie of Guien, yea and whole Acquitain, beyng his awne true and lawfull inheritaunce, with the ayde onely of the Castillians, putting the Englishe men to little trauaile and lesse charge. This mocion thus set forwarde, seemed highly to redounde, both to the honor of the king, and the high aduauncement of the estate of the Realme: Consideryng the high parentage of the woman. And this mariage agreed vpon (which semeth more likely to be intreated of then cōcluded.) The Erle of Warwike was sent into Spain, well instructed, & no lesse accōpanied for the cōclusion of the said mariage. But who so wil diligently consider, the youth and appetite of king Edward, & the tender age & minority of this noble Damosell: may euidently perceyue, ỹ it was neyther decent nor conuenient for him nor his realme, to abide and tarie the maturitie and decent full age of this noble princes, nor that he being a prince, wel cherished, of lusty courage, and apt to generation, would or could liue sole & vnmaried without a wyfe, till she were of age, meete and conuenient for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly Sepulture, in the Citie of Granado (where she is buried) and also dyuers famous and notable Historiographers, both of Spain and other regions write and affirme, that she changed this transitorie lyfe, in the yere of our Lord. 1506. being fiftie yeres of age, one moneth lacking. By which report she should be borne in the yere of our Lord. 1458. And when the Erle of Warwike was sent for the mariage of king Edward, in the beginning of the thirde yere of his reigne, the yere of our Lord was 1463. so that then she was sixe and nōt fully seuen yeres, at which time king Edward had fully accomplished. xxiiij. yeres and more. The treaty of which mariage although it be not vnpossible, yet for the causes aforesayde, it seemeth not a little vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was mooued, as it peraduenture might be, and that the Erle of Warwike sayled into Spaine (as he did not in deede) of lykelihood his legation was frustrate, and came to none effect: but sure it is that the same yere, he came to king Lewys the xj. then being French king, liyng at Tours, and with great honor was there receyued, and honorably enterteyned: of whome, for king Edward his mayster, he demaunded to haue in mariage the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewys Duke of Sauoy, and sister to the Lady Carlot then French Quene, being then in the French court. This mariage seemed pollitiquely deuised, and of an high imagination to be inuented, if you will well consider the state and condicion of king Edwards affayres, which at this time had king Henry the sixt in safe custodie, in the strong Tower of London, and the most parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, eyther ouerthrowne or destroyed, Quene Margaret onely except, and Prince Edward her sonne, which were then soiorneiyng at Angiers with olde Duke Reyner of

The treatie of a mariage for king Edward the fourth.

Anlow her father, wryting himselfe king of Naples, Scicile, and Ierusalem, hauing as much profites of the letters of his glorious stile, as rentes and reuenues out of the sayde large and riche Realmes and dominions (because the King of Arragon tooke the profites of the same, and would make no accompt thereof to Duke Reyner.) King Edward therefore thought it necessary to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Queenes sister: trusting that by the sayde Mariage, Queene Margaret whome the same Queene Carlot little or nothing regarded, although her father was called a king & she a Quene, and none of both hauing subiectes, profites nor dominions, should haue no ayde, succour, nor any comfort of the French king, nor of none of his friends nor alies, wherefore Quene Carlot much desirous to aduance her bloud and progenie, and especially to so great a prince as king Edward was, obteyned both the good will of the king her husband, and also of her sister, so that the matrimony on that side was cleerely assented to, and the Erle of Dampmartine appointed with other to sayle into Englande, for the cleere finishing of the same. After these things thus concluded, the Erle of Warwike was dismissed and highly rewarded, and for the great and noble courage that was in him, he obteyned such fauor of the king, the Queene, and the Nobles of Fraunce, that when he fled out of England, he was there honorably receyued, friendly mainteyned, and louingly succoured, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

The mariage concluded for King Edwarde the fourth.

But now consider the old prouerbe to be true that saith: that mariage is destiny. For during the time ỳ the Erle of Warwike was thus in Fraunce, and had concluded a mariage for king Edward: The king being on hunting in the Forest of Wychwood beside Stonnystratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the Duches of Bedford sojorned, then wife to Syr Richard Wooduile, Lorde Ryuers, on whome then was attending a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Grey, Wydow of syr Iohn Grey knight, slaine at the battayle of Saint Albons, by the power of king Edward. Thys wydow hauing a sute to the king, eyther to be restored by him to some thing taken from her, or requiring him of pittie, to haue some augmentation to her lyuing, found such grace in the kings eyes, that he not onely fauored her sute, but much more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formall countenaunce, then of excellent bewtie, but yet of such bewtie and fauour, that with her sober demeanour, louely loking, & feminine smiling, (neyther to wanton nor to humble) beside her tongue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauishe the minde of a meane person, when she allured and made subiect to her, the hart of so great a king. After that king Edward had well consydered all the linyaments of her body and the wise and womanly demeanour that he sawe in her, he determined first to attempt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne Ladye, promising her many giftes and fayre rewardes, affirming farther, that if she would therevnto condiscend, she might so fortune of his peramour and Concubine, to be chaunged to his wyfe and lawfull bedfelow: which demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speeche aunswered and repugned, affirming that as she was for his honour farre vnable to be his spouse and bedfelowe: So for her awne pore honestie, she was to good to be eyther is Concubine or souereigne Ladie: that where he was a litle before heated with the dart of Cupydo, he was now set all on a hote burning fire, what for the confidence that he had in her perfite constancie, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, and without any farther deliberation, he determined with himselfe clerely to mary with her, after that asking counsaile of them, which he knew neyther would, nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

King Edward falleth in loue with the Duches of Bedfordes daughter, and after maried her.

But the Duches of Yorke his mother letted it as much as in her lay, alleging a precontract made by him with the lady Lucy, and diuers other lettes: all which doubtes were resolued, and all things made clere and all cauillations auoyded. And so priuily in a morning he maryed her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.

And in the next yeere after, shee was with great solempnitye crowned Queene at Westminster the. xvj. day of May. Her father also was created Erle Riuers, and made high Constable

1464
4

Constable of Englande: her brother Lord Antony, was maried to the sole heire of Thomas Lord Scales, and by her hee was Lorde Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to Syr Iohn Grey, the Queenes first husbande, was created Marques Dorset, and maryed to Cicilie, heire to the Lorde Bonuile. Albeit this mariage, at the first apparance was very pleasaunt to the king, but more ioyous to the Queene, and profitable to her blood, which were so highly exalted, yea, and so sodainly promoted, that all the nobilitie, more maruayled then allowed, this sodayne risyng. Yet who so will marke the sequele of this Story, shall manifestly perceiue, what murther, what misery, and what trouble ensued by reason of this maryage, for it cannot be denied, but for this mariage king Edwarde was expulsed the Realme, and durst not abyde: And for this marige was the Erle of Warwicke, and his brother miserably slayne: By this mariage were king Edwardes two sonnes declared bastardes, and in conclusion priued of their lyues: And finally by this mariage, the Queenes blood was confounded and in a maner vtterly destroyed.

Incommodities that sprāg of king Edwardes mariage.

The French king and his Quene were not a little discontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their sister first demaunded, and then graunted, and in conclusion reiected and apparauntly mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherefore shortly to appese her dolor, they maried her to Iohn Galence, Duke of Millayne, where she lyued in great felicitie. But when the Erle of Warwike had perfite knowledge by the letters of his trusty friends, that king Edward had gotten him a newe wyfe, and that all that he had done with king Lewys in his ambassade for the conioyning of this newe affinitie, was both frustrate and vaine, he was earnestly moued and sore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it necessarie that king Edwarde should be deposed from his crowne and royall dignitie, as an inconstaunt Prince, not worthy of suche a kingly office. All men for the most part agree, that this mariage was the onely cause, why the Erle of Warwike bare grudge, and made warre on king Edward. Other affirme that there were other causes, which added to this, made the fyre to flame, which before was but a little smoke. For after that king Edwarde had obteyned his kingdome (as it was then thought) by the only helpe and meane of the Erle of Warwike, he beganne to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing least he being in such authority and estimation of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he therevnto were minded, wherefore he thought it conuenient a little, & a little to pluck away and minishe the power and aucthoritie, which he and his predecessors had geuē to the Erle, to the entent that he then might doe at his pleasure, both at home and in outwarde parties, without feare or dread, without check or taunt, whatsoeuer to his awne mind seemed most conuenient. By thys a man may see that often it chanceth, that friends for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuitie and benefite in time of necessity to them shewed and exhibited: But for kindnesse they shewe vnkindnesse, and for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they doe recompence. Of this the Erle of Warwike was nothing ignoraunt, which although he looked for better thankes and greater benefites at king Edwards handes: yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter tyll such a tyme were come, as he might finde the king without strength, and then to imbrayd him with the pleasure that he had done for him. And farther it erreth not from the truth that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the Erles house, which was much against the Erles honesty (whether he would haue deflowred his daughter or his Neece, the certaintie was not for both their honors openly knowne) but surely such a thing was attempted by king Edward. But whether the iniurie that the Erle thought he had taken at king Edwardes handes, or the disdayne of authoritie that the Erle had vnder the king, was the cause of dissolution of their amitie and league, truth it is, that the priuy intentions in their harts brake into so many small peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them agayne, during their naturall lyues.

The displeasure betwene king Edwarde the fourth, and the Erle of Warwike.

The Erle of Warwike being thus mooued, inflamed, and set agaynst the king, least in hys furie, hys purpose might be eyspyed and brought to nought, determined hymselfe, couertly

uerily dissimulyng, so long to suffer all such wrongs and iniuries, as were to him done, tyll he might spie a time conuenient, and a worlde after hys awne appetite, for the setting foorth of his enterprise, and accomplishyng of hys purpose: whervpon he sayled into Englande, and with reuerence saluted the king, as he was wont to doe, and declared hys Ambassade & the exployt of the same, without any spot of grudge to be perceyued, as thoughe he were ignoraunt of the newe matrimonie. And when he had taried in the Court a certaine space; more for to shew that he was the same person, and of the same good minde toward the king, as he was before the time of his Ambassade, then for any great affection that he bare, eyther to the king or to the Queene, he obteyned lycence of the king to depart to his Castell of Warwike, both for his helth and recreation, whether with great honour he was accompanied with diuers of the kings familier seruitors, as though none inwarde grudge or couert dissimulation had bene hidden betwene them, where he remayned tyll all his priuie imaginations were made open, and all hys enterprises were readie to be set forward. And in the ende of thys yere, that is to say, the. xj. daye of Februarie, the Quene was delyuered of a yong and fayre Lady, named Elizabeth, which afterward was wyfe to the noble Prince king Henry the seauenth, and mother to king Henry the eyght.

The birth of the Lady Elizabeth wife to king Henry ye seuenth and mother to king Henry the eyght.

1465
5

When king Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of fiue yeres, not all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but eyther by pollicie or friendship, he euer was superiour, and had the vpper hande of his enemies: He daylie studied and applyed hys whole minde with all labor and diligence to obteyne the loue, fauour, and amitie of outward princes. First to haue a Rowlande for an Olyuer, for the French king whome he knew not to be his friend, by reason of the refusall of his Quenes sister, he procured an amity with Henrie, king of Castell, and Iohn king of Arragon. At the concluding of which amitie he graunted lycence and libertie for certayne cotsolde Sheepe to be transported into the Countrie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplyed and encreased, that it hath turned the commoditie of Englande muche to the Spanishe profite, and to no small hynderaunce of the lucre and gayne which was before times in Englande, raysed of Wolle and fell. Beside this to haue an amitie with his next neighbor the king of Scots, he wynck-ing at the towne of Barwyke, was content to take a truce for fiftene yeres.

King Edward lycenced a certaine number of Sheepe to be transported into Spaine.

But Lorde what happie chaunce and good luck had king Edward, for beside these newe friendes and confederates (of the which, some were more farther off, then he could cal to for helpe with a Whistell, when he stoode in most daunger and distresse.) Fortune beside all his expectation prouided him euen at his elbowe, a brother in lawe, a perpetuall ally and friendly neyghbour: which offered allyance and new amitie, if he had eyther re-fused or missed, surely of all his other supposed friends, for al their league, in his ex-treme necessitie, had cleerely left him without comfort. This happie chaunce came by this occasion. In this same season was Lorde and Prince in Flaunders, Brabant and Ze-lande, and other the lowe Countries there about, Philip Duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of great age and yeres, so was he had in muche honor, great estimation and high reuerence amongst all kings and Princes in his dayes: which Duke as you haue heard before, was enemie mortall to king Henry the sixt. This Duke had onely one sonne le-gitimate, called Charles Erle of Charoloys, a man of such haute courage and audacitie, as fewe or none was in his time: For how he discomfited king Lewys the. xj. then the French king at the battayle of Montleherrie, the Frenchmen hath not yet forgotten. The lande of Luke also hath in freshe memorie his sore scourge and cruell plague. This Erle Charles was at thys time a Widower, hauing only a sole daughter, & no sonne, wher-fore both by his father and himselfe and the companions of the order of the golden fleece, being of their counsayle, it was thought not onely expedient but much more necessarie, that he should take a wyfe, yea and in such a place, as they might by that matrimony haue both alliaunce and ayde against all their outward enemies, and especially agaynst the French king, whome they knew daylie to wayte, and watch lyke a Serpent, how he

Philip Duke of Burgoyne.

by fraude might swalow or catch them or their possessions: vpon which communication it was declared by certain, there being present, that king Edwarde of Englande had a fayre Virgin to his sister, called Lady Margaret, a Lady of excellent bewtie, whose good qualities, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously set forth to Duke Philip, and the Erle of Charoloys his sonne, that both the father and the childe iudged that mariage to be the most meetest matrimony in Christendome, not onely for the excellent vertues imprinted in the person of the noble Virgin, but also for the great profite, allyaunce and continuall friendship that should growe and rise betwene the realme of England, and the Dukes landes.

1466

6

Anthony the Bastarde sonne of Philip Duke of Burgoyne.

After this mariage was fully resolued vpon, the Duke appoynted his bastard sonne Lord Antony, commonly called the bastard of Burgoyn, chiefe Ambassador for this purpose: a man of great wit, courage, valiantnesse and liberalitie, which beyng richly furnished of plate, and apparell, necessary for his estate, hauyng in his companie gentlemen and other expert in all feates of chiualry, and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundreth horses, (as the Brabanders write) tooke his ship, and with prosperous winde arriued in England, where he was of the Nobilitie receyued, and with all honorable entertainement conueyed to the kinges presence, which like a Prince, that knewe what apperteyned to his degree, louyngly welcomed, and familiarly embraced him, and other Nobles that came with him. And after his Commission seene, and his message declared, the king gaue to him a gentle aunswere for that tyme, and so the Ambassadors departed to their lodgyng, where they kept a great housholde, and made triumphant cheare. You may thinke that king Edward was not so vnwise, nor yet so vnpurueyed of counsaile, to forsake this benificiall alliaunce, thus frankely to him profered and graunted, but that he and all his counsaile endeuoured themselues to bryng the same to passe (the Erle of Warwike onely except) which bearyng his hartie fauour to the French king by euill reportes, did as much as in him lay to hinder this mariage and affinitie, of whose good will the Erle Charles was well enformed.

But for all his opinion at a certain day, the king sent for the Ambassadors, and there declared to them how he gladly did both accept & graunt theyr louyng request & demaund, promising them in the word of a prince, ỹ he would be duryng his lyfe friend to the friendes of the Duke and the Erle, and enemie to their aduersaryes and enemies, which wordes much pleased the Burgonions. After this he caused the Ladie Margaret his sister to be sent for, which beyng richly apparelled, accompanied with a great multitude of Ladies and gentlewomen, entered into the kinges great Chamber with so sober a demeanour, so fayre a visage, so louyng a countenance, and so princely a port, that she was esteemed for her personage and qualities, both of the Burgonions and other, not to be vnworthy to matche in matrimonie, with the greatest Prince of the worlde. And after the king, she and the Ambassadors, had commoned a good tract of tyme, the Lorde Anthonie Bastard of Burgondie, contracted openly the sayd Lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the Erle Charles, and there in the name of the Duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to the Ladie Margaret a riche and a costly Iewell, which she ioyously receyued with great thankes geuen, both to her father in law, and her newe contracted husband.

A mariage concluded betweene Charles the son of Philip Duke of Burgoyne and Ladye Margaret sister to king Edward the fourth.

A Chalenge.

After this mariage thus concluded and contracted. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute courage, chalenged Anthonie Lorde Scales, brother to the Queene, a man both egall in hart and valiauntnesse with the Bastard, to fight with him both on foote and on horseback, the Lord Scales gladly receyued his demaunde, and promised him on the othe of a Gentleman, to aunswere him in the field at the daye appoynted: Like chalenges were made by other Burgonions, to the gentlemen of England, which were not refused. The king entendyng to see this martiall sport, and valiant chalenge performed, caused listes royall for the Champions, and costly Galleryes for Ladyes to looke on, to be newly erected in West Smithfield in London. And at the daye by the king assigned, the two

Lordes entred within the Listes well mounted, richely trapped, and curiously armed. On which day they ranne together certaine courses with sharpe Speres, and so departed with egall honor. The next day, they entred the fielde, the Bastarde sittyng on a baye courser, beyng somewhat dimme of sight, and the Lord Scales had a graye courser, on whose schaffron was a long and a sharpe pyke of steele. When these two valiaunt persons coped together at the Tornay, the Lorde Scales horse by chaunce or by custome, thrust his pike into the nosethrilles of the horse of the Bastard, so that for very paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one syde with his mayster, and the Lorde Scales roade rounde aboute him, with his sworde shakyng in his hande, till the king commaunded the Marshall to helpe vp the Bastard, which openly sayd, I cannot holde by the Cloudes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I will not fayle my counterpanion. And when he was remounted, he made a countenaunce to assaile his aduersary, but the king eyther fauouryng his brothers honour then gotten, or mistrustyng the shame which might come to the Bastrad, if he were againe foyled, caused the Heraulides to crie, *a Lostel.* and euery man to depart. The Morowe after, the two noble men came into the fielde on foote, wyth two Polaxes, and there fought valiauntly like two coragious Champions, but at the last, the poynt of the Axe of the Lorde Scales happened to enter into the sight of the helmet of the Bastard, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees, the king sodainly cast downe his warder, and then the Marshalles them seuered. The Bastard not content with this chaunce, very desirous to be reuenged, trustyng on his cunnyng at the Polaxe (the which feate he had greatly exercised, and therein had a great experiment) required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprice: the Lord Scales not refused it. The king sayde he would aske counsaile, and so callyng to him the Constable, and Martiall, with the officers of Armes, after long consultacion had, and lawes of armes rehersed, it was declared to the Bastarde for a sentence diffinitine, by the Duke of Clarence, then Constable of England, and the Duke of Norffolke Erle Marshall, that if he would prosecute farther hys attempted chalenge, he must by the lawe of Armes be deliuered to hys aduersary in the same case and lyke condicion, as he was when he was taken from hym, that is to saye, the poynt of the Lorde Scales Axe to be fixed in the sight of his helme, as depe as it was when they were seuere. The Bastarde heeryng this iudgement, doubted much the sequele, if hee should so proceede againe, wherefore he was contented to relinquishe his chalenge, rather then to abyde the hazarde of his dishonour. Other Chalenges were done, and valiauntlye atchieued by the Englishe men, which I passe ouer. When all these couragious actes were thus wyth ioye accomplished, sorowfull tidynges were brought to the Bastard, that Duke Philip his father was passed this transitorie lyfe, of which tidynges he was not a little sorowfull, and therevpon takyng hys leaue of king Edward and his sister, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, liberally rewarded with Plate and Iewelles, with all celeritie he returned to the newe Duke Charles his Nephew, accompting to him what exployt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which aunswere was to the great contentacion and accomplishement of the desyre of the sayde Duke, and thereof most hartily thanked the Lady for her consent, as for the thing that he most desyred, not forgettyng to gratifie king Edward for his preferment and furtheraunce in his louyng request.

Philip duke of Burgoyn dead.

Now to returne to Charles Duke of Burgoyn, which with great victory, and triumph, returned from the conquest of the land of Luke to Bruseles, he not forgetting the contract, which his bastard brother the Lorde Anthony had made in his name, wyth the noble Princesse Lady Margaret, sister to Edwarde King of Englande, deuised alwayes howe he might with all honor and royalty, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the king of Englande, to sende her ouer the sea with all dilygence, according to the pact and league betwene them concluded, which being nothing slacke, and especially in such a cause, as so highly magnifyed his blood, prepared shippes and all things necessarye, for the honorable conduite of her and her company, and so accompanied with the

1467

Dukes of Excester, and Southfolke, and their wifes, being both her sisters, and a great company of Lords, and Ladies, and other to the number of fiue hundred horsses, and in the beginnyng of Iune departed out of London to Douer, and so sayled to Sciuce, where shee and her company were receyued, and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where mariage was celebrate and Solempnized.

After the departure of this Lady Margaret. Sir Thomas Cooke late Mayor of London, which before had bene accused of treason by a seruaunt of the Lorde Wenlockes, called hawkins, and at the request of the saide Ladye Margaret, was suffered vpon suretie to go at large, was nowe arested, and sent to the Tower, and his goods seased by the Lorde Riuers, then treasorer of Englande, and his wife put out of his house, and she was committed to the charge of the Mayor, where she laye a great while after. And after the sayde syr Thomas was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall and there arreigned of treason, and was quit by sondry enquestes, and yet after was committed to the Counter in Bredstrete, and from thence to the Kings bench in Southwarke, where he lay vntill his friendes did agree with Sir Iohn Brandon, then keper of the sayde prison, to take him home to his place, where to his great charge he remayned prisoner long after. In which time he lost great riches, and two places, the one in the country, the other in London, besides a great value of Iewelles, Plate, and money, with sondry riche merchaundises, as cloth of Gold, Syluer, Veluet, Satten, and other silkes. And finally after many persecutions, and losses, he was compelled by a fyne set vpon him for misprision of treason to paye vnto the king eyght thousande pounde, and so set a large. But shortly after he was newelye troubled by the Queene, who demaunded of him of euery thousande pounde that he paide to the king for his fine, one hundreth marke that was due to her, for the which he was compelled also to agree, to his exceeding charges, beside his great and long vexacion.

But now let vs returne to the History of the Erle of Warwicke, who at his returne from beyonde the sea, for the continuall grudge that lurked in his stomacke, towarde king Edwarde, ye must thinke that of very necessitye it would at length eyther burst the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tyme: he beyng at his towne of Warwicke, accompanied with his two brethren the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, framed communication to make them mery and to passe foorth the time two or three dayes, at the last hauyng occasion to speake of the king and his doings and procedings, he then first moued and excited them by all waies possible to helpe and ayde, and to restore king Henry the sixt, to the Crowne and royall dignitie againe.

And after the Erle of Warwicke had vttered a number of flattering and glosing wordes, the Archebishop consented vnto him, but the Lorde Marques could by no meanes be reduced to take any part against king Edwarde, till the Erle had both promised him great rewardes and high promocions, and also assured him of the ayde, and power of the greatest Princes of the Realme. Euen as the Marques vnwillingly, and in maner constrayned, gaue his consent, to this vnhappy coniuration, at the intisement and procuring of the Erle, so wyth a faynt harte, and lesse courage, he alwayes shewed himselfe enemy to king Edwarde, except in his last day: which luke warme hearte, and double dissimulation, was both the destruction of him, and hys brethren. The Erle of Warwicke beyng a man of a great wit, farre castyng and many things foreseing, eyther perceyued by other, or had perfite knowledge of himselfe, that the Duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother, (as he did not in deede) thought first to proue him a far off, as it were in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he saw him flexible to his purpose) the secret imaginations of his stomake: thinkyng that if he might by pollicie, or promise, allure the Duke to his partie, that king Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had most neede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the Erle began to complayne to the Duke, of the ingratitude and doublenesse

nesse of king Edward, saiyng that he had neither handled him like a friend, nor kept promise with him, according as the estate of a Prince required. The Erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the Duke in a great fury aunswered, why my Lorde, thinke you to haue him kind to you, that is vnkind, yea, and vnnaturall to me beyng his owne brother, thinke you that friendship wil make him keepe promise where neyther nature nor kindred, in any wise can prouoke, or moue him, to fauour his owne bloode? Thinke you that he will exalte and promote his Cosin or Alie, which little careth for the fall or confusion, of his owne line and lynage? This you know well enough, that the heyre of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wiues brother, the heyre also of the Lorde Bonuile and Harrington, he hath geuen to his wiues sonne, & the heire of the Lord Hungerford, he hath graunted to the Lord Hastings: three mariages more meter for his two brethren and kynne, then for such new foundlings, as he hath bestowed them on. But by sweete Saint George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester woulde ioyne with me, we woulde make him knowe, that wee were all three one mans sonnes, of one mother, and one linage discended which shoulde be more preferred and promoted, then straunges of his wyfes bloode.

When the Erle of Warwicke had harde the Dukes wordes, he had that which he both sore thursted, and lusted for, and then began boldly to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose, euen at the full, requiring him to take parte with him, and to be one of the attempted confederacy. And least the Duke might thinke, that the matter was lightly, and vncircumspectly begun, he declared to him, how warily, howe secretly, how speedilye all things concerning this purpose, had beene compassed, studied, and foreseene, requiring him in so great, and vrgent a cause both to take paine and trauayle, and also to study with all circumspection and foreseyng, how these things thus begun might be brought to a certayne and finall conclusion. And the rather to wyn the Dukes hart, the Erle beside diuers and manye fayre promises made to the Duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beyng of ripe age, and elegant stature) in mariage with the halfedele of his wiues inheritaunce. The Duke at the perswasion and request of the Erle, promised to doe all thinges which he woulde or coulde, in any manner require, or desyre. After that the Duke and the Erle had long consulted, concernyng their straunge and daungerous affayres, they fyrst determined to sayle to Calice, of the which towne the Erle was chiefe captaine, where his wife and two daughters then soiorned, whome to visite, the Duke of Clarence beyng in amoures had no small affection. But the Erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begyn and set forwarde the same, before his departure: wherefore he appointed his brethren the Archbishop, and the Marques that they shoulde by some meane in his absence, stirre vp some newe Commotion or Rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke, and other places, nere therabouts, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men, to haue begun without hys assent or knowledge, he being in the partes beyonde the Sea.

The duke of Clarence entreth into a confederacie against his awne brother King Edwarde.

When all these thinges were thus determined, and in graue counsaile allowed, the Erle and the Duke sayled directly to Calice, where they were solempnlye receyued, and ioyously interteyned of the Countesse, and of her two daughters. And after that the Duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pact inuiolate, made and concluded with the Erle of Warwike, he maried the Ladie Isabel, eldest daughter to the sayde Erle, in our Ladie Church at Calice, with great pompe & solempnity. After which mariage so solemnized, the Duke & the Erle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should continue the warre, (which as it was by them appoynted) was quickly and within fewe dayes begon in Yorkeshire, not without great rumor and disturbance, of all quietnesse in that Countrie. 1468 8

The mother of this pernicious commocion, was vncharitie, or very impietie, for there was in the Citie of Yorke, an olde and a riche Hospitall, dedicated vnto saint Leonard, in the which Almosehouse the poore and indigent people were harbored and refreshed, A comotion.

and

and the sick and impotent persons were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole prouince of Yorke, gaue yerely to this Hospitall certeine measures of corne, in maner as an oblacion of the first fruites of their newe grayne, thinkyng theyr gyft geuen to so good a place, and for so good a purpose, should be to them meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certaine euill disposed persons, of the Erle of Warwikes faction, entendyng to set a broyle in the Countrie, perswaded a great number of husbandmen, to refuse and denie to geue any thing to the sayde Hospitall, affirmyng and saiyng, that the corne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the poore people, but the Maister of the Hospitall waxed riche with such almose, & his priestes waxed fat, and the poore people lay leane without succor or comfort. And not content with these saiyngs, they fell to doyngs, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to theyr vsage went about the Countrie, to gather the accustomed corne, they were sore beaten, wounded, and very euill intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanor, and the peruerse people much at it reioysed, and tooke such a courage, that they kept secret conuenticles, and priuie communications, insomuche that within fewe dayes, they had made such a confederacie together, that there were assembled to the number of. xv. thousand men, euen redie prest to set on the Citie of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the eares of the Citizens of Yorke, they were first greatly astonied: but leauyng all feare asyde, they were in a great doubt and vncerteinty, whether it were best for them to issue out of theyr walles, and to geue battaile to the rebelles, or to keepe theyr Citie, and repulse the violence of theyr enemies, by the manfull defendyng of theyr walles and portes. But the Lorde Marques Mountacute, gouernor and president of that Countrie for the king, did shortly put the Citizens out of all feare and suspicion of inuasion, for he takyng spedie counsaile, consideryng the oportunitie of the tyme, with a small number of men, but well chosen, encountered the rebelles before the gates of Yorke: where after a long conflict, he tooke Robert Hulderne theyr Capitaine, and before them commaunded his heade there to be smitten off, and then he caused all his souldiors (because it was darke, to enter into the Citie of Yorke) and after theyr long labor to refreshe them.

Robert Hulderne a rebell beheded.

Here is to be marueyled why the Marques thus put to death, the Captayne and ruler of the people, stirred and raysed vp by him, and the felowes of his coniuration and conspiracy. Some saye he did it to the intent, that he would seme faultesse and innocent of all hys brothers doings and priuie imaginations: But other affirme and saye, that he for all his promise made to his brother, was then fully determined to take part with king Edwarde, with whome (as it shall after appere) he in small space entred into great grace and high fauour. The people beyng nothing abashed at the death of their Capitayne, but rather the more eger and fierce, by fayre and gentle speeche and craftie perswasions: founde the meanes to get to them Henry, sonne and heire to the Lorde Filz Hugh, and Sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire to the Lorde Latimer, the one being Nephew, and the other Cosyn Germaine to the Erle of Warwike. Although that these yong Gentlemen, bare the names of the Capitaynes, yet they had a Tutor and gouernour called Sir Iohn Conyers a man of suche courage and valiauntnesse, as fewe was in his dayes, in the North partes. And first considering that they could not get Yorke for want of ordinaunce and artilerie, which they did lack in deede, they determined with all speede to marche toward London, intending by the way to rayse suche a phantasie in the peoples hartes, that they should thinke that king Edwarde was neyther a iust Prince to God, nor profitable to the common welth of the realme.

Sir Iohn Coniers a chiefe Capteyne of the rebelles.

When king Edward (to whome all the doings of the Erle of Warwike and the Duke his brother were manifest) was by diuers letters sent to hym, certefied that the great armie of the Northren men, were with al spede comming toward London. Therfore in great haste he sent to William Lord Herbert, whom within two yeres before, he had created Erle of Penbroke, that he should wythout delay encounter with the Northrenmen, with the

the extremitie of al his power. The Erle of Penbroke, commonly called the Lord Herbert, was not a little ioyous of the kings letters, partly to deserue the Kings liberalitie, which of a meane gentleman had promoted him to the estate of an Erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the Erle of Warwike, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obteyned not the Wardship of the Lord Bonuiles daughter and heire, for his eldest sonne. Whervpon he beyng accompanied with his brother Sir Richard Herbert, a valyaunt knight, and aboue sixe or seauen thousand Welshmen well furnished, marched forward to encounter with the Northren men. And to assist and furnish him with archers, was appointed Humffrey Lorde Stafforde of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the King in hope that he valyantly would serue him in that iorney, and with him he had eight hundred archers. When these two Lords were met at Cottishold, they made diligent enquiry to here where the Northren men were, and so by their espials they were asserteyned, that they were passing towarde Northampton, wherevpon the Lorde Stafforde, and Sir Richard Herbert with two thousand well horsed Welshmen, sayde: they would go vewe and see the demeanor and number of the Northren men, and so vader a woodes side, they couertly espied them passe forward, and sodainely set on the rereward: but the Northren men with such agillitie so quickly turned about, that in a moment of an houre the Welshmen were cleane discomfited and scattered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gaine.

King Edward being nothing abashed of thys small chaunce, sent good wordes to the Erle of Penbroke, encouragyng and bydding hym to be of good chere, promising him not al only ayde in short time, but also he himselfe in person royall, would folow him with all his puyssaunce and power. The Yorkeshire men beyng glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but tooke there way toward Warwike, looking for ayde of the Erle, which was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, and was gathering and raysing of men, to succour his friends and kinsfolke. The king likewise assembled people on euerie side, to ayde and assist the Erle of Penbroke and his company. But before or any part receyued comfort or succor, from his friend or partaker, both the armies met by chaunce, in a fayre playne, nere to a towne called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherein be three hils, not in equall distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but liyng in maner, although not fully triangle: the Welshmen gat first the West hill, hoping to haue recouered the East hill: which if they had obteyned, the victorye had bene theirs, as their vnwise prophesiers promised them before. The Northren men incamped themselues on the South hill. The Erle of Penbroke and the Lorde Stafforde of Southwike, were lodged at Banbery the day before ỹ field, which was S. Iames day, and there the Erle of Penbroke, put the Lord Stafford out of an Inne wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrarie to their mutuall agreement by them taken, which was, that whosoeuer obteyned first a lodging, should not be deceyued nor remoued. After many great wordes and crakes had betweene these two Capytaynes, the Lorde Stafforde of Southwyke, in great despite departed with his whole company and band of archers, leauing the Erle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, which with all diligence returned to hys hoste, liyng in the field vnpurueyed of archers, abiding such fortune as God would sende and prouyde. Sir Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with him certaine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, euen before their campe, where he did diuers valyaunt feates of armes, but a little to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken & yeelded, and yet cruell slayne: which vnmercifull act, the Welshmen sore rued the next day or night. For the Northren men being inflamed and not a little discontented, with the death of thys noble man, in the mornyng valyauntly set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quickly to desende the hill into the valey, where both the hostes fought. The Erle of Penbroke behaued himselfe like a hardy Knight, and an expert Capitaine, but his brother syr Rychard Herbert so valiauntly acquited himselfe, that

Banbery field.

that with his Pollax in his hande (as his enemies did afterward report) he twise by fine force passed through the battaile of his aduersaries, & without any mortall wound returned. If euery one of his felowes and companions in armes, had done but halfe the actes, which he that day by his noble prowes achieued, the Northren men had obteyned neyther safetie nor victorie.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, When the Welshemen were at the very poynt, to haue obteyned the victorie (the Northren men beyng in maner discomfited) Iohn Clappam Esquire, seruaunt to the Erle of Warwike, mounted vp the syde of the East hill, accompanied onely with fiue. C. men gathered of all the rascall of the towne of Northampton & other Villages about, hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle, with the white Beare, criyng a Warwike a Warwike. The Welshmen thinking that the Erle of Warwike had come on them with all his puyssaunce, sodainly as men amased fled: the Northren men them pursued and slue without mercy, for the cruelte that they had shewed to the Lorde Latymers sonne. So that of the Welshemen there were slaine aboue fiue thousand, besyde them that were fled and taken.

A great slaughter of Welshemen.

The Erle of Penbroke, syr Richard Harbert his brother, and diuers Gentlemen were taken, and brought to Banbery to be behedded, much lamentacion, and no lesse entreatie was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Richard Herbert, both for his goodly personage, which excelled all men there, and also for the noble chiualrie, that he had shewed in the fieldes the day of the battaile, insomuch that his brother the Erle, when he should lay downe his head on the blocke to suffer, sayde to sir Iohn Coniers, and Clappam: Maisters, let me die, for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yong, lustie, and hardie, mete and apt to serue the greatest prince of Christendome. But syr Iohn Coniers and Clappam remembryng the death of the yong knight syr Henry Neuell, cosyn to the Erle of Warwike, could not heare on that syde but caused the Erle and his brother, with diuers other Gentlemen, to the number of ten, to be there behedded. The Northamptonshyre men, with diuers of the Northren men by them procured, in this fury made them a Capitaine, and called him Robin of Riddisdale, and sodainly came to the mannor of Grafton, where the Erle Riuers, father to the Queene then lay, whome they loued not, and there by force toke the sayd Erle, and syr Iohn his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without iudgement stroke off theyr heddes, whose bodies were solempnly interred in the blacke Friers at Northampton. When king Edward was aduertised of these vnfortunate chaunces, he wrote in al haste to the Shriefes of Sommersetshyre, and Deuonshyre, that if they could by any meane take the Lord Stafford of Southwike, that they vpon paine of theyr lyues, shoulde without delay put him in execution, which accordyngly to the Kinges commaundement, after long inquirie and serche made, found him hid in a village in Brentmarche, called where he was taken and brought to Bridgewater, and there cut shorter by the head. This was the order, maner, and ende of Hedgecot field, commonly called Banberie fielde, foughten the morow after Saint Iames day, in the. viij. yere of King Edwarde the fourth, the which battaile euer synce hath bene, and yet is a continual grudge betwene the Northren men, and the Welshemen. After this battaile the Northren men resorted towarde Warwike, where the Erle had gathered a great multitude of people, which Erle gaue high commendacions to syr Iohn Coniers, and other Capitaines of the North much reioysyng, that they had obteyned so glorious a victory, requiryng them to continue as they had begon. The King likewise sore thyrstyng to recouer his losse late susteyned, and desyrous to bee reuenged of the deathes and murders of his Lordes and friendes, marched toward Warwike with a great armie, and euer as he went forward his company encreased, because he commaunded it to be noyfed and published to the common people, that his onely intent was to destroy, and vtterly to confound the vnhappy stock of such pernicious persons as would disturbe and bring in thraldome, the quiet commons and peaceable people. The Erle of Warwike had by his espials perfect knowledge how the king with his armie was bent toward him, and sent in all haste possible to the Duke of Clarence

Robin of Riddesdale.

Hedgecote fielde commonly called Banbery field.

Clarence (which was not farre from him with a great power) requiryng him that both their hostes might ioyne in one, for as farre as he could imagine, the tyme of battail was very neere. The Duke heeryng these newes, in good order of battaile, came and incamped himselfe with the Erles host. When all things were redie prepared to fight: by the meanes of friends, a meane was found how to common of peace, for the which letters were written from eche parte to the other, declaryng their griefes and the very bottomes of theyr stomackes: Heraulides spared no horsefleshe in ridyng betwene the king and the Erle, nor in returnyng from the Erle to the King: The king conceiuyng a certeine hope of peace in his awne imaginacion, toke both lesse heede to himselfe, and also lesse feared the outward attemptes of his enemies, thinkyng, and trustyng truely that all things were at a good poynt, and should be well pacifyed. All the kinges doyngs were by espials declared to the Erle of Warwike, which like a wise and pollitique Capitaine entendyng not to leese so great an aduauntage to him geuen, but trustyng to bring all his purposes to a finall ende and determinacion, by onely obteinyng this enterprise: in the dead of the night, with a chosen companie of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the Kinges fielde, killyng them that kept the watche, and or the King were ware (for he thought of nothing lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Woluey, foure mile from Warwike, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwike. And to the entent that the Kinges friendes might not knowe where he was, nor what was chaunced of him, he caused him by secrete iourneys in the night to be conueyed to Middelham Castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trustie friendes, which enterteyned the king, like his estate, and serued him like a Prince. But there was no place so far off, but that the takyng of the King was shortly knowen, which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dread, and many to wonder and lament the chaunce.

King Edwarde the fourth taken prisoner by the Erle of Warwike.

King Edwarde escapeth out of prison.

King Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop, and to the other kepers (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntyng, and one day, on a plain there met with him syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Brough and diuers other of his friendes, with such a great band of men, that neither his kepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne to prison againe.

Thus as you haue heard was king Edward deliuered: Some say that he was set at large by the Erles consent and commaundement, as who say I had him in my keeping, and might haue destroyed him, but yet of mine awne freewill and gentlenesse, without pact or raunsome, I am contented to set him at libertie and to deliuer him. This doing might seeme to be some countenaunce of truth, if the Erle after this had left of from prosecuting the warre by him newlye begon: But for a truth this good chaunce hapned to king Edward, by the yll luck of king Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainely coniecture, that the extreme poynt of decay of his house and estate was appraunty at hande, consydering that neyther by manues pollicie, nor by worldly riches his vnhappie predestinate chaunce could not be put by, such was Gods pleasure, for if you consider how that the Erle of Warwike and his friendes, onely to the intent to ayde, conserue and defend king Henry the sixt haue dispended their substances, aduentured their liues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauing a sure determination, fixed in their mindes, that as long as king Edwarde lyued, that king Henryes faction should neuer prosper, and yet now when he was by the Erle taken prisoner and in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may plainely perceyue that the luck of king Henry was infortunate, and that all that was done for him, and in his quarell, euer redounded to his misfortune and detriment, euer noting thys, that when thinges contriued and imagined come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodyes are there by anger, feare, or madnesse rauished, & in maner distract from themselues. But to returne to the purpose.

When King Edward had escaped the handes of his enemies, he went straight to Yorke,

where he was with great honor receyued of the Citezens and there taried two dayes to prepare some small armie, to accompany him in his iorney, but when he perceyued that he could haue no hoste meete and conuenient to passe to London, through the middest of his enemies (as he was appointed to doe) he returned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found the Lorde Hastings his Chamberlayne well accompanied. He then wyth the ayde of the Lorde Hastinges, and such other as drewe to him, beyng well furnished, with spedy iorneys, came safe to his Citie of London.

When the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had knowledge howe the king by treason of them that they put in trust, was escaped their hands, and that in one moment of time, all their long studies and forecastes were brought to none effect or conclusion, they waxed angrie, and chafed without measure, & by and by calling together all their chiefe friends began to consult agayne of newe, and to enquire the state of their enemies, to the intent that they might make a beginning of a new warre, which they coniectured to haue taken an ende when the king was brought into captiuitie. The mindes of these Princes were much satisfied, and their courage greatly kindled, by reason that a great number of men hauing more pleasure in discord then in concord, louing better strife then vnitie, offered themselues to begin newe warre of their awne desire and request. King Edward tooke euen lyke studie for the warres as his enemies did, minding eyther to bring them to conformitie or reason, by dent of sworde, or else by power of battaile vtterly to destroy and exstirpate them and their affinitie, to the intent that all men might lead a more quiet lyfe, and liue in more safetie and rest: for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed and spoiled, houses burnt, and men slaine in euery place, all the realme was replenished with blood, slaughter, sorrow, and lamentation. Cornefields were destroyed, Cities & townes were made desolate and languished with famine and dearth, beside many other things, which happen by the crueltie and furie of warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealth of thys realme sore vexed and troubled many, but in especiall the nobilitie much lamented and pitied the state of the commonalty, which with all diligence rode betwene the king, the Erle and the Duke to reconcile them eche to other, and exhorted them rather to deserue the loue of all men, by keeping of peace and vnitie, then by fighting and vnnaturall warre to destroy the realme, and winne the hatred and malice of all the nation: The auctheritie first of the Nobilitie of the realme, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the mindes, both of the king, the Duke and the Erle, that eche gaue fayth to other to go and come, safely without ieopardy. In which promise the Duke and the Erle hauing perfect trust and confidence, came both to London, accompanied with to small a number of men, in comparison to the great daunger that they were in. And at Westminster, the king, the Duke and the Erle had a long communication together, for some ende to be taken or made betweene them: But they fell at such great words with such imbraydings and casting in the teeth of olde benefites shewed, or of olde vnthankfulnesse receyued, that in a great furie, without any conclusion they departed, the king to Canterburie, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwike, where the Erle of Warwike prepared a newe hoste to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made thereof Capitaine syr Robert Welles, sonne to Richard Lorde Welles, an expert man in armes, and very polliique in warre.

These newes sodainely brought to the King, did not a little vexe and tickle hym, because he euer feruently hoped that his aduersaries woulde rather come to some honest conditions of concorde, then so rashly and so sodainely to renue the warre. And the more rumor that was spread (contrary to his expectation) of thys newe begon battayle, the sooner he gathered together an hoste for the resistance of the same, and out of hande he sent to Richarde Lorde Welles, wylling him vpon the sight of his letters with all haste to repayre vnto him, which oftentimes he had excused by sicknesse and debilitie of hys body. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge hymselfe sufficiently before the Kings presence, toke with him Sir Thomas Dymock, which had maried his sister,

& so

& so together came to London. When he was come vp, hys friendes certified hym that the King was with hym highly discontented. Wherefore for very feare, he with his brother in lawe tooke Sentuarie at Westminster, entending there to abide till the Princes yre were somewhat asswaged & mitigate. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thys busie tumult, without any farther bloudshed, promysing both these persons their pardons, caused them vpon his promise to come out of Sentuary to his presence, and calling to him the Lord Welles, wylled him to write to Syr Robert his sonne to leaue of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the meane season, he with his armie went forward toward his enemies, hauing with him the Lorde Welles, and Syr Thomas Dymock, and being not paste two dayes iorney from Stamford, where his enemies had pitched their fielde, had perfect knowledge that Syr Robert Welles nothing mooued with hys fathers letters, still kept his campe, abyding the king and his power. The king hauing high indignation at his presumption, and minding to be reuenged in parte, contrary to his fayth and promise caused the Lorde Welles, father to the sayde Sir Robert, and syr Thomas Dymock, to be behedded there, to the terrible example of other, which shall put their confidence in the promise of a Prince. When syr Robert Welles harde that the King drew nere, and that hys father and syr Thomas Dymock were behedded, he stode first in a great perplexitie, studiyng whether he should geue battayle or no, because it was both perillous and doubtfull to fight with so great an armie, before the Erle of Warwike with hys power were assembled, but yet hauing a yong and a lustie courage, and with manly boldnesse stirred and pricked forward, he set on his enemies.

A great dishonor to a Prince.

The battayle was sore fought on both partes, and many a man slayne, and in conclusion, whyle Syr Robert was exhorting and prouoking his men to tarie, which were in maner discomfited, and readie to flye, he was enuyroned and beset about wyth his enemies, and so was taken, and with him syr Thomas Defaund Knight and many mo. After hys taking, the Lyncolnshire men amased, threwe away their coates, the lighter to runne away and flye, and therefore thys battayle is yet there called Loscote field. The king glad of this victorie, commaunded out of hand syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execution in the same place. The fame was, that at thys battayle were slaine ten thousand men at the least.

Loscote field.

The Erle of Warwike lay at this tyme in his Castell of Warwike, and was commyng with a houge host the next day towarde his armie in Lyncolneshire, but when he harde say that they had fought soner then he thought eyther they could or would, and that his partie was ouerthrowne and vanquished: Although he might nowe be discouraged, yet he thought it necessarie to dissimule the case, because oftentymes in battaile, vaine thinges be regarded before true, and to the entent to comfort certaine of his companie (beyng in dispayre and redie to flie) both in word and dede, he gathered together and prepared a new hoste, and with all the studie and industrie that he could practise or vse, he imagined how to compasse Thomas Lord Stanley, which had maried his sister, that he might be one of the confederacie and coniuration: which thing when he could not bring to passe, for the Lorde Stanley had aunswered him plainely, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward, he thought to spend no lenger tyme in waste, and mistrastyng that he was not able to meete with his enemies, he with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, departed to Excester, and there tarying a fewe dayes, and perceyuing that all thinges lacked, which were apte and necessarie for the warre, determined to sayle to king Lewys the French king, to renewe the familier acquaintaunce, which he had wyth him, when he was there of Ambassade for the mariage of King Edward as you haue heard, hauyng a sure confidence and hope, eyther to haue a great ayde of the French king, or else to incense him earnestly to make battayle against king Edward. And resting vpon thys opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, well armed, and at all pointes trimmed and decked. And when wind and weather serued them, the Duke and the Erle with their wyues, and a great number of seruaunts plucked vp the sayles, and toke their way first toward Caleys where

the Erle of Warwike was chiefe Capitayne, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and daughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

1466 9 This sodaine departyng of King Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vexe and bite him at the very stomacke, but also did kindle and quicken him to looke the more diligently to his affayres and businesse, and especially, because that the absence of the Erle of Warwike, made the common people daily more and more to long and be desyrous to haue the sight of him, and presently to beholde his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the world, when he was absent: In such highe estimacion among the people, was his name, that neither no one man, they had in so much honor, neyther no one person they so much praysed, or to the Clowdes so highly extolled. What shall I say? His onely name sounded in euery song, in the mouth of the cõmon people, and his person was represented with great reuerẽce, when publique playes, or open triumphes should be shewed, or set forth abrode in the stretes: which hartie fauor, was the apparaunt occasion why his faction and companie within a fewe dayes, merueylously increased and augmented. For the which cause, the king was vexed with a double mischiefe, for he doubted much, whome he should most feare of two, eyther the familiar enemies abydyng at home, or the outwarde foes, lingryng beyond the sea: but chiefely he prouided to withstand the Erle of Warwikes landing. And first he wrote to Charles Duke of Burgoyn, which had maried the Ladie Margaret his sister, to helpe that ỹ Erle nor his companie, should haue neyther ayde nor refuge in any part of his, nor his friendes territories, or Dominions. These tidyngs were ioyfull to the Duke of Burgoyn, as to him which (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) hated the Erle of Warwike, worse then ỹ curre dog, or serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder of the house of Lancaster, of the which the Erle was lineally discended, by the Duchesse his mother, partly because the Erle had suche high offices, and was so renowmed in Englande, that King Edwarde the Dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thinges in his Realme, as he himselfe would (which the Duke estemed to be a great bondage.) And partly, because the Erle withstood with all his power and might, the conclusion of the mariage, betwene the Kinges sister and the sayd Duke: But the chiefe rancor was, because the Erle of Warwike fauoured the French king, whom the Duke loued not, for at his last beyng in Fraunce, he promised the French King to be friend to his friendes, and vtter enemie to his foes and aduersaryes. This rooted hatred, and cankard malice, which the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempt mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes against the Erle, then eyther King Edward could imagin, or was of the Duke requyred, as you shall plainly perceyue, by the sequele of this Historye.

Now let vs speake of the Erle of Warwikes doynges. The Erle as you haue heard before, sayled from Dartmouth towarde Calice, where he was Captaine Generall, and with a prosperous winde came before the towne, in which fortresse was deputie for the Erle, the Lorde Vawclere a Gascoyne, besyde dyuers of the Erle of Warwikes seruauntes, which bare great offices and auctorities in the towne. This Vawclere, whether he did it by dissimulacion, or bearyng his good minde, to King Edward (as by the sequele hereof I doubt whether he did or no) In steede of receiuyng of his maister with triumphe, he bent and discharged agaynst him, diuers peeces of ordinaunce, sendyng him worde, that he should there take no lande. This nauye thus liyng before Calice at anker, the Duches of Clarence was there delyuered of a fayre sonne, which childe the Erles Deputie vneth would suffer to be christened within the towne, nor without great entreatie, would permit two wagons of wine to be conueyed aborde to the Ladies liyng in the hauen. This was a great rygor and extremitie, for the seruant to vse against the maister, or the inferior to vse agaynst the superior, for the Erle hoped, and nothing lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purueyed in that place: But he was faine to keepe the Seas, without comfort or ayde of any of his seruauntes. The King of England was quickly aduertised of the refusall that Monsire de Vawclere made to his Capitaine the Erle of Warwike, which manfull doyng, so much pleased the King, that incontinent he made

The duches of Clarence delinered of a sonne vpon the sea, before the towne of Calice.

made him chiefe Captain of ỹ towne of Calice, by his letters patents, which were sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely the Erle, as a traytor, and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyne, liyng at Saint Homers (which would nedes haue an owre in the Erle of Warwikes boate) beyng aduertised also of Mõsire de Vawcleres refusall made of his maister, sent to him his trustie seruaunt, Philip de Comines (which wrote all these doynges in a Chronicle) and gaue to him yerely a thousande Crownes in pencion, (a small rewarde God wote, for so high a seruice, as vntruely to kepe his maister from his office) praiyng and requiryng him, to continue in truth and fidelitie towarde King Edwarde, as he had shewed and begon. The Messenger found him so towarde, and of such conformitie, that he was content to swere in his presence, truely to take King Edwardes part agaynst all men, and onely to his vse to keepe and defende the strong towne of Calice. But the sayde Philip de Commines sore mistrusted Monsire de Vawclere, because he sent worde to the Erle of Warwike priuily, liyng at Whitsandbay, ỹ if he landed he should be taken and lost, for all England (as he sayde) tooke part against him, the Duke of Burgoyne and all the Inhabitantes of the towne, were his enemyes, the Lord Duras the kinges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his aduersaryes: so that for a finall conclusion, his only sauegard and comfort, were to withdrawe him and his companie into Fraunce, where he knewe he should be highly receyued, and better welcomed, and as for the towne of Calice, he should take no thought, for the sayde Monsire de Vawclere promised thereof to make him a good reconyng, when time and oportunitie should serue. This counsaile was profitable to the Erle of Warwike, but not to the king of England, and lesse pleasant to the Duke of Burgoyn: which Princes might very well thinke both the office of the Capitainship of Calice, and the pencion of the thousand Crownes (if it were payed) on such a deepe dissembler, to be euill employed.

Philip Comines the writer of this Historie.

The Erle of Warwicke as he was both before his departure oute of Englande, determined, and also now by Monsire de Vawclere, newly counsayled and aduised, with his nauie sayled towarde Normandye, and in the meane way, robbed, spoyled, and toke many riche ships of the Duke of Burgoyns countries, (which sore netteled the Duke, and caused him to prepare a strong, and a great armie on the sea, to take the Erle prisoner, as he returned homewarde) and at the last with all his nauie, and spoyle, he tooke lande at Deepe in Normandye, where the gouernor of the countrey for the French king, friendly welcomed him, and louingly entertayned him, certifiyng king Lewys of his landing and arriuall.

King Lewys a great season before, had so much maruayled at the publique fame, and common renoume, of the noble actes, and high prowes, of the Erle of Warwicke, and he thought nothing might more pleasauntly happen, or chaunce towarde him, then to haue a cause, or occasion to hym ministered, whereby he might doe the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long lust according to his desire, was nowe lykely to take effect, to his contentacion, and the Erles great commodity: wherefore beyng ioyous of his landyng in Fraunce, he sent vnto him certayne Princes, which declared to him on the kings behalfe, that as the king had long tyme sought wayes, and meanes, howe to doe him pleasure, ayde, and comfort: So seyng that nowe the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of all those things, he assured him that he would neyther forget him, nor yet desist to doe for him anye thing, which might be consonant to his request and friendly desire, requiring him with the Duke his sonne in law, to take paine to come to his Castell of Amboys, set on the Riuer of Leyre, affirming that they should neither lose their labor, nor thinke their iorney to haue euill successe in the conclusion.

When Duke Charles knewe that the Erle was landed in Normandy, he sent in all haste a Post to King Lewys, with whome he was then ioyned in a league, requiring him neyther to helpe with men nor money, the Erle of Warwicke, nor the Duke of Clarence, open enemies to King Edwarde, his fellow, friend, and brother in lawe, and his perpe-

tuall

tuall alye, and trusty confederate, adding therto sharpe words, and threates, if he woulde in any case, be to them a refuge or succor.

The French king did not only contempne his prowd wordes, and laughed at his threatnyng, and bolde braggyng, but soberly aunswered, that without breaking of any league, or treatie, he lawfully might and woulde helpe his friendes: Of which number, he affirmed the Erle of Warwicke to bee one, which thing if he did, he sayde, it shoulde be neyther cost, charge, nor hurthen to the Duke of one blancke. When the Duke had certifyed the king of Englande of this aunswere, he was sodainely in a dompe, and began earnestly, to imagyne and consyder who were his friendes, and who were his foes, apprehended some, whom he though guiltie, and began with them to question, who were friendes to his enemyes, and of their coniuration (which was the occasion that many fearyng themselues, fled vnto Sanctuary) and manye trustyng the kinges pardon, submitted and yeelded themselues to the Kings clemency. Amongst whome, Iohn Marques Montacute, humbly yeelded himselfe; and vowed to be euer true to the kyng (as he had done before tyme) whome he with much humanity and fayre wordes, did receiue and entertaine, to the intent to draw and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, against all hostility and vtter enemies.

Whyle these things were thus treated in Englande, the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode wyth great pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche King laye, and by the way, the people gathered together, and in great number flocked, to see and beholde, the person and visage of hym of whose valiaunt actes, and wonderfull doynges, their eares had manye times bene fylled and replenished. When he came to the kings presence, hee was with all kindnesse of curtesie and humanity receyued and welcomed. To whome by long tract of tyme, he declared the causes, and considerations of his commyng into Fraunce. King Lewys aswell hauing newe delectation, with the presence of his friende, as he was accustomed to reioyce and be ioyous, when he hard eyther laude or prayse of him in his absence, promised him hys power, his ryches, and all things that he might, or coulde doe, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refresh him in his aduersitie.

When Queene Margaret, which soiorned with Duke Reyner her Father, called king of Sicile, &c. Harde tell of the Erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and were come to the French Court, hoping of newe comfort, with all diligence came to Amboyse, wyth her onely sonne Prince Edwarde, and with her, came Iasper Erle of Penbrooke, & Iohn Erle of Oxenforde, which after diuers long imprisonments, latelye escaped, fledde out of Englande into Fraunce, and came by fortune to this assemble. After that they had long commoned, and debated diuers matters, concerning their suretie and wealth, they determined by meane of the French king, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them. And first to begyn with all, for the more sure foundacion of the new amitie, Edward prince of Wales, wedded Anne seconde daughter to the Erle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraūce. This mariage semed very straunge to wisemen, considering that the Erle of warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne to mary wyth one of his daughters, whose syster the Duke of Clarence before had maried, which was euer extreme enemye to the house of Lancaster: wherevpon they deuined that the mariage of the Prince, shoulde euer be a blot in the Dukes eie, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the eye of the Prince, eche of them lookyng to be axalted, when the Erle on him smyled, and eche of them againe thinking to be ouerthrowne, when the Erle of him lowred. After this mariage, the Duke & the Erle toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vntill such tyme as king Henry the sixt, or the Prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the realme, and that the Queene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the Erle, to be gouernors and conseruators, of the publique welth, till such tyme as the Prince were come to mans estate, and of habilitie, meete and conuenient, to take vpon him so high a charge, and so great a burden. There were

many other condicyons concluded, which both reason, and the weightinesse of so great a businesse, required to be set forwarde.

Whyle these Lordes were thus in the French Courte, there landed at Calice a damosell, belonging to the Duches of Clarence, (as she sayd) which made Monsire de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from king Edwarde to the Erle of Warwicke, with a playne ouerture and declaracion of peace. Of the which tidyngs, Vawclere was very glad for the Erles sake, whome he thought (by this peace) to be restored to all his olde possessions, romes, and dignities. But he was sore by this damosell deceiued for her message (as it after proued) was the beginning of the Erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neyther naturall, nor honorable to him eyther to condiscende or take parte against the house of Yorke, (of which he was lineally discended) and to set vp agayne the house of Lancastre, which linage of the house of Yorke, was not onely by the whole Parliament of the realme declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kingdome, but also kyng Henry the sixt and his blood affirmed the same, and therevpon made a composicion, which of recorde appereth. Furthermore she declared, that the mariage of the Erles daughter with prince Edwarde, was for none other cause but to make the Prince king, and clerely to extinguish all the house of Yorke, of whome the Duke himselfe was one, and next heire to the Crowne, after his eldest brother, and his children. These reasons, and the mariage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes stomacke, that he promised at his returne, not to be so extreme an enemy to his brother, as he was taken for, which promise afterwarde he did not forget. With this aunswere the damosell departed into Englande, the Erle of Warwicke thereof beyng clerely ignoraunt.

When the league was concluded (as you before haue heard) the French King lent them ships, money, and men, and that they might the surer sayle into Englande, he appointed the Bastard of Burgoyn Admirall of Fraunce with a great Nauie, to defend them agaynst the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, which was stronger then both the French Kings Nauie, or the English fleete. King Reyner did also help his daughter to hys small power, with men, and municions of warre. When this armie (which was not small) was gathered and come together to Harflete, at the mouth of the riuer of Seyne, abyding winde and weather. The Erle of Warwike receyued letters out of Englande, that men so much daylie and hourely desired and wished for hys arryuall and returne, that almost all men were in harnesse, looking for hys landing: wherefore he was requyred to make haste, yea, haste more then haste, although he brought no succor with hym. For he was farther assured, that assoone as he had once taken lande, there should meete him many thousandes (as after it prooued in deede) to doe him what seruice or pleasure they could or might: When the Erle had receyued these letters, he not a little regarding suche an offer, and so many great benefites to hym euen at hande apparauntly proffered, fully determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Oxenford and Penbroke (because Queene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a iorney) to go before with parte of the Nauie, and part of the armie, and to attempt the first brunt of fortune and chaunce, which if it well succeeded, then should Queene Margaret and her sonne, wyth the residue of the Nauie and people followe into Englande. The Erle of Warwike thinking this weightie matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be applyed with all diligence possible, taking his leaue of the French king Lewys, geuing him no small thankes, both on the behalfe of King Henry, and also for his awne part, and so being dismissed, came where his Nauie laye at Anker, commaunding his men to go on ship borde, minding to take his course toward England.

The Duke of Burgoyne which was not content that the Erle of Warwike and hys company was succoured and ayded of the French king against his brother in lawe, king Edwarde of Englande, to withstande that armie, and to take the Erle of Warwike prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a great Nauie, as lightly hath not bene

sene

sene before, gathered in maner of all Nations, which armie lay at the mouth of Seyne, readie to fight with the Erle of Warwike, when he should set out of his harborow.

See the worke of God, the same night before the Erle departed, there rose suche a sodayne winde and a terrible tempest, that the Dukes shippes were scattered one from another, some drowned, some weather driuen into Scotlande, so that two of them were not in companie together in one place. In the morning next following, the weather waxed fayre, and the winde prosperous, wherevpon in hope of a bone voyage, the Erle and his company hoysed vp their sayle, and with good speede landed at Dartmouth in Deuonshire, from which place he passed into Fraunce, almost the sixt Moneth last past.

The Erle of Warwike returneth into England.

Before this time the Duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwike, and enuied his prosperie, then he loued king Edward, sauing for hys ayde that he trusted of in time of necessitie, wrote to King Edwarde, both of the doings of the Erle of Warwike in Fraunce, and of hys armie and power, & also certefied him by his trustie seruauntes of the place, where the Erle purposed with all is people to take lande, King Edwarde passed little on the matter, trusting to much to the moueable commons of hys Realme, and without any army layde, eyther to kepe the Erle from landing, eyther to encounter with him at the first arrival, to the intent that his friends should not drawe in heapes to him for his strength, left all purueyaunce for defence alone, and rode on huntyng, hawking, and vsing all maner of pastimes, with Ladyes and Damosels, for his disport and solace that could be imagined or inuented. When the Erle of Warwike had taken land, he made a proclamation in the name of king Henry the sixt vpon high paynes, commaunding and charging all men apt, or able to beare armoure, to prepare themselues to fight agaynst Edwarde Duke of Yorke, which contrary to all right, iustice, and lawe, had vntruely vsurped the crowne and imperiall dignitie of this realme. It is almost incredible to thinke how sone the fame of the Erles landing was blowen ouer, thorow all the whole realme, and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first tydings of his landing, were sodainely assembled and set forwarde to welcome him. When he was thus, accordyng to hys desire, fully furnished on euery side wyth his kindred and friendes, he tooke his way toward London, where he iudged and faythfully beleeued, to finde more open friends then priuie enemies.

When King Edward knew of the Erles landing, and of the great repayre of the people, that to him incessantly without intermission did resorte, he then began to thinke on hys businesse, and studied howe to finde a remedie for a mischiefe (but this was to late.) And first he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requyring him to haue a vigylant eye to the sea, and so to see the streames kept and scoured with hys Nauie, that the Erle neyther shoulde nor might returne agayne into Fraunce, if he should be againe propulsed out of the realme. And as for the doings in England he bade let him alone, for he was both of puyssaunce and abilitie, sufficient to ouercome and defende al his enemies and rebels, wythin his awne realme and countrie. Thys saiyng little or nothing pleased the Duke of Burgoynes messengers, for they thought that it had beene much more profitable to king Edward to haue circumspectly forsene afore, and prouided to stop his landing, then now sodainly to abyde the fortune of battayle, which is euer doubtfull and vncertaine. King Edwarde accompanied wyth the Duke of Glouccster hys brother, the Lorde Hastings hys Chamberleyn, which had maried the Erles sister, and yet was euer true to the King hys Mayster, and the Lorde Scales brother to the Quene, sent out Curriers to all hys trustie friendes, for the furniture of able persons, meete for the warre & conuenient for the defence of his awne royall person, entending if he might by any pollecie, or subtill engine to circumuent or trap the Erle of Warwike, knowing perfitely that if he had once maistred the chiefe Belwether, the flock would sone be disperced.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, but the greatest heddes wincked and sayde they could not, but they ment they would not come. King Edward beyng in perplexitie, and in diffidence of raysyng any army, wyth such trustie friendes as he had departed

King Edwarde fyeth for feare of the Erle of Warwike.

parted into Lincolneshire, consultyng what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was full determined on any certaine purpose, newes were brought to him, that all the townes, and [illegible]e Countrie adioinyng was in great rore, and made fiers and sang songes, cryyng, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwike, a Warwike: King Edwarde was much abashed with these newe tidynges, and more and more his espials and Messengers declared and accompted to him, that all the realme was vp, and by open Proclamacion commaunded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to king Henry and the Realme: wherefore his neere friendes aduised and admonished him to flie ouer the sea to the Duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and fortune should sende him better lucke and chaunce, he beyng somewhat ruled by his counsail, but much more quickned by hauyng knowlege, that some of the Erle of Warwikes power, was within halfe a dayes iourney, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the washes (in greater ieopardie then it besemed a Prince to be in) and came to the towne of Lynne, where he founde an English ship and two Hulkes of Holland redy (as fortune woulde) to make sayle and take theyr iourney, wherevpon beyng in a maruayious agonye, and doubtyng the mutabilitie of the townes men, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor and sauegard, with his brother the Duke of Gloucester, the Lorde Scales, and diuers other his trustie friendes entred into the ship, without bagge or baggage, without cloth sacke, or male, and perchaunce with a great purse and little treasure, for he nor his had no leysure to prouide, accordyng to their degrees and estates. Thus the King beyng accompanied with one small ship of his awne, and two Hulkes, and. vij. or viij. hundreth personnes with him hauyng no prouision, and but small store of money, sayled towarde Holland. At which time the Easterlynges were mortall enemies, aswell to the Englishmen, as to the French nacion, and had done the last yeres past much preiudice and domage to the Englishe marchauntes, both in taking and spoilynge of Shippes.

And as the King with sayle and ower was makyng his course as fast as he could possible, the Easterlynges, which had many shippes of warre on the sea, him espyed (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) one yll commeth neuer alone, and with. vij. or. viij. gallant Shippes, began to chase the king and his companie. The Kinges Ship was good with sayle, and so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so discended lower, before a towne in Holland called Alquemare, and there cast Ancker as nere the Towne as was possible, because they they coulde not enter the Hauen at an ebbyng water. The Easterlynges also approched the Englishe ship, as nere as their great shippes could come at the lowe water, entendyng at the flood to haue obteyned theyr pray, and so they were likely to do, if Monsire de Gronture, gouernour for Duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties.

A straunge chaunce happening to King Edwarde.

O what a miserable chaunce and straunge lucke was this to happen so sodainly to a king, and in especiall to such a king, as by his awne valiauntnesse and prowesse had ouercome his foes, and destroyed his enemyes in more then fiue or sixe great and mortall battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, and expulsed his awne Realme and Kingdome, by his awne seruaunts, subiectes, and kinsmen. Secondarily, beyng destitute of all helpe and comfort, flyyng to his onely friend and brother in law Duke Charles, for refuge and succor, to be chased on the sea by his mortall enemyes and deadly foes, and like to be taken prisoner, and brought into captiuitie, which thing, if it had happened (as God would that it should not) he had lien long vnraunsomed, (King Henry beyng restored to his pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or else he had died prisoner in great wretchednesse and misery. These sower sawces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton liuyng, and negligent ouerseyng of thinges, that he might well haue foreseene and preuented, but his minde was so geuen to pastyme, daliaunce, and sensuall pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, saiyng in tyme of peace, prouide for war, and in the tyme of war, prouide for peace, which thing if he eyther had well remembred, or pollitikely prouided for, he had not bene chased and expulsed his Realme within. xj. dayes as he was in deede.

King Edward thus liyng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlynges, was by great chaunce comforted and relieued, or he wist howe, for the same tyme lay in the towne of Alquemare the Lorde Gronture, chiefe gouernour of Holland for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, which beyng incontinent aduertised of the kinges arriuall, and also of the great ieopardie that he was in, prohibited first the Easterlynges in no wise on paine of death, to intermit or meddle with any Englishe men, which were both the Dukes frendes and allyes: which commaundement so vexed and troubled the Easterlynges, makyng sure reconyng to haue had theyr pray and pryse, a King, a Duke, dyuers Barons, and riche gentlemen, that they cryed out of God, rayled and cursed the Duke and his officer, and in a rage hoysed vp theyr sayles, and without more expectacion of good lucke, departed home to theyr Countrey. The Lorde Gronture came aborde the ship where King Edward was, and him honourably saluted, and required him to come to lande, offryng him his seruice with all pleasures that he could do or imagine to be done. The King him hartily thanked, and was well reuiued and comforted with his wordes, and so he with all his company were set on lande, and well refreshed. The Lorde Gronture like a noble man, consideryng in what poore estate and necessitie the King and his people were in, ministred to them abundantly all thinges conuenient and necessary, accordyng to euery mans estate and degree, at the Dukes charge and cost. And after they had bene well refreshed, and newly apparayled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a riche towne in Holland where they arriued on the Churche holy day, not long after Michaelmasse. The Lord Gronture, of all this aduenture wrote to the Duke hys Mayster, which thereat, was at the first so abashed and amased, to see the Erle of Warwike, whome he hated more then a Crocodile, to haue the vpper hande of his brother, that he had rather heard of King Edwardes death, then of his discomfiture, and in especially by the Erle of Warwike, whome he more feared and disdayned, then any one man liuyng, yet he willed the Lorde Gronture, to see him and his companie well enterteyned at the Hage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let all Englishe men consider (as before is rehersed) what profite, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the Ladie Margaret, King Edwardes wife, sister to the Duke Charles, did to him in hys extreeme necessitie: and but by that meane vncurable extremitie, for his allyes and confederates in Castell and Arragon, were to farre from him, either spedily to flie to, or shortly to come fro with any ayde or armie. The Frenche king was his extreeme enemie, and friend to King Henry, for whose cause, in the King of Scottes (for all the league betwene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The Stedes and all Eastland were with him at open warre, and yet by this mariage, God prouided him a place to flie too, both for refuge and for reliefe.

When the fame was spred of King Edwardes fliyng, innumerable people resorted to the Erle of Warwike to take his part, but all king Edwardes trustie friendes went to diuers Sentuaryes, dayly lookyng and hourely harkenyng, to heere of his helth and prosperous returne, who afterward serued him manfully and truely. Amongest other, Queene Elizabeth his wife, almost desperate of all comfort, tooke Sentuarie at Westminster, and there in great penury forsaken of all her friendes, was deliuered of a faire sonne called Edwarde, which was with small pompe, like a poore mans childe christened and baptised, the Godfathers beyng the Abbot & Prior of Westminster, and the Godmother, the Ladie Scrope.

Prince Edward the son of King Edwarde the fourth, borne in the Sentuarie of Westminster.

The Kentish men rebell.

The Kentishemen this season, whose wittes be euer moueable at the chaunge of Princes, came to the Suburbes of London, and spoyled houses, robbed berehouses, & by the counsaile of sir Geoffrey Gates, and other Sentuary men, they brake vp the kinges Benche, and deliuered prisoners, and at the last fell at Radclefe, Lymehouse, and saint Katheryns, to burnyng of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishyng of women: which small sparcle had growen to a great flame, if the Erle of Warwicke with a great power had not sodainly quenched it, and punished the offenders: which benefite by hym done, caused him much more to be praised and accepted among the Commons than he was before.

When

When he had setled and put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most conuenient. Vpon the. xii. day of October he rode to the Tower of London, which was to him without resistance deliuered, and there tooke king Henry the sixt out of the warde, where he before was kept, and brought him into the kinges lodgyng, and there was serued, accordyng to his degree. And the. xxv. day of the sayd moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with the Erles of Warwike, Shrewesbury, and the Lord Stanley, and other Lords and Gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onely to gase at the waueryng worlde, resorted with a great companie to the Tower of London, and from thence with great pompe brought King Henry the sixt apparayled in a long Gowne of blewe Veluet, through the high streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, the people on the right hande and on the left hande, reioisyng and cryyng, God saue the King, as though all thing had succeeded as they would haue it, and when he had offerred as kinges vse to do, he was conueyed to the pallace of the Bishop of London, and there kept his householde like a king.

King Henry the sixt againe restored to hys kingly estate.

King Henry the sixt thus againe recouerying (by the meanes onely of the Erle of Warwike) his Crowne and dignitie royall, began newely to reigne, likely within short space to fall againe, and to tast more of his accustomed captiuitie, and vsuall miserie. This ill chaunce and misfortune, by many mens opinions happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men commonly call an innocent man, neyther a foole, neyther very wise, whose studie alwayes was more to excell other, in Godly liuyng and vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, insomuche, that in comparison to the study and delectacion that he had to vertue and godlinesse, he little regarded, all worldly power and temporall auctboritie: But his enemies ascribed all this to his cowarde stomack, affirmyng that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor meete for any enterprise, were it neuer so small: But whoso euer dispyseth or disprayseth, that which the common people allow and maruayle at, is often taken of them for a mad and vndiscreete person, but notwithstanding the vulgar opinion, he that foloweth, & embraceth the contrary, doth proue both sad and wise (verifiyng Salomons Prouerbe) the wisedome of this worlde, is foolishenesse before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortunitie, only to the stroke and punishement of God, affirming that the Kingdome, which Henry the fourth his Grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed agaynst king Richard the seconde and his heyres, could not by very deuine iustice, long continue in that iniurious stocke: And that therefore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the Grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

A parliament called by king Henry ye sixt wherein king Edwarde is declared a traytor.

When king Henry had thus obteyned agayne, the possession and dominion of the realme, he called his high Court of Parliament to beginne the. xxvj. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which king Edward was declared a Traytor to his Countrie, and vsurpor of the realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the crowne and Scepter, and all hys goods were confiscate and adiudged forfayt: and lyke sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers and friendes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer such persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, and were eyther in captiuitie, or went at large vpon trust of their sureties, amongst whome Lorde Iohn Typtoft, Erle of Worcester Lieutenaunt for King Edward in Irelande, exercising there more extreme crueltie (as the fame went) then princely pittie, or charitable compassion, and in especiall on two infantes, beyng sonnes to the Erle of Desmond, was eyther for treason to hym layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, atteynted and bchedded. Beside thys, all estatutes made by King Edwarde were cleerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crownes of the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, was by the authoritie of the same Parliament entayled to King Henry the sixt, and the heyres Males of hys body lawfully begouen, and for default of such heyre Male of his body begotten, then the sayde crownes and dignities were entayled to George Duke of Clarence, and to the heyres Males of his body lawfully engendred, and farther

the sayde Duke was by auctheritie aforesayde enabled to be next heyre to hys father, Richard Duke of Yorke, and to take by discent from hym all hys landes, dignities, and preheminences, as though he had bene his eldest sonne and heyre, at the time of his death. Iasper Erle of Penbroke, and Iohn Erle of Oxenford, and diuers other by king Edward attaynted, were restored to their olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as long as they might.) Beside thys, the Erle of Warwike as one to whome the common welth was much beholdyng, was made ruler and gouernor of the realme, with whom as felow and companion was associated, George Duke of Clarence hys sonne in lawe. So that by these meanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publique weith of the same, were newly altred and chaunged. To thys parliament came the Lorde Marques Montacute, excusing himselfe that onely for feare of death, he declyned to king Edwards part, which excuse was so accepted that he obteyned hys pardon, which after was the destruction of hym and hys brother: For if he had manfully and boldly taken king Edwards part, surely he being an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fayned & coloured friend: for suche things as we see before our eyes, we be well ware off, and seldome things before knowne, doe vs any hurt.

Queene Margaret kept from landing in England by cruell tempestes.

Queene Margaret, after that the Erle of Warwicke was sayled into Englande, euer forecasting and doubting the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to pray to God, to send victorie to her friends and confederates: which when she knewe by her husbandes letters to be obteyned, shee wyth Prince Edwarde her sonne and her trayne, entred their shippes, to take their voyage into Englande: but the Wynter was so sore, the weather so stormy, and the winde so contrary, that she was fayne to take lande againe, and deferre her iorney tyll another season. Her enemies sayde, that it was Gods iust prouision, that she which had bene the occasion of so many battayles, and of so much manslaughter in Englande should neuer returne thether agayne, to doe more mischiefe. Her friendes on the other side, sayd that she was kept away, and her iorney impeched by Sorcerers and Necromanciers: thus as mens imaginations ranne, so their tongues clacked.

In thys season Iasper Erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite hys Countie of Penbroke, where he founde Lorde Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauing not fully ten yeres of his age complete, which was kept in maner like a captiue: but well and honorably educated, and in all kind of ciuilitie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wife to Wylliam Erle of Penbroke, beheded at Banbery, as you before haue heard, This Lorde Henry was he, that after king Richard, brother to King Edward, was vanquished and ouerthrowne, obteyned the crowne and regalitie of thys realme, whome we ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of him onely to be prouided a king, for to extinguishe bothe the factions and partes, of King Henry the sixt, and of King Edwarde the fourth (which had almost brought the Nobilitie of thys realme to a finall destruction, and an vtter decay.) And thys Iasper Erle of Penbroke as aforesayd tooke this child being hys Nephew, out of the custodie of the Ladie Harbert, and at hys returne brought the same childe to London, to king Henry the sixt, whome when the king had a good space by himselfe, secretly beholden and marked, both hys wyt and hys lykely towardnesse, he sayed to such princes, as were then wyth him: Loe, surely this is he, to whome both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of al things, shal hereafter geue rome and place. So this good man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this Erle Henry so ordeyned by God, should in time to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

This was king Henry the seuenth.

As I haue shewed to you before, what things were done in Englande after that king Henry had obteyned the new possession of hys olde kingdome, thinking surely to haue possessed and enioyed the same lenger season then eyther he did, or could by his aduersaries be permitted or suffered to doe: so must I of necessitie declare vnto you, what great perplexitie, what sodaine trouble, and what great store of imaginations, the landing of king Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyne:

Burgoyne: and how deceitfully for his awne aduauntage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his partie aduerse, and how that he openly denied ayde to king Edward, when he priuily ministered great and large succours to him and his. I thinke you would not, that these things should be forgotten: And first call to your remembraunce, howe that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue heard) great intelligence or conference wyth Monsire de Vawclere, as he list himselfe to be called, eyther chiefe Capitaine of Caleys, or else deputie Capitayne to the Erle of Warwike, which had promised to him by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crownes, to the intent to stand still true to king Edward, and to relinquishe king Henry, but in especiall to abandon the Erle of Warwike. The Duke although that he had small confidence, but rather great diffidence in the othe and promyse of Monsire de Vawclere: thought it necessarie to know in what case Caleys stoode, and what alterations were there, because it was his nexte neighbor (for that time Bulleys, and Bullenoys, and all Artoys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to hys father, as is before rehersed. Wherefore in all haste (before he sent for king Edwarde or spake with him) he sent his trustie counsayler Philip de Comines Lorde of Argenton, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemen fauored more the partie of Lancaster then of Yorke. The Lorde of Argenton met with the people of the Countrey of Bullenoys, flying from euery parte lyke wylde Dere: for the Erle of Warwike had now lately sent to Caleys, foure hundred Archers on horseback, which forrayed and spoyled all the Countrie of Bullenoys. The Dukes messengers, which had not sene so sodaine a chaunge of worldly things, durst not kepe on their iorney, but the same night taried at Turnoham, and sent to Monsire de Vawclere for a safe conduyt, and also wrote to the Duke of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent worde to Philip de Comines, that he and his with all spede, should passe towarde Caleis, and if they there were taken, he would shortly for a raunsome, buye or redeeme them agayne. For he passed little eyther of the payne of his seruaunt, or of his charge and expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When this word was brought to the messengers at Turnhan, at the same tyme they receyued a letter from Monsire de Vawclere, wyth louing wordes and gracious termes, declaring that they might safely come, and freely depart, as before they were liberally accustomed: so that sir Philip and his companions came to Caleis, wythout any meeting or solempne entertaintment contrary to the olde fashion that he had seene. When they entred into the towne, they might perceyue euery man did weare the Erle of Warwikes badge, and on euery dore were set white Crosses, and ragged staues, with rimes and poesies, which purported the French King, and the Erle of Warwike were all one. These things seemed very straunge, and nothing pleasaunt to the Burgonions. The Lorde Vawclere sent for them to dinner the next day being well accompanied, and did weare on hys Cap, a whyte ragged staffe of Golde enamyled, and so did many other, and he that could haue it neyther of Golde nor of Siluer, had it of silke or cloth. Thys badge was taken vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes came out of Englande: suche is the mutation of the common people, lyke a reede with euery winde bowing and bending. While these Burgonions lay thus in Caleys, they had knowledge that the Erle of Warwike had prepared foure thousande valyaunt men, to make frontier warre on the Dukes Countries, whereof by poste they certified the Duke, which so fumed and smoked at the matter, that he wist neyther well what to doe, nor of whome to aske comfortable or wholesome counsayle. For warre he was compelled to haue with the French King, which had taken from him certayne townes: and if he succoured king Edwarde, he was sure that with the Erle of Warwike, he should haue no peace: and if he left king Edward his confederate and allye, in the time of hys tribulation, destitute of ayde and succour, all the worlde of him might speake shame, vnfaythfulnesse and dishonor. When the Duke had well aduised thys matter, he wrote to hys messengers, that they should require to haue the league made betwene the two realmes, kept and obserued, with dyuers other priuy instructions. Philip de Comines, beyng wise and well

well learned, declared to the counsayle of Caleys, that the Duke hys Maister not a little marueyled why the Englishe men should ouer runne, and destroy his Countries, hauing a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two Countries, their territories and dominions, affirming that the mutation of the Prince, is no dissolution of the league: For although the princes be named, as chiefe contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countries are bounden, and the subiectes shall make recompence, if anye thing be altred wrongfully out of his course. And the rather to obteine their desire, they caused all the Marchauntes goodes of Englande, beyng in the Dukes Countries, to be attached for the redresse of the spoyle, that the Englishe men had done in the Dukes Countrie. Which sore greeued the Marchaunts, and much hindered their voyages: beside thys, the Marchauntes of the Staple of Calice, wrote to the king, and to the Erle of Warwike: how, if their wolle and fell at Calice, were not solde and vttered, as it was wont to be (the greatest parte whereof, was bought by the Dukes subiectes and Vassals for readie money) the Souldiours of the garrison, should lack their wages, the King should not be payde his custome, and the Marchaunt in conclusion shoulde stande in aduenture both of losse of stock and credence. These perswasions mollified the Erle of Warwikes minde, and especially, because the King had no great store of money to furnishe Caleys withall, which store if he had had, surely the Duke of Burgoyne for al the league, had bene a little disturbed, and greeuously molested. But considering that all thinges were not correspondent at thys time to the Erles appetite: he was content that it shoulde be thus condescended and agreed, that the alyaunce made betwene the realme of Englande and the Dukes dominions, shoulde still remayne inuiolated, sauyng in the steede of Edwarde, should be put for the king, this name Henry. This conclusion thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a man would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for at this same time, the French king had woone from him, the fayre towne of Amias, and saint Quintines, so that if the Duke should haue had warre both with Fraunce and Englande, he had bene lykely to haue bene shortly a poore Duke, or else vterly vndone and brought to destruction. And to pacifie and please the Erle of Warwike, whome he neuer loued and lesse fauored: he wrote louingly to hym, declaring that as he was lineally descended, and naturally procreated of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his Graundmother, being daughter to the high and mightie Prince Iohn of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; so was he by nature bound, and by aliance enforced to maintaine and defende the sayde noble house and linage, during his lyfe, as euer he hath done, both in worde and deede, agaynst all maner of persons and estates: furthermore, promising to beare hys good hart, louing minde, and friendly fauor, to king Henry the sixt and his sequele, before all other Princes and Potentates, wyth many other flattering termes and glosing wordes: which fayre promises, I thinke neyther the Duke himselfe inwardly minded, nor yet the Erle outwardly beleued.

Nowe to returne to king Edwarde, beyng in the Duke of Burgoyns lande, which, although he were out of his countrey, yet did he neuer dispayre but had a firme hope, to haue a iust and ready occasion to him geuen, howe to obtayne his kingdome, and dominion, and that in short space. For partlye, he hoped of a great helpe, of his brother in lawe, the Duke of Burgoyn, and partlye he was dayly solicited, by the letters, and messages of men of his faction in England, to returne with all speede, promisyng him company and comfort. Many other there were which eyther for feare of the rigor of the lawe, which they had offended, or else disdainyng that the worlde was so altered: or else beyng brought into king Edwardes fauor, had hope to excercyse their pollyng roomes, as they did before his fliyng out of Engländ, dayly came to him from Englande, and prouoked him more and more, to take his iorney homewarde. King Edwarde in maner rauished with their golden promises, came to the Duke of Burgoyn, to the towne of Saint Poll, and there declared to him what great intelligence he had in the realme of Englande, and what assured friends he had in the same, requiryng him to ayde him wyth speede, as his onely trust, and sole hope of reliefe

was

was in him, beyng not onelie his brother in law, but eche beyng companion of others order: for the king wore the golden Fleece, & the Duke wore the Garter. The Duke of Sommerset, which was cosin germayne remoued to the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought vp and had a pencion in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoyn loued better the house of Lancastre, then the house of Yorke) sore labored to the contrary, affirming that it was both vngodlye, and vnnaturall, to exalte and set vp a straunger, hauing no ryght, and to depose and deprye his naturall kinsman, hauyng a iust title descended to hym, from the king his father, and the king his Grandfather, from his scepter and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowyng well what to say, whether consanguinitie shoulde preuayle more, or affinitie, or nature before fauor, not willing if he might to displease any of both the partyes. But because the war was ouert at his nose, with the French kyng: he concluded openly (but intendyng another thing secretly) to ayde the Duke of Sommerset, and other that were with him, takyng of them certayne promises, for thinges to be done against the Erle of Warwicke: when they shoulde espie their tyme, most apt and conuenient: the Duke of Sommerset ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to king Henry. King Edwarde was present, and hearde all this determination, which brought him into a great heauinesse and a deepe perplexitie: howbeit he was priuily aduertised by a friende, that these cloked dissimulations, were onely for this cause, that Duke Charles woulde in no wise, haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, if the saide Duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French king, then he were not able, neyther to ayde, nor to succor king Edwarde. Wherefore to blind withall the French king, which sore desired, that the Duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openlye, that he woulde in no wyse minister any succors to king Edwarde, streightly chargyng and commaunding, vpon payne of the hart, that no man shoulde ouce passe the sea with him, or in his armie. But all this proclamacion notwithstanding when the Duke saw that king Edwarde, vpon hope of his friends, would needes repaire into Englande agayne (he hauyng compassion of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of Saint Andrew, and further caused foure great shippes to be appoynted for him, in the hauen of Vere in Zelande, which is free for all men to come to, and the Duke hyred farther for him. xiiij. shippes, of the Esterlinges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, tooke bond of them to serue him truelye, till hee were landed in Englande and. xv. dayes after. Of which returnyng, the Easterlinges were glad, trusting that by that meane, if he obtained againe the possession of the realme, they shoulde the soner come to a concorde and a peace, and to the restitution of their liberties, and franchises, which they claimed to haue within England. The Duke of Burgoyn as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauyng for paiment of his money. For he would oft say, that he was friend to both parts, and eche part was friendly to him.

In this yere, *Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus* was borne in Hollande, in a towne called *Roterdame*, as saith *Carion*, and he died in the yere of our Lorde. 1536. So it appereth that he liued. lxvij. yeres.

Here Polidore nototh as foloweth. This present yere saith he, *Sixtus*, the fourth of that name, Bishop of Rome, beyng enformed by Iames the thirde king of Scotlande, that the Scottish Bishops had no Metropolitan within his realme of Scotlande, for at that tyme, and long before, the Archebishop of Yorke was Metropolitan and primate of Scotlande. And nowe saith he, forasmuch as there are in a maner continuall warres betwene England and Scotlande, or else Ciuile warres in their seueral realmes, by reason wherof his Clergie coulde not resort nor haue free accesse in causes and matters of religyon, to conferre with their Primate, & Metropolitan, that therefore the Pope would assigne him a Metropolitan ith.n his owne realme and dominion: and the saide *Sixtus* appoynted the Bishop of Saint

The Archbishop of Yorke was Metropolitan of Scotland.

Saint Androwes to be Metropolitan of Scotlande, and so the Archbishoppe of Yorke lost hys iurisdiction in the realme of Scotlande, wherewithall George Neuill then beyng Archbishop of Yorke was not a litle offended, for he had vnder his obedience. xij. Bishops, that is to say.

The Bishop of Glasco.	The Bishop of Galoway.
The Bishop of Rosse.	The Bishop of Orkeney.
The Bishop of Brichyn.	The Bishop of Murray.
The Bishop of Dunkeld.	The Bishop of the Isles.
The Bishop of Dunblan.	The Bishop of the Isle of Man which
The Bishop of Alerdyne.	is thought to be of the Diocesse of
The Bishop of Caines.	Yorke.

1470

10 King Edwardes landing.

King Edwarde hauing now in a readinesse onely, two thousande men of warre, beside mariners, in the spring of the yere, sayled into England, and came on the coast of Yorkeshire, to a place called Rauenspur, and there settyng all his men on lande, he consulted with his Captains, to knowe to what place, they shoulde first for succor resort vnto: for he imagined that no waye coulde be for him sure, hauyng so small a company of souldiours.

After long debating, it was concluded, that diuers persons hauing light horses, should skoure the countrey on euery side, to see if by any perswasions, they might allure the hartes of the rusticall and vplandishe people, to take king Edwards part, and to weare harnesse in his quarell; which with al diligence, folowed their commission. It seemeth somewhat to leane to the truth, that king Edwarde beyng a wise and circumspect Prince, woulde not haue beene so foolish hardy, as to enter Englande with halfe a handefull of men of warre, except he had beene sure of speedy succor and faithfull friendship: In which argument there is no doubt, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which priuy signes, and cloked workings, open tokens, and manifest doynges, afterwarde appeered. The light Horsemen, which were sent about, after they had felt the minds and entents, of the rude people (as much as they might) they retourned to king Edwarde the next daye, making relacion that all the townes round about, were permanent and stiffe on the part of king Henry, & could not be remoued: and that it was but a folly farther to solicite or attempt them, considering that when they were moued and exhorted to be true to king Edwarde, not one man durst speake for feare of the Erle of Warwicke.

Which aunswere, when king Edwarde had perfectly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged his purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the Crowne and kingdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published, that he onely claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to the entent that in requiryng nothing, but that which was both iust and honest, he might obteyne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost incredible to see what effect this newe imaginacion (although it were but fayned) sorted and tooke vpon the first openyng (such a power hath Iustice euen amongest all men) when it was blowen abrode that king Edwardes desyre was not for the kingdome, but onely requyred his just patrimonie and inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke. By reason whereof, all men moued with mercy and compassion, began out of hande either to fauor him, or else not to resist him, so that he might obteyne his Duchie of Yorke. When he had found these meanes to pacifie mens mindes, and to reconcile their heartes, he determined to take his iourney toward Yorke, and so went to Beuerley. The Erle of Warwike which then lay in Warwikeshire, beyng informed that king Edwarde was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all haste wrote to the Marques Mountacute his brother, which had lyen at the Castell of Pomfret all the last winter, with a great company of Souldiours, geuing him warnyng, and aduertisyng him in what perill theyr whole affayres stoode in, if their enemy should obteyne the possession, or enter into the Citie of Yorke, willyng and commaundyng him to

set on king Edwarde with all expedicion, and bid him battaile, or else to kepe the passage, that he should passe no farther, till he himselfe had gathered a greater host, which with all diligence, he was assemblyng to come and ioyne with his brother the Marques. And because that the Erle knew not by what way his enemies would take their iourney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeshire, and to the Citie also, commaundyng all men on the kinges behalfe, to be redie in harnesse, and to shut their gates agaynst the kinges enemyes. King Edwarde without any wordes spoken to him, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whose commyng, when the Citizens were certified, without delay they armed themselues, and came to defend the Gates, sendyng to him two of the chiefest Aldermen of the Citie, which earnestly admonished him on their behalfe to come not one foote nerer, nor rashely to enter into so great a ieopardie consideryng that they were fully determined, and beut to compell him to retract with dent of sworde. King Edward well marking their message, was not a litle troubled and vnquieted in his minde, and driuen to seeke the furthest poynt of his witte, for he had both two mischieuous and perillous chaunces, euen before his eies, which were hard to be aduoyded, one was, if he shoulde go backe againe, he feared least the rurall and common people for couetousnesse of pray, and spoyle, would fall on him, as one that fled away for feare and dread. The other was, if he should proceede any farther in his iourney, then might the Citizens of Yorke issue out with all their power, and sodainly circumuent him, and take him: wherefore he determined to set forward, neyther with armour nor with weapon, but with lowly wordes, and gentle entreatynges, requiring most hartily the messengers that were sent, to the Citizens, that he came neyther to demaund the realme of England, nor the superioritie of the same, but onely the Duchy of Yorke, his olde enheritance, the which Duchy, if he might by theyr meanes recouer, he would neuer let passse out of his memorie their friendship and gentlenesse. And so with fayre wordes and flatteryng speche he dismissed the Messengers, and with good spede he and his folowed so quickly after, that they were almost at the gates as sone as the Messengers. The Citizens heering his good aunswere, that he ment nor intended nothing preiudicial to king Henry, nor his royall aucthoritie, were much mittigated and cooled, and began to common with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey himselfe into some other place without delay, which if he did they assured him, that he should haue neyther hurt nor dammage, but he gently speakyng to all men, and especially to such as were Aldermen, whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted, after many fayre promises to them made exhorted and desired them that by their fauourable friendship, he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. And thus all the whole day was consumed in doubtfull communication. The Citizens partly wonne by his fayre wordes, and partly by hope of his large promises, fell to this pact and conuention, that King Edward would swere to entertain his Citizens of Yorke after a gentle sort and fashion, and hereafter to be obedient, and faythfull to all king Henryes commaundementes and preceptes, that then they would receyue him into their Citie, and ayde and comfort him with money. King Edward (whom the Citizens called only Duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, the next mornyng entred in at the gate where the Maior and Aldermen stoode redie to receyue him, and there they ministred vnto him a solempne othe, which he tooke vpon the holy Gospels, which was to obserue the two Articles aboue mencioned and agreed vpon, when it was farre vnlike, that he eyther entended or purposed to obserue any of them, which plainely afterwarde was to all men manifest, euidentlye perceiuyng, that he tooke no more studie or diligence for any one earthly thing, then he did to persecute King Henrie, and to spoyle him of his Kingdome. So it is dayly seene that aswell Princes, as men of lesser reputacion, led by blinde auarice, and deuelishe ambicion, forgettyng the scruple of conscience, and the ende of all honestie, vse to take an othe by the immortall God, which they know perfectly shal be broken & violate hereafter, before the othe be first made or sworne: yet these persons (as examples thereof be not very straunge to finde) at one time or other be worthily scourged for their periury, insomuch

King Edwards oth of obedience to king Henry the sixt.

much oftentimes that the blot of such offence of the parentes is punished in the sequele and posteritie as shall appere hereafter in the lyfe of Richard the thirde.

When King Edward had appesed the Citizens, and that their fury was past, he entred into the Citie, and clerely forgetting his othe, he first set a garrison of Souldiours in the towne, to the entent that nothing should be moued agaynst him by the Citizens, and after he gathered a great host by reason of his money. When all thing was redie, accordyng as he desyred, because he was informed that his enemyes did make no great preparacion to resist him, he thought it necessary therefore, with the more speede and diligence to make haste toward London: and as it were for the nonce, he left the right way toward Pomfret, where the Marques Montacute with his armie lay and tooke the way on the right hande, not fully foure myle from the campe of his enemies. And when he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed themselues in sight, he returned into the common high way again, a little beyond their campe, and came safely to the towne of Nottyngham, where came to him sir William Parre, sir Thomas a Borough, sir Thomas Montgomerye, and diuers other of his assured friendes with their aydes, which caused him at the first commyng to make Proclamacion in his awne name king Edward the fourth, boldely saiyng to him, that they would serue no man but a King. This Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor into the heartes of the Citizens of York, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they were seduced, and for their good will vnhonestly (if it might be sayd) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowen abrode, that king Edward, without any detriment was in safetie come to Nottyngham. Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to him, firmely beleuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beryng fauor to king Edwarde, would not once with him encounter, or that he was afrayde to set on or to geue battaile, knowyng not to what part his Souldiours would incline. But whatsoeuer the occasion was, the most part thought it more for the securitie and auantage of themselues, to take part and ioyne with king Edwarde, beyng at all poyntes furnished with men of warre, rather then to cleue to King Henry, and to be alwayes in ieopardy both of life and land. King Edward (as you can not blame him) beyng with these good fortunes encouraged, and with his armie furnished at all pointes, came to his towne of Leycester, and there heeryng that the Erle of Warwike, accompanied with Iohn Erle of Oxford, were together at Warwike with a great power, and were both determined to set on him, hee pollitiquely imaginyng to preuent their inuencion, determined in great haste to remoue his whole armie, hopyng surely, either to geue them battaile, either to allure and bring to his syde his brother George Duke of Clarence, and to common with him in some priuie place, before he came to his confederates: least paraduenture he should be by them trapped and compassed, knowyng that the Duke was in nothing constant.

* King Edward breaketh his oth.

In this very season, to tell you how the Erle of Warwike was displeased, and grudged against his brother the Marques, for letting king Edward passe, it were to long to write: for where he himselfe had pollitiquely prouided and foreseene all things, the Marques neuerthelesse where the power of their enemies first began together, neuer moued foote, nor made resistance as he was commaunded, but besydes this, suffered them with so smal a number of Souldiours, before his eyes, and in his open sight, without any battaile to passe by: wherefore the Erle consideryng that king Edward did dayly encrease his power (as a runnyng ryuer by goyng more and more augmenteth) thought it most necessary for him, to geue him battaile with spede, and therevpon he called together his armie, and in all hast sent for the Duke of Clarence to ioyne with him, which had gathered and assembled together a great hoste about London. But when he perceyued that the Duke lingered, and did all thinges negligently, as though he were in doubt of war or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that ỹ Duke was of his brethren corrupted and lately chaunged, and therefore without delay marched forwarde towarde Couentrie, to the entent

tent to set on his enemies. In the meane season, king Edward came to Warwike, where he found al the people departed, and from thence with all diligence aduaunced his power toward Couentrie, and in a plaine by the Citie he pitched his fielde. And the next day after that he came thether, his men were set forwarde, and marshalled in arraye, and he valiauntly bade the Erle battaile: which mistrustyng that he should be deceyued by the Duke of Clarence (as he was in deede) kept himselfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde that the Duke of Clarence came forwarde towarde him with a great armie, king Edwarde beyng also thereof informed, raysed his campe, and made towarde the Duke. And least that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the king set his battayles in an order, as though he would fight without any lenger delay, the Duke did likewise. When eche hoste was in sight of other, Richard Duke of Glouecester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made Arbitrer betwene them, first rode to the Duke, and with him commoned very secretly: from him he came to king Edward, and with like secretnesse so vsed him, that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but brotherly friendship was concluded and proclaymed, and then leauyng all armour and weapon asyde, both the brethren louingly embraced, and familiarly commoned together. It was no maruaile that the Duke of Clarence, with so small perswasion, and lesse exhortyng, turned from the Erle of Warwikes parte, for as you haue heard before, this marchandice was labored and concluded by a Damsell when the Duke was in the Frenche Court, to the Erles vtter confusion.

The Duke of Clarence reconcileth himselfe to his brother king Edwarde.

After this King Edward caused to be proclaimed, that the Duke and all that came with hym, should be taken as hys true friendes, wythout fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstanding, it seemeth that God did neyther forgeue nor forget to punishe the Duke wyth condigne punishment, for violatyng and breaking his othe solempnely, and aduisedly taken and made to the Erle of Warwike, for God not many yeres after, suffred him lyke a periured person to die a cruell and a straunge death.

Periurie is punished by almightie God.

Then was it concluded amongst the three brethren to attempt the Erle of Warwicke, if by any fayre meanes he might be reconciled or by any promise wonne to their partie: To whome the Duke of Clarence sent dyuers of his secret friendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarily to require hym to take some good ende, nowe whyle he myght wyth King Edwarde.

When the Erle had hard paciently the Dukes message, Lorde, how he detested and accurssed him, criyng out on him, that he contrary to hys othe, promise, and fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from hys confederates and alies: But to the Dukes Messengers he gaue none other aunswere but thys, that he had liefer be alwayes lyke himselfe, than lyke a false and a periured Duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leaue warre till eyther he had lost his awne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished and put vnder hys foes and enemies.

The Erle of Warwike a man of great courage.

From thence King Edward thus being furnyshed of a strong hoste, went wythout any maner of diffidence or mistrust toward London (where after it was knowen that the Duke of Clarence was come to hys brethren, and that all they came together in one knot to the Citie, such a feare rose sodainly amongst the Citizens, that they were driuen to their wits ende, not knowyng eyther what to doe or to say, but at the last very feare compelled them to take King Edwardes parte. The selfesame season, the Erle of Warwike sent Letters to King Henry, to the Duke of Sommerset, the Archebyshop of Yorke, and other of hys counsayle, that they should keepe the Citie from their enemies handes, by the space of two or three dayes after the comming of their enemies, and that he shortly would be at hande, wyth a puyssaunt armie. They as they were commaunded defended the Citie strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the Citizens in the same time began earnestly to consult, what part they should folow for their most indempnitie: and in conclusion, when they considered that King Henry was such an innocent person, as of hymselfe was not most apt to rule and gouerne the publique welth of the realme. And that on the other

side, King Edward by no other mens teachyng, but onely by hys awne pollicy and wyt could order the realme and gouerne the Kingdome. And farther that King Edwarde was such a person as was able both to defende himselfe and also all hys, from iniurie and hostilitie: wherevpon all men were glad to leane to him, and to take hys parte, wherefore they concluded to receyue him into the Citie; which determination being blowen abrode (as the nature of the people is euer to delight in nouelties) the commonaltie could not be compelled by no commaundement to tarie at home, but ranne in heapes out of the City to meete him, and saluted him as their king and souereigne Lorde. When the Duke of Sommerset and other of King Henries friendes sawe the worlde thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for himselfe, leauing King Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops Palace of London, adioyning to Paules Church, not knowyng of whome, nor what counsayle to aske, as he which with trouble and aduersitie was clerely dulled, in which place he was by king Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison.

King Henry the sixt again taken and committed to prison.

Thys was a sodayne chaunge, for the same daye the Archebyshop of Yorke to the intent that the people might more firmely stick on hys syde, caused hym to ryde about London, appareled in a gowne of blew Velues, with a great companie cryyng king Henry, king Henry (which sight as much pleased the Citizens as a fyre paynted on the wall warmed the olde woman) not knowyng that or night, his triumphing should be turned to tremblyng, and his solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaunce was to him prouided.

King Edwarde returned to London agayne the xj. daye of Aprill, sixe Moneths after that he had sayled into Flaundyrs, and first calling before him a great assemble of people, highly commended the fidelitie of the Citizens, which they constauntly bare vnto hym, rendring to the Aldermen most hartie thankes for that that they had kept, and caused the people to continue, and be permanent in their good mindes and loyaltie towarde hym, blaming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers as Englishe men, whom he knewe to haue prested, and lent money to king Henry, for the arraiyng and setting forth of a new armie agaynst him. But when he had grieuously with terrible wordes declared to them their seditious cryme and trayterous offence, he bade them be of good comfort, and to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punishment of their bodyes and losse of goodes, and graunted to them pardon for their faultes and offences, by which gentle meane, he reconciled to hym the hartes of the whole multitude, obteyning that by fayre and louing wordes, which he coulde not haue achieued with sharpe strokes, and bloudy woundes.

The wisedome of king Edwarde.

The Erle of Warwike pondering that the gayne of the whole battayle stoode in making hast, with all diligence folowed hys enemies, hoping (that if they were let neuer so litle, with any stop or tariyng by the waye) to fight with them before they should come to London: the which he thought, shoulde be muche to hys aduauntage, consideryng that he perfectly knewe the Cytie to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to haue no maner of munitions, to set on the walles or Towres, so that they were not able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they enclined to the victorious and stronger part. But when he folowyng his enemies, had passed a great part of his iourney, he was informed that king Edwarde peaceably was entred into London, and had taken, and sent King Henry to prison againe: which things deepely considered, he saw that all cauillacions of necessitie, were now brought to this ende, that they must be committed to the hazard and chaunce of one battaile, wherefore, he rested with his armie at the towne of Saint Albons, partly to refreshe his Souldiours, and partly to take counsaile what was best to do. In the Erles armie were Iohn Duke of Exceeter, Edmond Erle of Somerset, Iohn Erle of Oxenford, and Iohn Marques Montacute, whome the Erle his brother well knewe, not to bee well minded (but sore agaynst his stomacke) to take part with these Lordes, and therfore stode in a doubt, whether he at this time might trust him or no, but the brotherly loue betwene them, washed away and diminished all suspicion: But whatsoeuer opinion

the Erle conceyued of him or any other, the Erle as a man past all feare, determined couragiously to set on his enemyes. And from Saint Albones, he remoued to a village in the meane way, betwene London and Saint Albones, called Barnet, beyng ten mile distant from both the townes. This towne standeth on an hill, on whose top is a faire plain for two armies to ioyne together. On the one part of this plaine, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his fielde, tariyng for his enemies. The rumor of the Erles commyng, was spred in an instant ouer all London, which quickned King Edwarde not a little: wherefore with all speede he adioyned to that hoste, that he brought with him first to London, a company of picked, and chosen persons, strong, yong, and mete for all assayes, besyde other new aydes, that were then come to him. Harnesse, weapons, horse, and all other engines and instrumentes mete for the warre, he neyther forgat nor slackly furnished. What shall I say more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagine vpon the chaunce of this battaile: Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict should knit vp the knot of all his labor, and bring him to quietnesse. So with a puyssaunt armie, he marched forwarde, and to put his people in vre, that they might be the more redie to fight, whensoeuer they should encounter with their enemies, he deuided them in foure partes, and he brought with him also King Henry the sixt. On Easter eue at after noone, he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemyes, he encamped his armie, and least his enemies should compell him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications, and trenches, for tariyng that night was to him a singuler profite, and to his enemies a great dammage, considering the lenger he taryed, the more people came to his ayde. Thus both the armies lodged that night on the plaine, but not out of their harnesse, for their tentes were so nere together, in the which, what for neying of horses, & talkyng of men, none of both the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnesse. At the breaking of the day, the Erle of Warwicke set his men in array, in this maner: in the right wing he set the Marques Montacute, and the Erle of Oxenford, with certaine horsemen, and he with the Duke of Excester, tooke the left wing, and in the middest betwene both, he set Archers, and to them hee appoynted the Duke of Sommerset to be Capitaine. And when he had set his men in an order, he encouraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willyng them to striue with a good and fierce courage, and to remember that they fight, not onely for the libertie of the Countrie, agaynst a tiraunt, which wrongfully and against all right, had inuaded and subdued this realme, but that they fight in the quarell of a true & vndoubted king, against a cruell man and a tirannous vsurper, in the cause of a Godly, and a pitifull Prince, agaynst an abhominable manqueller, and bloodie butcher: In which cause beyng so good, so godly, and so iust, God of very iustice must needes be their shielde and defence. Barnet field.

King Edwarde likewise ordred his battayles. In the foreward he set the Duke of Gloucester, the middleward, he himselfe with the Duke of Clarence hauyng with them king Henrye, did rule and gouern, the Lorde Hastynges led the rerewarde, and besides these three battayles, he kept a company of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure, and this done, he encoraged his men, saiyng: that their aduersaries were onelye Traitors to the realme, spoylers of the poore commonalty, and people destitute of all grace, good fortune, and good liuyng. Which mischeuous persons, if they shoulde preuayle through the faintnesse of your heartes, all you gentlemen and richmen, were in ieoperdye of your lyues, all meane men in doubt of robbing and spoyling, and all inferior persons in hazard of perpetuall bondage and seruitude.

When the day began to spring, the trumpets blewe vp coragiously, and the battaile fiersly began, Archers first shot, and bill men folowed them. King Edward hauing y greater number of men, valiantly set on his enemies. The Erle on the other side, remembring his auncient fame and renoume, manfully withstode him. This battaile on both sides was sore fought, and manye slayne, in whose roomes succeeded euer fresh, and fresh men. In the meane season, while all men were together by the eares, euer loking to

which

which way fortune woulde encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wisely did perceyue his men to be ouer pressed, with the multitude of his aduersaries: wherfore he caused new men to relieue them that fought in the foreward, by reason of which succors, king Edwards part gaue a little backe (which was the cause that some lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, saiyng: that the Erle had wonne the fielde) which thing when king Edwarde dyd perceiue, he with all diligence sent fresh men to their succors.

If ỹ battail were fierce & deadly before, now it was crueller, more bloody, more feruent, and firy, & yet they had fought from morning almost to noone, without any parte getting auauntage of other. King Edwarde beyng wery of so long a conflict, & willing to see an ende, caused a great crew of fresh men (which he had for this onely pollicye, kept all day in store) to set on their enemies: but although the Erle sawe these newe succors, of freshe men to enter the battayll, beyng nothing a fraide, but hoping of the victory (knowyng perfitly that there was all king Edwardes power) comforted his men beyng wery, sharply quickning, and earnestly desiring them with hardy stomackes, to bere out this last and finall brunt of the battaill, and that the fielde was euen at an ende. But when his souldiers beyng sore wounded, weried wyth so long a conflict, did geue litle regarde to his wordes, he beyng a man of mind inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, where as he (aduentured so farre from his owne company, to kill and slay his aduersaries, that hee coulde not be rescued) was in the middest of his enemies, stricken downe and slayne. The Marques Mountacute, thinking to succor his brother, which he saw was in great ieoperdy, and yet in hope to obtayne the victorie, was likewise ouerthrowne and slain. After the Erle was dead, his part fled, and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some aucthors write, that this battaile was fought so neere hand that king Edwarde was constrayned to fight his owne person, and fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the Erle of Warwicke, which was wont euer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother, to relinquishe his horse, & trie the extremitie by handie strokes, which if he had bene on his horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

The death of the Erle of Warwicke.

This ende had Richarde Neuell, Erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perilous chaunces, by him escaped, caused death before he came to any olde age priuily to stele on him, and with his darte to take from him all worldlye affections: but death did one thing, that lyfe coulde not, for by death he hadde rest, peace, and quietnesse, which his lyfe euer abhorred, and coulde not suffer nor abide. On both partes were slaine at this battaile, more than ten. M. men. Of prisoners, the number could not be certainely knowne: On the Kings part were slaine syr Humfrey Burchier, sonne to the Lord Barnes, else no man of estimacion. The occasion of this great slaughter was, because that where King Edwarde was wont, after the battaile obtayned, to crye: saue the commons, and kil the Captaynes, now he spared them not, because they not only so highlye fauored the Erle of Warwicke, but also because they came with the Erle, against him in battaile. After this field ended, the Duke of Sommerset, with Iohn Erle of Oxenforde, were in all poste haste, fliyng towarde Scotlande, but fearyng the ieoperdies, that might chaunce in so long a iorneye, altered their purpose, and turned into Wales, to Iasper Erle of Penbrooke, euerye man fledde whether his minde serued hym. The Duke of Excester wyth much difficultye, escaped into Westmynster dysguised, and there tooke Sentuarye.

King Edwarde after this victorye, although he wanne it not wythout great effusiõ of blood, aswell on his owne part, as the part of his enemies was greatly reioyced, & comforted: and after the maner of a victorious conquerer leadyng with him king Henrye like a captyue, in most triumphant maner, on Easter day at after noone made his entry solempnly into the City of London, and at the Church of saint Paule, offered his standerd and rendred to almightie God, for his great victory, most humble and hartie thankes.

The dead bodies of the Erle, and the Marques, were brought to London in a coffin, and before they shoulde be buried, by the space of three dayes, they lay open visaged, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, to the intent that all men might euidently perceiue, that they vnfaynedlye were dead, least peraduenture the common people hereafter, heeryng of some dissimulyng person, to take on him the name of the Erle of warwicke, thinking him to be liuyng, might stirre a new sedicion, and rebellion.

The common people sayde, that the king was not so ioconde, nor so ioyous, for the destruction of the Erle, but he was more sorrowfull, for the death of the Marques, whome both he knewe, and it appered to other, to be inwardelye his faythfull friende. For whose onelye sake, hee caused both their bodyes, to bee wyth their Auncesters, solempnlie buried at the Priory of Bissam.

In the meane season, Queene Margaret hauing knowledge, that all thinges in Englande, were nowe altered and brought into trouble & broyle, by reason of king Edwardes late returne into the realme: gathering together no small company of hardy, and valiaunt souldiours, determined with al hast and diligence, with Prince Edwarde her sonne, to sayle into Englande, but yet once agayne (such was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wind, and encombered with to much & rigorous tempest, a day after the faire as the common prouerbe saieth, landed at the Porte of Weimouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that king Edwarde had gotten agayne the Garlande, and that king Henry her husbande, was desolately left post alone, and taken prisoner, how the Erle of Warwicke and his brother were both slaine, and deade, and all their armie destroyed, scattered, or taken, and in conclusion, that her parte had susteined, the most bitter plague, and scorge, considering both the chaüce and the tyme, that in many yeres before, had beene reade or seene. When she harde of these miserable chaunces, and misfortunes, so sodainely one in anothers necke, to haue taken their effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare fell to the grounde, her harte was pierced with sorowe, her speeche was in a maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malancholy. The calamitie and misery of her tyme, she detested, and abhorred her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastlye blamed and accused her painefull labor, her care of minde, turned into infelicitie she much lamented, and bewailed the euill fate and destinie of her husbande, which iminentlye before her eyes shee sawe to approch, she accused, reproued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflicted, and cast into such an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desiring soner to die, then longer to liue, and peraduenture for this cause, that her enterior eye sawe priuily, & gaue to her a secrete monicion of the great calamities, and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her head, and were likely incontinent to fall and succeede, which other persons, neither loked for, nor regarded.

The Queene taketh heauily the death of the Erle of Warwike and ye misfortune of her husbande.

This Quene Margaret might well consider and thinke, that these euill aduentures chaunced to her for the most part, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Glocester, Vncle to her husbande: Of the which mischaunce, although she were not the very occasion and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she consented theretoo, and did not saue hys lyfe, when she ruling all other, might conueniently haue stayed and letted it. For surely he beyng a lyue, and hauing the moderation and gouernaunce of the common welth, king Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and ieopardies of hys lyfe as he did. I would desire of God that all men would in egall Balance ponder and indifferently consider the causes of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the which being eleuate in aucthoritie, doe meete and measure, iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high power, blinde aucthoritie, and vnbrideled will.

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margaret sawe, that to bid battayle was to no purpose, and in maner in dispaire of the welth of her selfe, and her sonne: she with the Prince and her company, departed to a Sentuarie there by called Beauliew in Hamshyre (where was a Monasterie of Monkes, of the order of Cisterciens) and registred her selfe and

Beauliew in Hampshire.

and hers, as persons there priuileged. When it was knowne that shee was landed, Edmond Duke of Sommerset wyth Lord Iohn hys brother, Thomas Courtney Erle of Deuonshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part, whose sodaine chaunging, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Iasper Erle of Penbroke, Iohn Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by King Edwarde) and Iohn Longstrother, Prior of saint Iohns in Englande, came in great haste to Beauliew, and presented themselues to the Queene. Although that she were almost drowned in sorrow and plunged in payne, yet when she saw and beheld these noble and princely personages to resorte vnto her presence, she was somewhat comforted and greatly reuiued.

And first, least it should be layed to her charge, that she had done any thing misaduisedly: shee declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in tyme, as she gladly would haue done, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the priuilege of Sentuarie: Beseeching them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the welth and conseruation of her onely Iewell the Prince her sonne, and where for thys tyme, she dispaired to doe anye thing by force of armes, that might be to her profite, she thought it most conuenient for her (if the time of yere and her enemies did not let or stop her) to sayle againe into Fraunce, and there to tarie till God would sende her better luck.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorous harte of thys vnfortunate Queene: the sayde Duke began wyth a long processe to enter communication of warre to be renewed, and wyth all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their company by tariyng might be diminished, and king Edwardes power encreased and augmented, considering that all thys time, he had no army gathered together, for so much that at the laste battayle, the very strength of his chiefe souldiours, was weakened: And that notwithstanding, that fortune shone on hym in obteyning the victorie agaynst the Erle of Warwike, yet now it was not lykely that he should obtayne againe a lyke victorie: affirming farther, that the more number of the nobilitie, bare toward king Henry her husbande, their good minds and fixed hartes, and would helpe him both wyth men and money. And of hys awne free wyll, if she would take vpon her, the name of Capitayne agaynst her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised: he offred a great power of able men, at hys awne expence and charge, promising that the two Erles should assure her of a farre greater number of valyaunt and expert warriers, then she would esteeme. And when he had shewed that, the victorie was now (if they liste) in their handes, he merily required them all, to be of hardie harte and good cheere, and because the matter required great expedition, he thought it not necessarie farther to reason the cause of battaile, but determined out of hande how the battayle should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose minde gaue her, that thys mocion, should come to no good conclusion, aunswered: that she could well allowe thys sentence, if she thought that there might happen no great losse to some other, then the losse of her awne lyfe. But she suspected that whyle they would helpe things that they most phantasyed and affected, the lyfe of Prince Edward her sonne, in whome, all the whole hope of that familie stoode and remayned, should be in perill and ieopardy: and therfore she either thought it necessary to deferre the battayle till another time, or else to conueye her sonne into Fraunce agayne, there to lye sure and secret, till the chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no maruayle, although the naturall mother, muche minded and studied for the sauegarde and tuition of the life of her sonne, pondering that next her husband, whome she reputed for cleene vndone, and vtterly cast away, she had nothing more to be beloued, nothing more derer, nor nothing to be made more off.

Thus this prudent and pollitique Quene required the Chiefteynes expert in martiall feates, that they should before hande consider with themselues, discretely and aduisedly of these thinges by her first moued, and after that done, if they thought it conuenient to geue

geue battaile, she would to there agreement with all her heart be conformable: But there was no longer disputacion of the matter, for the Duke sayde that there was no neede to waste any more wordes, for all they were determined (while their liues lasted) still to kepe warre agaynst their enemies, and therefore that thing which wyth great counsaile and deliberacion is concluded, ought to be aduaunced and set forward with a whole consent and agrement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to the battaile, gathered his power by himselfe. The Duke through all his dominions, raysed a chosen companie of men of warre: likewise did the Erle of Deuonshire, the Erle of Penbroke, who went into Wales to his Eriedome, to prepare his people with all diligence. The Queene, at the last was brought into this hope of good fortune, that she sayd, well be it, and so as the Duke had aduised her, she with her companie departed to Bathe, entendyng there to make her abode, till more of her affinitie were together assembled. But whether soeuer she went, fewe or none had thereof knowledge, mistrustyng least her counsail should by some Carytale, be published and opened to her aduersaryes, before she came to the place appoynted.

When king Edward knew that Quene Margaret was landed in England, & that the Duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a newe armie, out of hand he dispatched certaine Currors on light horses, into euery part to see what number his enemies were, and what way they entended to take. The Spyes, accordyng to their instructions, searched and sought the partes by West, and made relation diligently at their returne, what they had knowen and seene. The king beyng in a great agonie, because he knewe not what waye his enemyes tooke, determined, surely to encounter them at some one place before they came to London. And vpon this conclusion, with such an armie as he had gotten about London, he set forward into Oxfordshire, and there seekyng a place apt and meete to pitche his tentes, was conducted to Abyndon, where he encamped himselfe, commaundyng all men appoynted for the warre, with all diligence to folowe him to that place. All the Kinges hoste there beyng assembled and gathered into one companie, newes were brought to him, that his enemies were come to Bathe, and there did soiorne and tary purposely to augment and encrease their number of such as dayly to them did resorte: wherefore the king without delaye remoued straight to Marleborough, beyng distant from Bathe. xv. miles, makyng hast and great diligence, if by any possibilitie he might to geue them battaile before they returned into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in dede) that they would take their iourney to ioyne themselfe with the Erle of Penbroke, which had gathered a great hoste in those parties.

When the Queene knewe that king Edward was come so nere to her, she taried not long at Bathe, but remoued in great hast to Bristow: and sent out certeine horsemen, to espie whether she might safely passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne by Gloucester into Wales, whether she determined first to go to augment her armie, and then without any delay, with spere and shielde, couragiously to set on her enemyes, wheresoeuer they would abyde. They that were sent, returned to her agayne, declaryng that the towne of Gloucester was vnder the obeysance of Richard Duke of Gloucester, the Kinges brother, and that although they had solicited the Lord Beauchampe of Powike, which lay there in the Castell, and had the rule of the towne, and the townes men first by rewardes, after by manacing, eyther to take their part, or peaceably to suffer her to passe ouer their bridge, they were therewithall, neither once moued, nor once would speake comfortably to the Messengers. When she hard these newes, she shortly departed from Bristow with her armie, to a proper towne on Seuerne syde, called Tewkesbury, leauyng Gloucester vnassaulted, least peraduenture she might there spend her tyme with much losse and little gaine, but in her passage towarde Tewkesbury, the Lorde Beauchampe tooke from her rereward more ordinance then she might haue well spared, which did to her no small preiudice. When the Queene was come to Tewkesbury, and knew that King Edward folowed her with his

horsemen at the very backe, she was sore abashed, and wonderfully amased, and determined in herselfe, to flie into Wales, to Iaspar Erle of Penbrooke: But the Duke of Sommerset, willyng in no wise to flie backward, for doubtes that he casted might chaunce by the way, determined there to tary, to take suche fortune as God would sende, and beyng fixed in a fayre Parke adioinyng to the towne, he pitched hys fielde agaynst the will and consent of many other Capitaines, which would that he should haue drawne asyde, for a while till the Erle of Penbroke with his armie were with him associate, but his wil serued for his reason, and so the chaunce folowed. The Duke of Sommerset entendyng to abyde the battaile, like a pollitike warriour, trenched hys campe rounde about of such an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemyes by no meanes easily could make any entry, and farther perceiuyng that his part could neuer escape without battaile, determined there to see the finall ende of his good or yll chaunce: wherefore he marshalled his hoste in this maner: he and the Lorde Iohn of Sommerset his brother led the foreward: The middle warde was gouerned by the Prince, vnder the conduyte of the Lorde of Saint Iohns, and Lorde Wenlocke (whome King Edwarde had highly before preferred, and promoted to the degree of a baron.) The rereward was put in the rule of the Erle of Deuonshire.

The battaile of Tewkesburie.

When all these battayles were thus ordered and placed, the Queene and her sonne Prince Edwarde rode about the field, encouragyng their souldiors, promisyng to them (if they did shew themselues valiaunt against their enemyes) great rewardes and high promocions, innumerable gaine of the spoyle, and bootye of their aduersaries, and aboue all other fame and renoume through the whole Realme.

King Edward likewise which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkesbury, put his brother the Duke of Gloucester in the foreward, and himselfe in the middleward, the Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Hastyngs led the reregard. The Duke of Gloucester which lacked no pollicy, valiantly with his battayle assaulted the trenche of the Queenes Campe, whome the Duke of Somerset with no lesse courage defended, the Duke of Gloucester for a very pollitique purpose, with all his men reculed backe. The Duke of Sommerset, perceiuyng that: lyke a Knight more couragious then circumspect, came out of his trenche with his whole battaile, and folowed the chase, not doubtyng but the prince and the Lorde Wenlocke, with the middlewarde had folowed iust at his backe. But whether the Lorde Wenlocke dissimuled the matter for King Edwardes sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stoode lookyng on. The Duke of Gloucester takyng the aduauntage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face, to the Duke of Sommersets battaile, which (nothing lesse thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a small season shamefully discomfited. The Duke of Sommerset seeyng hys vnfortunate chaunce, returned to the middleward, where he seeyng the Lord Wenlocke standyng still, after he had reuiled him, and called him Traytor, with his Axe strake the braynes out of his head. The Duke of Gloucester entred the trenche, and after him the King, where after no long conflict, the Queenes part went almost all to wrecke, for the most part were slaine. Some fled for succor in the thicke of the Parke, some into the Monastary, some into other places. The Queene was found in her Chariot almost dead for sorow, the Prince was apprehended and kept close by sir Richard Crofts: the Duke of Sommerset, and the Lorde Prior of Saint Iohns, were by force taken prisoners, and many other also. In the field and chase were slain Lorde Iohn of Sommerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, sir Iohn Delues, syr Edward Hampden, sir Robert Wychingham, and sir Iohn Lewkenor, and three thousand other.

A crible stroke.

After the field ended, King Edward made a Proclamation, that who so euer could bring Prince Edward to him aliue or dead, should haue an annuitie of an hundred pound duryng his life, and the Princes lyfe to be saued. Sir Richard Croftes, a wise and a valiant Knight, nothing mistrustyng the kings former promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, beyng a goodly feminine, and a well featured, yong Gentleman, whom

when King Edward had well aduised, he demaunded of him, howe he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with banner displayed. The prince beyng bold of stomack, and of a good courage, aunswered saiyng, to recouer my fathers Kingdome and enheritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lineally discended. At these wordes King Edward sayde nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him. (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they ỳ stoode about, which were George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and William Lord Hastyngs, sodainly stroke & cruelly murthered him. The bitternesse of which murder, some of the doers, after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Iustice and punishment of God. His bodye was homely enterred with the other simple corses, in the Church of the Monastery of blacke Monkes in Tewkesbury. This was the last ciuile battaile that was fought in King Edwardes dayes, which was foughten the thirde day of May, then beyng Saturday. And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond Duke of Sommerset, Iohn Longstrother Prior of saint Iohns, syr Garuays Clifton, syr Thomas Tressham, and. xij. other Knightes, and Gentlemen behedded in the Market place of Tewkesbury.

Queene Margaret brought prisoner to London.

Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to London, where shee remayned till king Reyner her father raunsomed her wyth money, which summe (as the French wryters affirme) he borowed of king Lewys the. xj. and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repay so great a duty, he solde to the French king and hys heyres the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sciciles, with the Countie of Prouynce, which is the very tytle that king Charles the seauenth made, when he conquered the realme of Naples. After the raunsome payde, she was conueyed into Fraunce with small honor, which with so great triumph & honorable enterteynment, was with pompe aboue all pride, receyued into thys Realme. xxviij. yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued lyke a Queene, in the middle she ruled lyke an Empresse, toward the ende she was vexed with tronble, neuer quyet nor in peace, and in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke death then lyfe, languishing and mourning in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selfe and her husbande, whose ages were almost consumed and worne, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and her husbande thought to leaue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kingdome) to whome in thys lyfe nothing could be eyther more displeasaunt or grieuous.

Thomas Neuill Bastard to the Lorde Fawconbridge rebelleth.

After thys battayle, king Edwarde rendred to God hys most humble thankes, and with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, Bastard sonne to Thomas Lorde Fauconbridge the valyaunt capitayne, a man of no lesse courage then audacitie (who for hys euyll conditions was such an apt person, that a more meeter could not be chosen to set all the world in a broyle, and to put the estate of the realme in an yll hazarde) had of newe begon a great commocion. Thys Bastarde was before thys time appoynted by the Erle of Warwike to be Viceadmyrall of the sea, and had in charge so to keepe the passage betwene Douer and Calice, that none which either fauored King Edward or his friends should escape vntaken or vndrowned. And when by the death of the Erle of Warwike, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both on the Sea and the lande, as well hys enemies as also his friendes: By reason whereof he gat together a great Nauie of shippes, and spoyled on euery side, and at the laste tooke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentish men, such as were most meete for hys purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauyng wylde whay wormes in their heades, ioyned them wyth him, sauing that their comming and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuity king Henry the sixt and to bring him to his wife, but whatsoeuer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitations were onely hope of spoyle, & desyre to rob and pill. For the Bastard himselfe assaulted the drawbridge of London, and a Capitayne of his called Spisyng scaled Algate with the Essex men, harnessed in their wyfes Cheesecloutes, which assaults were deadly geuen, and manfully resisted, in

so much that on both partes manye were slayne and hurt, but at the last the Citizens put back the rebelles, and slue and wounded a great number of them, and draue the Bastard from all hys pray to hys shippes, liyng at Radclyffe, which hauing a good and prosperous winde, made sayle with all haste, and roued on the Sea, as before he was accustomed.

Thys stirring, although it were but little to thinke on at the first, yet if it had begon not long afore, it had brought all king Edwards businesse into a doubtfull difference: for king Edwarde in these his last battayles was twise more then fortunate for that, that he at sundry and seuerall times (and not all at one time) was persecuted and inuaded of hys enemies: for surely, at the time when the Erle of Warwike with hys pitched armie was comming towarde London, if Queene Margaret with her company had taken lande (which enterprise she thrise in great ieopardy coragiously attempted.) Then if she had set on behinde, whyle the Erle of Warwike gaue the onset before both at one moment, or if Edmond Duke of Sommerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesburie, before Iasper Erle of Penbroke was come with hys trayne, or if Bastard Fawconbridge had vexed the Londoners euen at that time: One or the other of these two things should consequently haue folowed, that king Edward must of necessitie once againe flie out of the realme, or else with shame and rebuke yeelde hymselfe, eyther to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good luck is desired and praysed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune to be most made off, and chiefeley to be aduaunced.

Bastarde Fawconbridge taken and beheded.

Now to returne to Bastard Fawconbridge, wauering hether & thether in the doubtfull surges of the Sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which eyther thinking that no man would see him, or that all men were blinde, and could not espie him (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there tooke lande, where he was not long vntaken, but shortlier behedded.

When Iasper Erle of Penbroke was credibly asscrteyned that Quene Margaret had lost the battayle at Tewkesbury, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or reliefe to be had for the part of poore king Henry, he wyth such men of warre as he was bringing to his confederates, returned back out of the way to the towne of Chepstow, where he tariyng, bewayling and lamenting, that haste to much hasted, and that vnpurueyed and blinde wyll had at the finall conclusion, not onely destroyed and brought to naught all king Henries estate, ryches and preheminence, but farther had left all his friendes readie to tosse the waues of fortune, and to seeke their lyuing where they might safely get them, beganne to thinke and prouide what waye was best to take.

King Edwarde at thys season, not beyng out of feare of the Erle of Penbroke, sent priuily into Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there both strōg of people and of friendes, to the intent by some guyle or engyne sodainely to trap and surprise the Erle: but he hauing intelligence of certaine friendes, how that the watch was priuily layde for him, so-

Roger Vaughan sodainely taken and beheaded.

dainely in the same towne, tooke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stroke of his head, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidence, receyued the Death himselfe, which he by deceyt prepared for the other.

The Erle in good haste departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas, by king Edwards commaundement so strongly besieged, and so enuironed his Castell with a ditche and a trench, that he could not lightly flie or escape thence, but he was after eyght dayes deliuered, and the siege raysed by his faythfull and trusty friends Dauid Thomas, brother to the foresayde Morgan, and from thence conueyed to Tynbye, a Hauen towne in Wales, where he getting conuenient shippes for to transport him and his ouer the Sea into Fraunce, with his Nephew Lorde Henry Erle of Richemond, and a few of his familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leading landed in Britaine.

The Erle of Penbroke with the erle of Richmond flie into Britaine.

After his arriuall, he first went to Duke Fraunces of Britayne, and him reuerently saluted, expounding to him the cause, the case, and the necessitie of their thether comming, committing the lyues, the goods, and al the chaunces both of him and his Nephew, wholy

wholy to the Dukes discretion and ordynaunce. The Duke receyued both the Erles with all benignitie, and shewed to them no lesse honor, fauor, and humanitie, with suche entertainment as if they had bene his naturall brethren, and geuyng to them his fayth, that being with him, they should sustayne no maner of wrong, nor no iniurie should be to them by any creature offred: assuryng them, that they might within hys dominions, at all times, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When King Edwarde had appeased, by the meanes afore rehersed, his kingdome and ...le, to the intent that there shoulde insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the ...e againe: he made a iorney into Kent, and there sat in iudgement on such, as in the last tumulteous businesse, tooke part with bastard Fauconbridge, where many were, (not vnworthy) straightlye punished and raunsomed, which businesse once perfourmed, to the entent that all men might see apparantlye that vndoubted peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of exterior hostilitie, was banished, and exiled for euer: Poore King Henry the sixt, a litle before depriued of his Realme, and Emperiall Crowne, was nowe in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and al worldly felicity, by Richard Duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to the entent that king Edwarde his brother shoulde be cleere out of all secret suspicion, of sodayne inuasion, murthered the sayde king with a Dagger. But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this good man, it shal appeere, that both the murtherer, and the consenter, had condigne and not vndeserued punishment, for their bloodye stroke, and butcherly act: and beecause they had nowe no enemies risen, on whome they might reuenge themselues, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie, against their owne selues, and with their proper blood, imbrued and polluted their owne handes, and members.

King Henry the sixt slaine in the tower.

The dead corps of king Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously (if you call that a funerall pompe) was conuayed from the Tower, to the church of Saint Paule, and there layed on the Beere, where it laye the space of one whole daye, and the next daye, without Priest or Clarke, Torch or Taper, singyng or saiyng, it was conuayed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London. xv. mile, and there was buried, but after he was remoued to Windsore, and there in a newe vawte, newlye buried. This Kyng Henry reigned full. xxxviij. yeres, and xvij. dayes, and after that he repossessed his kingdome sixe monethes, and so he lyued in all. xlix. yeres and three monethes, hauyng by his wyfe one onelye sonne, called Edwarde Prince of Wales.

The discription of king Henry the sixt.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodlye, of body slender, to which proporcion, all other members were correspondent: his face beautifull, in the which continually was resident, the bountie of minde, with which he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his owne nature, all the vices, as well of the bodie, as of the soule, and from his very infancie, he was of honest conuersacion and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keeper of all goodnesse: a despiser of all things, which be wont to cause, the myndes of mortal men to slide, fall, or appaire. Beside this, pacience was so rooted in his hart, that of all the iniuries to him committed, (which were no small number) hee neuer asked vengeaunce nor punishment, but for that rendered to almighty God, his hartie thankes, thinking that by his trouble, and aduersitie, his sinnes were to him forgotten, and forgiuen. What shall I saie, that this good, this gentle, this meeke, this sober, and wiseman, did declare and affirme, that those myschiefes, and miseries, partly came to him for his owne offence, and partly for the heping of sinne vpon sinne, wretchedly by his aunceters and forefathers: wherfore, he litle or nothing estemed, or in any wise did torment or vexe himselfe, what so euer dignitie, what honor, what state of lyfe, what childe, what friende he had lost, or missed, but if it did but sounde an offence towarde God, he loked on that, and not without repentaunce, and both mourned and sorowed for it: This king Henry was of a liberall mind, & especially, to such as loued good learning, and them whom he saw profite in any vertuous science, he hartilye fauored and imbraced: wherefore he first holpe his owne yong scholers, to attaine to discipline, and for them he founded a solempne schoole at

College of Eton. at Eton, a towne next vnto Wyndsore, in the which he hath stablished, an honest Colege of sad Priestes, with a great numbre of Children which be there, of his cost frankly, and freely taught, the rudiments and rules of Grammer. Beside this, he edified a Princely Colłege, in the Vniuersitye of Cambrige, called the Kings College, for the further erudicion, of such as were brought vp in Eton, which at this day so florisheth, in all kindes, aswell of literature, as of tongues, that aboue all other, it is worthye to bee called, the Prince of Colleges.

The kings Colłege.

But nowe to returne to king Edward, which was releeued of the most part, of his pricking feare, and inwarde suspicion, to the intent that no print, or shadowe, shoulde remayne of the aduerse faction, in his realme. He dilygently inquired, and searched out, all the fragmentes and leauings, of his enemies part, intending to expresse, and vtterly to extinguishe them. And first to begyn with all, he sent George Neuell, brother to the Erle of Warwicke, and Archbyshope of Yorke, vnder a strong conduite, to the Castle of Guisnes there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued, and at the last, by friendship deliuered: which of very pensiuenesse and grudge of minde, shortly after deceassed, whom Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram, in the See of Yorke, did ordinarily succeede. Besyde this, Iohn Erle of Oxenford, which after Barnet field, both manfully gat, & valiauntly kept, Saint Michaels Mount in Cornewall: eyther for lacke of ayde, or perswaded by his friendes, gaue vp the Mount, and yelded himselfe to King Edward (his life onely saued) which to him was graunted: but to be out of all doubtfull imaginacions, King Edward sent him ouer the sea, to the Castell of Hammes, where, by the space of xij. yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to. Many other besyde these, in diuers partes of the realme, beyng very litle or nothyng suspected: were either cõmitted to prison, or grieuously fined and taxed. Besyde this, Iames his neighbors Countrie, might be an harborough, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he concluded a newe league, with Iames the thirde King of Scots, for the terme of xx. yeres. And yet, whatsoeuer he thought in his imagination, for all his busie deuises, and polletique forecastynges: his minde and phantasie, was not clerely exhonorate and dispatched, of all feare and inward trouble: For tidynges were brought to him, that the Erles of Penbroke and Richemond, were arriued in Briteyn: and there of the Duke highly cherished and entertayned.

1471

11

John Erle of Oxforde committed prisoner to the Castell of Hammes.

The Erle of Richmond & Penbroke arriued in Briteyn. 1474

12

This thing nipped King Edward hardly at the very stomack, as though his minde casting some euill to come after: did signifie before, that the Erle of Richemond, should once attaine to the Crowne and diademe of the realme: which mischiefe, when he had well disgested, he secretly sent wise and close Messengers to the Duke of Briteyne, the which should not sticke, to promise the Duke great and sumptuous rewardes, (knowyng that meede manye thinges corrupteth) so that he would deliuer, both the Erles into their handes and possession. The Duke gladly heard them that were sent, but when he knewe the two Erles to be a pray, of such a great value, he determined not to deliuer them, but rather to entertayne them with him more diligently, then they were accustomed. The Duke answered the Ambassadors, that it stoode not with his honor, nor he would not deliuer the two Erles, to whom he was bound and obliged, by his fayth and promise: but his he promised to doe for the Kinges pleasure, that they should be kept, and with such vigilant persons continually watched, that the King should haue no maner of cause, once to thinke, that they could or should attempt any thing, that might sounde, either to his displeasure or preiudice. When the Messengers sawe, that they could not obteyne that which they desired, like wise men held themselues contented with that, which by the Duke was offered, and so returned into Englande. The King wrote to the Duke of Briteyn, louyngly requiryng him, to accomplishe with all spede, that which he of his awne motion offered, promisyng him not onely, men and great rewardes, but yerely to rewarde him wyth a full hande, and a well stuffed pursse. The Duke perceiuyng the swete gaine, which rose to him, by the abode of the two Englishe Erles, in his Countrie: least they for any

cause,

cause, should abandon his Dominions, and seeke succors in some other foreyn Region, caused the one to be seperated from the other: and remoued from them such Englishe men, as were dayly on them attendant, and came with them into Briteyn, and in their places appoynted Britons, to be theyr seruitors, to minister, and continually to attende and waite on them.

When King Edward had thus pollitiquely (as he thought) compassed the Duke of Briteyn: he thinkyng nothing lesse, then to take a dammage at the Duke of Burgoynes hande, yea, and such a dammage, as by all similitude, was both like, continually to grieue the realme of England: and further to be an occasion, of a common stoppe, and puttyng backe of the commodities, growen within this realme, to be transported into outward partes, North, Eastwarde, was yet eftsones brought into a newe doubt and perplexitie. For the declaration whereof, you must vnderstand, that Lewys the Frenche king, had a brother called Charles, which was not the wisest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certaine curtisie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpon him to rule other. And although that the king at this tyme had no sonne, nor other brother, but him, his open heyre apparant: he little fauored, and lesse loued him, nothing geuyng him of his good will, for his part and portion, of his fathers landes, but that to the which he was compelled by his counsaile, and that he gaue him this Moneth, in the next Moneth, he would by flattery, or by threatnyng, by warre or corruption of his brothers seruauntes, obteyne and bring to his handes, and possession againe. For first he gaue him the Duchie of Berry, and after that whole Normandie, whereof in no long time, he bereft him the possession, regiment, and title, without any cause geuen, on the partie of yong Charles. And when the sayde Charles, had afterward departed with the Countries of Brye, and Champaigne, by a fraudulent feate: King Lewys caused him to relinquishe the same, and to take for his parentage, the Duchie of Guien, and so was called and named the Duke of Guyen. This euill entreatyng of the Duke of Guyen, by the Frenche King his brother, caused diuers other princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, ayde, and succor the sayde Duke, of the which the chiefe were, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, and Lewys Erle of Saint Poll, Constable of Fraunce. This Duke of Guyen, by the sollicityng of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in maryage, the sole daughter and onely heyre, of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be Lord and souereigne, of all Duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtheraunce of this mariage, holpe with all his power, the Duke of Briteyn, as who sayd, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other part, thought that he alone, was able to compasse this mariage, and to haue onely the thankes of the Duke of Guyen. The French King did all that he coulde, to let and stop this mariage: for if his brother had obteined the yong Lady with all her possessions, then he saw wel enough, that ỹ Duke of Guien; beyng ioyned with the Duke of Briteyn, should be strong enough, or at the least of puissance to encomber the French king and his children. But king Edward of England, sore smoked, when he heard first tell of this mariage, & not without a cause: For he considered, that the Frenche King had no heyre male, but one weake boy, and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to weare the crowne of Fraunce, after his brother or nephewe. And if this mariage should proceede, all Burgoyn, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Flaunders, and all the lowe Countries, where the Englishe men for the most part, made their martes, and vttered there their marchandice, should be vnited and annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, and in the handes of the olde and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and little Calice, beene continually in the daunger of their enemies, almost with them enuironed round about. These thinges considered, king Edward and his Counsaile, tooke the matter in great earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude any mariage in Fraunce, to the hurt and preiudice of the realme of Englande: that he shoulde knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had beene better to haue dissimuled, with the best

friend

friend that he had, then priuily without reason, to haue iuggeled with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyne made reasonable aunsweres, and honest excuses, but the Counsaile of England, in no wise would geue credite thereto: euer surmisyng that the mariage shoulde take effect. And certainly at this season, the English men had rather haue taken part, with the French King then with the Duke of Burgoyne: if it had not bene onely, to empeche and stop this mariage, so much the English men disdayned, to haue the house of Burgoin, conioyned and vnited to the crowne of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyn dalied, and dissimuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them fayre wordes, and makyng large promises; by the which he first deceyued other, and in conclusion himselfe. He promised his daughter, to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with whom, he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, when nothing was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austriche, and after king of Romaynes, sonne to the Emperour Frederick, could neuer obteyne duryng the lyfe of Duke Charles, but onely glosyng and paynted promises, but all wordes, writings and promises, what soeuer they were, clerely set asyde, he was surely fixed and determined (as Comines his Counsaylor doth write) that no maryage as long as he liued, should sort to any effect, at the least by his consent.

Comines Counsaylor to Duke Charles.

1473

13

Nowe let vs leaue the Duke of Burgoyne about hys affayres for a whyle, and returne to king Edwarde: which in the xiij. yere of hys reigne called hys high Court of parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the which, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that day were corroborated and confirmed: and suche Lawes made by him, as King Henry the sixt, had caused to be abrogated and adnichilated, he agayne reuiued and renued. He made farther lawes as well for the confiscation of the goodes of the rebelles to his person, as also for the restoring of suche as fled out of the realme, for the quarell and occasion: which by his aduersaries, as traytors to their king and Country, a little before were of high treason attaynted, and to death condempned. Toward hys charges of late susteyned, a competent somme of money was demaunded, and frankely graunted: and in conclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the which had of long continued, in the hartes of the Nobilitie, which now were very fewe (the more part being consumed in the warres) he cleerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and concorde. King Edwarde holpe to this agreement, as much as in him lay: And to the intent that other men should forget iniuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice: folA generall pardon. lowyng hys good and godly example, he clerelye pardoned almost all offences, and all men then being within the realme, he frankly discharged, although they had taken part with his aduersaries agaynst hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

Whyle King Edwarde was thus setting an order, and pacifiyng of all things, which were out of square: Charles Duke of Burgoyne, whose spirite was neuer in quiet, desyring as well to amplifie, and enlarge his territories and dominions, lying on the syde of the ryuer of Ryne, towarde high Burgoyne; as also to recouer agayne Amias and other townes, which the French king more by fraude, than by feates of warre, had from him wrongfully vsurped: and further aboue all things, couetyng to haue the Frenche king to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderaunce, could not inuent no one waye so apt and meete for his imagined purpose, as to entise and perswade the king of Englande by his Ambassadors, to make warre vpon the sayde king and hys Countrie: for the recouering of his olde right and auncient tytle in the same, by the French king and his father, agaynst all right and equitie, witholden and deteyned. King Edward began a little to harken on that side, not so much for to helpe the Duke of Burgoyne (to whome he was much bounde, for his ayde in the time of hys exile, as you before haue heard) as for to be reuenged of king Lewys, whom he reputed for his mortall enemie. First for ayding the Erle of Warwike and hys complices agaynst him: secondarily, for the long maintayning and fostering of Queene Margaret, and her sonne Prince Edward (whome for a farther affinitie, he made Godfather to hys sonne Charles the Dolphyn) within hys Countryes

and

and dominions. Whervpon, when he had consulted with the Nobilitie & the chiefe and sage persons of ỹ realme (which in maner haue a certain naturall inclination to make warre in Fraunce, eyther for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certayne priuie canker engendred in the hartes of their forefathers, in time long past, and after by lyneall succession descended into the stomacks of their Nephewes) he aunswered the Dukes messenger, that in the beginning of the yere, he would land at Calice with such a puyssaunt army, that the french king should well perceyue that he lacked neyther men, nor ỹ hys men lacked stomacks, both for to reuenge their souereignes quarel, & also to recouer his right. And for a truth, at thys season there was mortall warre betwene king Lewys and the Duke of Burgoyne: And more lykely to fall betweene hym and other, for king Lewys of nature was hard of speech, and churlishe in answere, froward and vngentle as wel to his friends as to his foes. By reason whercof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with hys grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulation began to haue intelligence, and to cleue to the Duke of Burgoyne, amongst whome was Lewys of Luxenborough, Erle of Saint Paule, and Constable of Fraunce, which being confedered wyth the Duke and other noble men, determined so to vexe & scurge King Lewys with some plague, by the which eyther he should be transformed into a man, clere altered from hys olde qualities, or else should be in ieoperdie both of losse of life and realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on and assaulted both with outward enemies, and inward dissimulers. All these things the Duke of Burgoyne with King Edward, did communicate, to the intent the sooner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desire. These things as tokens of victorie before, encouraged King Edward, and enforced him in maner to make warre on Fraunce, and so with all expedition prepared all things necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him aunounced by the realme, was consumed in his houshold, and other necessarie affayres, he conceyued a newe deuise in hys imagination, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entise hys riche friends to geue and graunt him some conuenient summe of money toward his great charges, and incredible costs, which thing if they did not wyllingly assent to, he then would impute to them much vnkindnesse, whervpon he caused hys officers to bring to him the most ryche persons, one after another, and to them he explaned the cause, and the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the faintnesse and weakenesse of hys treasure, and the great importunate lack of money, hartily requiring them for the loue and affection that alwaies they had borne to him, being their naturall Prince, of their awne gratuitie and freewyll to geue to him some aide of money, for maintenaunce of hys warre and armie: what should I saye more? Thys inuention came to thys effect, that some calling to their remembraunce, the benefites of hym receyued, some wyth shame, some wyth feare moued and encouraged, gaue to hym liberally both of their substaunce and treasure, which wythout grudge he could not haue otherwise obteyned. But here I will not let passe a pretie conceyt that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onely note the humilitie of a king, but more the phantasie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a Wydow, much abounding in substaunce, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whom he merily demaunded what shee gladly would geue him towarde hys great charges? By my truth quoth she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. pound, the king looking scarce for the halfe of that summe, thanked her and louingly kyst her, whether the flauor of his breath did so comfort her stomack, or she estemed the kisse of a King, so precious a iewell, shee swore incontinently that he should haue. xx. pounde more, which she with the same will payde that she offered it. The king wylling to shewe that thys benefite was to him much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in oblision, called this graunt of money a beneuolence, notwithstāding that many with grudge and maleuolence gaue great summes toward that new found beneuolence. But the vsing of suche gentle fashions toward them, with friendly prayer of their assistance

A mery note.

A beneuolence.

in his necessitie, so tempted them that they could no otherwise doe, but frankely and freely yeelde and geue hym a reasonable ayde.

1474 And here I finde noted that Doctor Woodlarke, Prouost of the kings College in Cambridge, did at this time builde Katheryn Hall in Cambridge.

14 King Edward passeth ouer with an armie into Fraunce. When all things conuenient for such an enterprise were in a readinesse. King Edwarde with his armye went to Douer, where he founde fiue hundred shippes and Hoyes, redie to transport him and his armie ouer the sea. And so he himselfe with his nobilitie warlikely accompanied, passed ouer betweene Douer and Calice, the fourth day of Iuly, and landed at Calice wyth great triumph, his armie, horses, and munitions of warre scarce passed ouer in. xx. dayes (whome the French men bragged shoulde haue beene taken if they had well considered the chaunce before, as they knew it after.) When king Edde with all his armye royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie, he caused ry man according to his degree, to be ordered and lodged. This armie by the writing Comines, was the fayrest and the strongest armie that passed out of Englande into Fraunce manye yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all things appointed, and prouided, that the French nacion were not onely amased to behold them, but much more praysed them, and there order. In this armye, were. xv. C. men of armes, well horsed, of the which the most part were barded and richlye trapped, after the most Galiarde fashion, hauing manye horses decked in one suyte. There were farther. xv. M. Archers, bearyng bowes & arrowes, of the which a great part were on horseback. There were also, a great number of fightyng men, and other, aswell to set vp tents & Pauilions (where of the Englishmen had great plenty) as to serue their artilary & to enclose their campe, or other wise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

A great armye.

The King of Englande was at his arriuall highlye displeased with the Duke of Burgoyn, which in the worde of a Prince, promised him to meete him at his landyng with two. M. men of armes, and light horsemen, besyde a great number of Launceknights, and Halberders, and that he would haue begonne the warre three moneths before the kings transporting, the more to vexe and greeue the French king, and to cause him to seeke his wittes. The Duke of Burgoyn at this season, laye at seege before the strong towne of Nuyce, with a puissant army, against whome were of Nuyce assembled the Emperor Frederike, and almost the whole Empire, for the rescue of the towne, to whome the king of Englande sent the Lorde Scales in post, requiryng him to leaue his voyde seege before the strong towne of Nuyce, and to returne in all haste with his people and armie to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promise, and othe, declaryng farther that the time passed and the Sommer woulde be lost, with this charge the Lord Scales departed in all haste toward the Duke, whom we will leaue, ridyng towarde Nuyce for a while.

The Duke of Burgoyne besiegeth the towne of Nuyce.

O Fraunce, Fraunce, how much art thou bound to laude and prayse thy Sauior, for thy deliueraunce, in the time of thy affliction. For if God had not permitted the cancard hart of the Duke, to be indurate, nor his weake brain to be vexed, nor yet his ambicious affection to be enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of Englande on the one side, hauing on the other side the Duke of Britaine with his power: These three princes had bene like to haue made Fraunce, either to bow, or to breake.

Before king Edwarde departed from Douer, he sent to the Frenche king an officer of armes (whome Comines vntruelye calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the roome of Gartier was neuer geuen to no straunger) which herault deliuered to the French king with all dewe reuerence, a letter of defiaunce, both for the stile and the penning excellently endited, which the Frenchmen woulde scant beleue to be framed by an Englishman. The letter required the French king, to render to the king of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, and by lineall enheritance, appertaining, and belonging, to the intent that he might put agayne the church, the Nobilitie, and the commons, into their auncient estates, and liberties, and to disburden, and exonerate them of the great charges, trauayles, & labors, that they nowe were in. And in case that he did refuse so to doe, then

King Edward sendeth a letter of defiaunce vnto the French king.

then he dyd protest the harme that shoulde ensue, in the forme and maner, that in suc
a case is requisite, and accustomed to be done. King Lewys red the letter secretly t
himselfe, and after all alone in a great study withdrew himselfe into his warderobe, an
sending for the English Herault, sayde to him, syr, I knowe, and well wot, that the kin
of Englande your maister, is neither descended in these partes of his owne free motion
nor yet of vs required, but onely entised and prouoked by the Duke of Burgoyn, t
somewhat enforsed by the commons of his realme. But nowe you may see that the seaso
of the yere passeth, and the Duke of Burgoyn is in poore estate, returning from Nuyc
all most discomforted. The Constable also, with whome the king your soueraigne Lord
I am sure hath some intelligence, for fauour that your mayster hath maried hys Neece, i
not so sure a friend as he is taken for, and if all the worlde knewe how I haue promote
him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke that he would so vntrue
handle me as he doth, for I assure you, he is a deepe dissimuler, and in continuall dis
simulation entendeth to lead his lyfe, entertayning all men for his owne profite. And al
though the king your maister be vnsure of all his other promises, yet of one thing h
shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissimuled withall, & therfore I saye to you, an
not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an olde enemie, then the pro
mises and familiaritie of a newe dissimuling friend, which peace most pleaseth God, an
is the thing that I most doe desyre. When he had sayde, he gaue to the Herault thre
hundred Crownes, promising him a thousande crownes, if any good appointment came t
passe. The Herault being more couetous of the crownes, then secret, according to th
dutie of his office, promised to doe all things that in him laye, not doubting but that th
king hys maister would be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduysing the French kin
(after king Edwarde were once landed) to send hym a Herault, to fetch a saueconduy
and pasport, for such as should labor and trauayle in that treatie. And that the sayd
Herault should first resort to the Lord Standley, or to the Lorde Haward, for the con
ducting of him to the kinges presence, when the Herault should departe, the king gau
him a peece of Crimosen Veluet of xxx. yardes long, commaunding and straightl
charging, that no man should be so hardie once to commen with hym, but to let hin
passe in all gentle fashion. When the Herault was gone, king Lewys calling to hym. vij
or. viij. of his familiers, caused the letter to be red, of the which he was but a litle afray
and lesse abashed, considering the English Herault had shewed him playnely how to ente
into the port of the treatie, and in maner howe to gayne and conquer the fortresse, o
which information he was not a little ioyous, and wisely and secretly according to th
same, when he saw his time, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very season, the Lord
Scales came to the Duke of Burgoyne before Nuyce, accompting to hym his message, a
he was commaunded. The Duke of Burgoyne, beyng so sore set to conquer the towne o
Nuyce, aunswered the Lorde Scales, that his honor was lost, and shame should be spoke
of him through all christeadome, if he shoulde raise his fielde and breake his siege, bu
he hoped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphant victorie, to come to ayd
king Edwarde with hys whole army: with this aunswere the Lorde Scales departed, whic
onely aunswere was commen without any other augmentation, to all such as king Edwar
sent, to haue the Duke to kepe hys promise. What a foly was thys in Duke Charles, to besiege
towne impregnable, euen at the same time when the Englishe men at his request had passe
the sea, which thing all the time of his regiment, he had both trauayled in, and sore require
and neuer could compasse till thys season, and also all things beyng well disposed for hi
purpose, both in Britayne & in other places, except he more regarded to conquere a new
towne, then to defend all hys olde possessions and seigniories. But shortly after by th
Byshop of Romes auctoritie, he left Nuyce vnconquered, but leesing a great number o
hys people, and the remnaunt he sent into Lorayne and Barroys, there to lye and troubl
Duke Reyner of Lorayn, which a little before had defied him, liyng before Nuyce. An
he himselfe wyth a small company came to King Edwarde before Calice, wyth whom

king Edwarde at the first comming began somewhat to be grieued, laiyng to hys charge that at hys mocion, request and desyre, he with all hys armie had passed the Seas onely to the intent wyth mortall warre, to plague and scourge the prowde realme of Fraunce. And that he leauing all things (which should molest or trouble the French king) a part, applyed hymselfe to matters of Lorayne, and externe Nations, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to hym done by hys neighbour the French king. The Duke excused hymselfe wyth ieoparding the losse of hys honor, if he had returned from Nuyce, and also that of necessitie, he was compelled to leaue his armie in Lorayne, to be reuenged ouer Duke Reyner, which had him before Nuyce with spitefull wordes and rayling termes defied and detested: affirming farther, that nowe in the beginning with a small companye, a great enterprise might be gayned. In proufe whereof he delyuered to the king letters of credence, sent from the Constable of Fraunce, which wylled the king to geue credite and perfite fayth to the Duke, in making relacion of such secrets as were to him geuen in charge to declare to the kinges awne person. First he shewed that although the Constable had promised to the king and the Duke, to render vp to them the towne of Saint Quintines, yet it had not come to so good effect, if it had bene yeelded, the Duke beyng in Germany, as it now shall, the King and the Duke being both personally present, at the deliuerаunce. Wherefore he exhorted the king to set forwarde, and to display hys Banner, and to set forth his standard. And so by hys mocion, the king accompanyed wyth the Duke, hys armye departed out of Calice, and passed by Boleyne to Perone, where the Englishe men thought themselues of the Duke, more lyke enemies then friendes to be enterteyned, for at the gates entred but a fewe that were appointed, the remnant lodged in the fieldes, better purueyed of their awne, then of the Dukes prouision.

The king of England thinking surely that the Constable ment all truth, and the sooner enduced to that credence, because the Constable was great Vncle to the Quene hys wyfe, where in very deede, he nothing lesse minded then trouth, remoued hys Campe from Peron, the Duke of Burgoyne beyng in hys armye, and marched towarde Saint Quintines: certayne Englishe men ranne before the towne, against whose comming they thought that the belles should haue bene rong, and the gates set open. But when they approched the towne, the artillarie began to shote, and they of the towne came out both on foote and horseback, and skirmished with the Englishe men, of which two or three were slayne. This welcome seemed verye straunge to king Edward, pondering together yester dayes promise, and thys dayes doing. The Duke would not that the king should desist from his purpose, because the towne was not yeelded at the sight of a handfull of people, which thing he sayde, although the Constable would gladly haue done, at the first, yet he woulde haue a couler to doe it, as though it shoulde appere that he did it by very compulsion and force: and therefore if the King woulde make but semblance to besiege the towne, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendred. The king of England perceyuing that he was deluded in his first enterprise, thought it more surer to heare the fayre wordes of the Constable, and the Duke, then to geue credite to their vntrue and deceytfull doings. The Englishe men returned to their campe, verie yll content, murmuring against the Constable, calling him Traytor, periured and vntrue Gentleman. Beside thys anger, there came the next day another corsey, that smarted a little sorer, for Duke Charles of Burgoyne, by whose meanes king Edward had taken vpon him thys warre, either perceyued that all the Constables promises were but faire sunne shinyng, sweetely spoken, and sowerly performed, or else he sawe that he himselfe lacked men or money, to proceede farther with king Edward in his iorney: tooke his leaue sodainely of the king of Englande, saiyng, that he must needes visite, and see his armie in Berroys, promising shortly with all puyssaunce to returne agayne to the great aduantage and commoditie of them both, and so in haste departed.

The Constable of Fraunce a deepe dissembler.

This departyng was both displeasant and straunge to the king of England, consideryng that in hope to haue the Duke his coutinuall felow in armes, and to haue his counsaile in

the order of his people (which of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfectly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nacion) had passed the Seas, raysed hys Standard, and by the Dukes procurement entred into the lande of his enemies, and nowe to be left alone without guyde or leader, without ayde or succor, in the middle of his foes, he could no lesse thinke, but that the Duke neyther vsed him like a Prince, nor yet kept his promise like a true man, which vnstable & dissimuling working, caused, yea, & rather enforced king Edward both to thinke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer entended to doe. The Englishe men sore murmured agaynst the Constable, & no lesse against the Duke, sauyng they determined neuer to geue confidence to ỹ Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether they might geue any credite to the Dukes promise. Thus lay the Englishe men in the fieldes, when the colde nightes began to wax long, without any gaine of conquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwayes content with hardnesse, rather to desire to turne homewarde, then to procede any dayes iourney forwarde. The French king which was both wilie and wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espials, the vntrue refusall made by the Constable, the vnfriendly departyng of the Duke of Burgoyn, and the dayly murmuryng of the Englishe men, agaynst them both: wherefore he thought now, that it was very expedient, to folow the counsaile of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a safeconduite, for metyng of Ambassadors, to common of a treatie, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubtes, he raysed an armie, and the more he perceyued the power of his enemies to encrease, the more he studyed how by power to resist them, and ouer that armie he made Capitaine, Monsire Robert de Estoteuile, a valiant man, whome, he sent into Arthoys, to defende the frontiers there, agaynst the king of Englandes entrie and inuasions: and he himselfe taryed still at Senlis. The Frenche king beyng thus priuily desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars: meanyng quietnesse, and settyng foorth warre, caused a varlet to be subornated, in a cote armure of Fraunce (which for haste, was made of a Trompet banner) because king Lewys was not much desirous, nor greatly passed on honour, and seldome had in his Court, eyther officer of Armes or Trompet: which varlet was wel encouraged, and no lesse instructed, howe to doe his message (which was deliuered to him in writyng) both with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This counterfeite Herault, although he was but a varlet in dede, was both wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe armie, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outscourers perceiuyng by his cote, that he was an officer of Armes, gently saluted him, and enquired of him, whether his iourney lay: he sadly aunswered, that his message was from the French king, to the King of Englande. Then was he conueyed to the tent, where the Lord Haward, and the Lord Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly enterteyned, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the King, in whose presence, with a bolde audacitie, and no fearefull speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of Armes, (to whome, credite by the law of all nacions ought to be geuen) and secondarily, he published the thinges, to him geuen in charge and commaundement, saiyng.

Right high and mightie Prince, if your excellent wisedome did perfectly knowe: what inward affection, and feruent desyre, the King my Mayster hath alwayes had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure vnitie, betweene your noble person, and your Realme, and his honourable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confesse & say, that neuer Christian Prince, more thirsted for an amitie, to the entent that the subiects of both the Realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two Princes, confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutually embrace eche other in their heartes, and frequent eche others Princes, territories, and Dominions, with their Marchandises and wares: And finally, the one to liue with the other, as friend with friend, and brother with brother, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquilitie. And for his

part

part he doth affirme and saye, that sith he receyued first the Crowne of his Kingdome, he neuer attempted nor yet once imagined, any warre, or thing preiudiciall towarde your royall person, your realme, or your people. If you peraduenture will say, that he supported, and mainteyned the Erle of Warwicke, agaynst your Maiestie, he surely that doth and will denie: For he ayded him agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemy, but also to lay in waite, both by sea and lande, eyther to take him, or vtterly to destroye him. Which Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited your highnesse, to come ouer the troublous Seas, to the entent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the King my maister, to condescend to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neyther to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he and such other, as dayly flattered him for their peculiar profites, (as he had many in dede, that dayly sucked at his elbow) had once obteyned the thing, that they breathed for, all your affayres were put in oblidion, and left at large for them, or their assistance, euen as they be at this day. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyne caused you, first to come into Fraunce: after to set forwarde your armie, and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to leese the fayre season of the yere, and to lye in the fieldes in Winter? Which warre if it continue, shall neyther be profitable to you, nor yet to your nobilitie: And finally to both the Realmes, and especially to Marchant men, shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyn from Nuce to Calice, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blinde you? Returned he backe into Loreyn againe for any cause, but onely to leaue you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you? Why do you then beleue, and yet still trust them, in whom you neuer faunde fayth nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordaine, that you and my Mayster, may ioyne in a league and amitie, I dare both say and swere, that the fine steele neuer cleued faster to the Adamant stone, than he will sticke and claspe with you, both in welth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to hearken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on ieopardie of my lyfe (which is my chiefest treasure) vndertake, that this communication shall sort, and come to such an effect, that both you and your Nobilitie, shall be glad and reioyce, and your Commons shall be contented and pleased, and they that haue deceyued you, shal, be both abashed and ashamed: Most humbly beseechyng your highnesse, if your pleasure shall encline this waye, that I may haue a sure safeconduyte, for one hundred horses, for such personages as the King my Mayster shall sende to you, with farther intimation of his minde & purpose. And if your pleasure shall be, to haue the communication in any place, indifferent betwene both armies, then I shall warrant you, a like safeconduit for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the Kyng of England and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his tongue, and his soberuesse, geuyng to him in rewarde, a faire guylt cuppe, with a hundred aungelles: deliuering him a safeconduit, according to his request, and demaunde, with the which, he with speede departed, hauyng with him an English Herault, to bryng a like safeconduite, from the French king. After both the Princes had diligently consulted on this matter, and that the safeconduites, were deliuered on both partes. The Ambassadors mette at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the king of Englande, the Lorde Hawarde, sir Thomas Sentliger, Doctor Morton, after Chaunceler of Englande, and Cardinall. For the French king were sent, the Bastard of Burbon Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of saint Pierre, the Byshop of Eureux called Heberge.

It may of some be not a litle marualled at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did: But if they consider in what case, the realme of Fraunce stoode in at that tyme, hauyng the king of England, the Duke of Burgoyn, the Duke of Britaine, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunt: They may say, that the French king was both wise and

circumspect, to humble himselfe for auantage, or else if God had not holpen: the realme of Fraūce had beene troubled, and tossed in great ieoperdie, and daungerous extremitye. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the English men demaūded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandie, and whole Aquitaine, the allegations were well proued by the Englishmen, and pollytiquely defended by the French men, so that with argumenets, without conclusion the day passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relacion to their Maisters. The French king and his counsaill, woulde in no wyse consent, that the king of Englande, shoulde haue anye part, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce: but rather fully determined, to put himselfe, & his whole realme in hazarde, and aduenture: so loth, yea more aferde, then loth, he was to haue the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The Cōmissioners at the next meting, concluded & agreed vpon certaine articles, which were by both the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was couenanted and agreed, that the French king shoulde pay to the king of Englande without delaye, lxxv. M. Crownes of the sunne, & yerely fiftie M. Crownes to be payd at London, duryng king Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin, shoulde marry the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edwarde, and they two to haue for the maintenaunce of their estates, the whole Duchy of Guyen, or else fiftie Thousande Crownes, yeerely to bee paid within the towre of London, by the space of ix. yeres: and at the ende of the sayde terme, the Dolphin and his Dolphines, peaceably to enioye the whole Duchie of Guyen, and of that charge the French king against the king of Englande, then to be cleerely exonerate. And further, it was agreed and appointed, that the two Princes, both for the encrease of loue, and for the continuaunce of amitye shoulde enteruew eche other, in some place most expedient, and mete, for so great a purpose: and after their metyng eche of them to take a corporall othe, in presence of the other. This peace to endure. ix. yeres betwene both the realmes, and inuiolably to obserue and kepe all thinges, concluded, agreed, and appoynted. And on the king of Englandes part, were comprised as alyes in the league, the Dukes of Burgoyne, and Briteyne, if they woulde assent. And that after the whole summe aforesayde, was to King Edwarde payed: he shoulde leaue in hostage the Lorde Haward, and sir Iohn Cheyney maister of his horses, till he with all his armie, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioyced the French king, to whome, nothing could be either more pleasaunt, or more acceptable, then to haue the Englishe men in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely auoyded, and transported out of his Realme: imaginyng euer that by their taryng, they would so like the wholesome and swete ayre of his fruitfull Countrie, that a great number would be continually sicke and vexed till they returned: wherefore, to rid them with all hastie speede, he borowed the saide summe of. lxxv. M. Crownes, of euery man that might lend a porcion.

Articles agreed vpon by the king of England & the French king.

King Edward likewise, although he was of puyssaunce strong enough, to atchieue a great enterprise on his enemies, and farther encouraged, because he was renowmed for the famous actes, by him before time brought to passe, in so many battayles: Desiring also, rather to haue warre, with the Frenche nacion beyng the olde and auncient enemie, to the Englishe name and blood: yet when he called to his remembrance, that the ciuil warre had so consumed and wasted his substaunce and treasure, that if vrgent necessitye should requyre, he were of scant abilitie to furnishe and set forth a new army: knowyng his treasurie at home, to be so voyde and fayne, that it was not able long to wage his Souldiors, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obey to necessitie, and to abstaine from battaile, seyng both honourable offers was to him offered, and agreementes of auauntage to him mocioned: Considerying chiefely beside all this, that neyther the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would obserue or performe the promises by them made and sworne. Whereupon he and the most of his counsaile agreed to this conclusion and concorde. But the Duke of Gloucester and other, to whome the Frenche nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swordes thyrsted for Frenche blood, detested,

detested, abhorred, and cryed out on this peace, saiyng: that all their trauaile, paine, and expences, were to their shame loste and employed, and nothing gayned, but a continuall mocke, and dayly derision of the French King, and all his Minions. This imaginacion toke effect without delay, for a Gentleman of the Frenche Kinges Chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demaund of an Englishe man, how many battailes King Edward had vanquished, and he aunswered nine: wherein he himselfe personally had bene. A great honor sayd the Frenche man: But I pray you, quod he, smilyng: how many hath he lost? the English man perceiuyng what he ment, sayd: one which you by pollicie and by no strength haue caused him to leese. Well sayd the French man, you may ponder in a payre of Ballance, the gaine of the nine gotten battayles, and the rebuke of this one in this maner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saiyng, the force of England hath, and doth surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious wit of the French men, excell the dull braynes of Englishemen. For in all battayles you haue bene the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you maye content your selues, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gat in warres and battailes. This communication was reported to the French King, which priuily sent for the English man (as saith Hall) to supper, and not onely made him good cheere, but also gaue him a thousand Crownes, to prayse the peace, and to helpe to maintaine the same: yet neuerthelesse, he beyng not a litle moued with these bragges, declared all the communication to the Duke of Glocester, which sware, that he would neuer haue set foote out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchemen, once to haue assayed the strength and puissaunce of the English men: But whatsoeuer he thought, all thinges were transformed into another kinde, then he could imagine.

The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreating betwene the two kings: came in no small hast from Luxenborough onelye accompanyed wyth sixtene horses, into the king of Englandes lodging, whereof the king being not a litle abashed, seyng both his sodaine commyng, and his fierce countenaunce, like one that woulde rather bite than whyne, demaunded of him the cause, of his so sodaine commyng. The Duke sharpely aunswered, to knowe whether he had, eyther entred into any communication, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the French king and him. King Edward declared, how that for sondry, and diuerse great and vrgent causes, touching aswell the vniuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their owne priuate commoditie, and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme of. ix. yeres, in the which were comprised, as felowes and friendes, both he and the Duke of Britayne, requiring him to condiscende, and agree to the same. Oh Lorde, quoth the Duke of Burgoyn, haue you thus done in deede? haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce, and without killing of a poore flie, or burnyng of a siely shepe cote, haue taken a shamefull truce: did your noble auncester, king Edwarde the thirde, euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which he did none either gayne victory in battaile, or profite in conquering, Cities, Townes, Countries. That victorious Prince, as dere kinne to mee, as to you king Henry the fift, I meane whose blood you haue, eyther rightfull or wrongfullye, God knoweth, exstirpate and destroyed, with a small puissaunce entred into Fraunce, conquered whole Normandy, and not alonly conquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer woulde either common, or agree to anye league: till he had the whole realme of Fraunce offered him, and was thereof made Regent and heire apparant, & you without any thing doyng, or any honor, or profit gainyng, haue condiscended to a peace, both as honorable, and as profitable to you, as a Pesecode, and not so holesome as a Pomegranat: think you that I eyther moued you, or once entised you, to take this iorney for my peculiar aduauntage, or commodity (which of my power am able, to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your olde rightes, and possessions, which were from you both vniustlye, and wrongfullye withholden. And to the entent that you shall

know

know, that I haue no neede of your ayde, I will neyther enter into your league, nor take truce with the French King, till you be passed the sea, and haue bene there three monethes. When Duke Charles had sayde, he furiously threw downe his Chayre, and would haue departed. But the king him stayed and sayde: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leysure, what you would, you must and shall heere again what you would not: And first, as concernyng our entrie into Fraunce, no man liuyng knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so wel to remember it as you: For if you be not to forgetfull, ye remember howe the Frenche king for all your power, tooke from you the faire towne of Amias, and the strong Pile of Saint Quintines, with diuers other townes, which you neither durst, nor yet were able, either to rescue or defende. Sith which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your friendes, yea, of your priuie Chamber, and secret counsaile (by whom all your secretes be to him reueled and made open) you knowe or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to besiege the towne of Neuse, you thought your selfe, in a great doubt, whether you should leese more at home, by your absence (the Frenche King dreamyng, and waityng like a Fox for his pray) or else gaine more in Germanie, by your power and presence, and to kepe the Wolfe from the folde, that is the French King, from your Castels and Dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so faire prayed me, and so sore laboured and entised me to passe ouer the sea, promisyng Mountaynes of Golde, which turned into snowe, and wasted into water, boastyng that ye would send horsemen and footemen, and yet shewyng neither Lackey nor Page. If we had made our enterprise for our selfe solye, and in our awne quarell, thinke you that we would haue taryed your commyng? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowne, if we had entended a conquest, that we would haue so strongly inuaded, and set on the Realme of Fraunce, that your Countries of Flaunders, and Brabant, should haue had cause enough to wonder at, trustyng that, that which wee had gotten, we would haue kept aswell as any of our auncestours haue done: But because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you did not prosecute the same, the French King, which neuer offended me nor my subiectes (except in mainteinyng the Erle of Warwicke, for the displeasure that you bare him agaynst me) offred me, beyng destitute of all your succor and ayde, both honorable and honest condicions of peace, which offers I was in maner enforced by very reason to accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which God willyng I will both kepe and obserue. God send you ioy, quod the Duke, and sodainly tooke his horse, and rode againe to Luxenborough. After this day the king and the Duke, neuer loued, and neuer salve eche other, such is the ende of vntrustinesse and promise breakyng.

The Constable of Fraunce, fearing lest that by this conclusion he might be reputed of the French king vntrue, as he had well deserued it: Wherefore he sent his confessor to King Edwarde, with letters of credence, requiring him hartely little to regarde the French kings wordes, and lesse to trust to his promise, affirming that the French king would no lenger kepe promise then king Edward were on that side of the sea: and rather then he should agree with the French king, for a small summe of money, he offred to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with many other faire profers. The king of England made answere that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing chaunge, concerning the matter, and that if he had kept promise wyth hym, he would not haue made that appointment nor agreement.

Then was the Constable in maner on all sides in dispayre, but yet he wrote to the French king by his messengers, beseeching hym to geue no credite or beliefe to any tale tolde or fayned agaynst hym, without heering hys aunswere, affirming that the king had alwayes knowne hys truth and fidelitie towarde the crowne of Fraunce, and so should he still finde him tyll his diyng daye, promising and warranting him, if that it should stande with hys pleasure, that he would so compasse the Duke of Burgoyne, that they two should vtterly destroy the king of Englande and his armie or they returned.

The Counsaylers of the French king made aunswere, that their maister and the king of England were ioyned and confedered in a sure amitie: wherfore they would in no wise knowe or condiscend to any thing that might be eyther preiudiciall, or once sounde to the detriment of the English men: But they sayde, that the king their maister much trusted the Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuie Chamber. The French King before their entrie into his chamber, caused the Lorde of Countay seruaunt to the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Lorde of Argenton, one of his priuie counsayle, to stand secretly behinde a seeling or a hanging in his chamber, and he himselfe sat in a Chayre, directly before that place, so that whatsouer were purposed to him, they standing behinde the cloth, might easely see and here the same. Lewes de Creuell and his felow entred into the Kings Chamber of nothing thinking lesse then of the spirites enclosed: they declared what payne their maister had taken for the French kinges sake, to send, mooue, and entise the Duke of Burgoyne to leaue, and cleerely to forsake the king of Englande, which Duke they founde in suche a rage and furie against the Englishe men, that at their request, he was not onely vtterly determined to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out aduenturers and Launceknightes, to rob and spoyle them in their returning. And in speaking these wordes (thinking surely much to please the king) the saide Lewys counterfeyted the fashion and gesture of the Duke of Burgoyn, and began to stampe with his foote on the ground, and beate with hys fist on the table, swearing by Saint George that the King of Englande was not extracted of any noble house, but was a yomans sonne, and that when he was not worth one halfpenny, he was restored to hys kingdome, and made king onely by his ayde, reprooving and reuiling him with such yll wordes, and so shamefull termes, that all the heares abhorred it. The French king fayning that he was thicke of hearing, caused him to reherse his saiyng agayne; which so counterfeyted the very gesture of the Dukes angrie countenaunce and roring voyce, that no man hath seene a better counterfayture or Player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The Lorde of Contay was sore displeased to see hys maister made a iesting stock, but he kept all these things secret, tyll his returne to his master.

When the Pagiaunt was played, the king bad the messengers of the Constable, to haue him commended to hys brother their maister, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grewe, he would thereof aduertise him, and so gaue them licence to departe to their maister, who thought himselfe now to be in great suretie of his estate, when in deede he was neuer so nere his fall and perdition: Esteeming the Duke of Burgoyne to be hys assured friend, which hated him more then a Panyme, or a Turke, accompting also the French King to haue no yll suspicion in him, which neyther trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writing or message that was eyther written or sent from him: Such ende hath all dissimulation, such fruite springeth of double dealing and craftie conueying: for if eyther the Constable had bene faythfull to the King his maister, as of bounden duetie and allegeaunce he ought to be, or else had kept his promise, made to the king of Englande and Duke of Burgoyne, and had not dalyed and dissimuled with them, he had surely in his extremitie beene ayded, succoured and comforted of one of these three at the lest, where now he was of all three forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, and watched for, not for his profite or promotion, but for his vndoing and destruction: Now let vs leaue of the Constable, and returne to the conclusion of the peace.

When all thinges were appointed, written and established, the peace was proclaymed in both the campes, and the king of Englande, the soner to consumate the amitie by othe as it was agreed, came within halfe a league of Amias, where the French king was, which to the entent to obtayne the more fauor of the Englishmen, sent into their armie a hundred Cartes loden with Wyne, the best that might begotten. And farther, because the English men resorted to the towne of Amyas, both for their pastime and busines, he ordayned at the verye entrie of the gate of the towne, two great and long tables, to be set on euerye side of the streate, where the Englishmen shoulde passe, and euerye table was abundantly

abundantly furnished with all sortes of delycate vyand, and especially of such as woulde prouoke an appetite to drinke, there lacked no wine of no sorte, seruitours were readye to serue and minister all things necessary. And farther to accompany and familiarly to entertayne the Englishe nation, at euery table were appointed fiue or sixe gentlemen of the best companyons of the whole countrey, not onely to see them serued wythout lacking, but also to drinke and make good cheere, and keepe company with them, and euer as they entred into the towne, they were taken by the bridles and in maner enforced to drinke, wheresoeuer they came, they payde no money, but were set scot free, which chere lasted three or foure dayes, to the French kings cost, and in conclusion to hys no small vnquieting. For one day they entred into the towne of Amyas. ix. M. Englishe men well armed, so that no Frenche man durst once forbid them to enter. Their occasion of entring into the towne was onely to refreshe them, and to buy things necessary for their businesses and affayres. When the French king was thereof enformed, he was somewhat vexed and more amased, fearing either the losse of his towne or hurt of his people: he sent to the English Capitaines requiring them to withdraw their souldyers to their campe, the Capitaynes performed the kings desire, as much as in them lay, but if they sent out twenty, ten came back agayne, and brought more company with them. The French king sent Monsire de Guye, Marshall of Fraunce, and other into the towne to see the Englishemens behauiour, they found some drinking, some singing, and some sleeping, so that they might perceyue, that they ment neyther deceyt nor vntruth: yet the French king which of hys nature was very suspicious, & especially towarde the Englishe men, came to the gate of Amyas, strongly accompanied, and caused three hundred men of armes to be kept secretly in their Capitaynes houses, and other company he set on the Portall, where the English men entred, a small number God wot, to haue resisted the great companye of Englishe men, if they had eyther intended any thing towarde the French king or his towne. The king of England was priuilie enformed of the French kings doubtfull imagination and vntrue suspition: wherefore he sent worde to him, that he should make a proclamation, that no Englishe man should enter into the towne vpon a paine. The French king made aunswere, that it neyther stood wyth hys honor, nor yet with any princely humanitie, that he should forbid his friends (as he called them) to take their pleasure in hys towne, but if it might please the king of Englande, to appoint certayne of the yeomen of hys crowne, to stande at the gate, and to appoint, not onely who should enter, but also the number of them, he thought that this moderation should be both suretie and pleasure to both the parties. Which request the king of Englande wyth quick speede caused to be performed, to the great quietnesse of the French king and his counsayle, casting farther perilles then reason required.

You haue still in your remembrance, how an article of the treatie was, that the two princes should enteruiew, and meete in a place by both parties to be appointed. The king of Englande appointed the Lorde Haward, and syr Thomas Sentliger, and a Herault: for the French king were assigned the Lorde Bonchace, and the Lorde of Argenton. When they had vewed the ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient and surest place to be at Picquegny, on the water of Some three leagues fro Amyas. The towne standeth lowe, and the ryuer passeth through. On that syde the French King should come, the Countrie fayre and open, and so likewise the other part was very pleasaunt: but toward the riuer there was a cawsye of two arrow shots in length, which was enuironned with marshes, surely it was a daungerous passage to conuey a prince in a straunge realme, by such a strayte, if the French men had ment any fraude, but verily the king of Englande had so great a trust and confidence in the honor and promise of the French king and his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assuraunce haue aduentured farther then thys, if his wyll might haue beene performed. Then it was concluded by these foure cõmissioners, that a large bridge should be made ouer the ryuer of Some, in the middle of which bridge was made a great strõg grate of timber, like to the grate where the Lyons be kept, the holes of which

grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man might easely put through hys arme, which bridge was made and couered wyth bordes, onely to keepe of the weather, that vnder the couerture, there might stande twelue persons on euery side of the grate, which extended from the one side of the bridge, euen directly to the other, so that there was no way for one prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where Iohn Duke of Burgoyn was slayne) and ouer the ryuer was onely one ferie Bote. When the bridge and all other things necessary were ended and performed for so great a purpose, and well and diligently vewed on both the sides, there were appointed twelue noble personages to be attendant on euery prince to the barres, and foure Englishe men were assigned to stand with the French men on the bridge, to see their doing and behauiour, and likewise foure French men were limitted to the English men for that same cause and pollicie. At the day appointed, which was the. xxxj. day of August, eche king approched the riuer syde with his armie, so that ech armie might see other. The Frenchmen say and write, that the armie of the Englishe men was greater and much fairer then their battayle, but they excuse it (in thys case as they doe in all other) saiyng that the fourth partie of their armie was lacking, you may alow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meeting by the shot of the Artillerie was knowen, the French king with twelue noble men entred the bridge, and came to the closure, with whome was Iohn Duke of Burbon, and the Cardinall hys brother, a prelate more meete for a Ladies Carpet, then for an Ecclesiasticall Pulpet, and ten other, amongst whom the Lord of Argenton was in like apparell, as the French king ware, for so was hys pleasure that day to haue him adourned. The King of England came all a long the causey that I haue spoken of well accompanied that he seemed well to be a king, and with hym was hys brother the Duke of Clarence, the Erle of Northumberland, the Bishop of Ely his Chauncelour, the Lorde Hastinges his Chamberlayne, and eyght other Lordes. King Edward and foure other were appareled in cloth of Golde frised, hauing on his bonet of black Veluet a Floure deluce of Golde, set with very riche and orient stones, he was a goodly, fayre, and a bewtifull Prince, beginning a little to grow in fleshe, and when he approched neere the grate, he tooke of his Cap, and made a lowe and solempne obeysance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homely. King Lewys embrased King Edward through the barriers saiyng: Cosyn you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to see and speak with, then with you, and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met together for a good and godly purpose, whereof I doubt not, but that we shall haue cause to reioyse. The king of England him thanked and aunswered to hys wordes so soberly, so grauely, and so princely, that the French men there at not a little mused.

An enterview betweene the king of England and the French king.

The Chauncelour of England made there a solempne oration, in laude and prayse of peace, concluding on a prophecie, that sayde that at Pycquegny should be concluded a peace, both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and Fraunce. The Chaunceler opened the letters of both their agreements to the treatie, demaunding of them if they therewith were contented, they aunswered yea, then eche Prince layd his right hand on the Missall, and hys left hande on the holy Crosse, and tooke there a solempne othe, to obserue and keepe the treatie of the truce for. ix. yeres concluded betweene them, wyth all their confederates and alies comprised, mencioned and specified in the same, and farther to accomplish the mariage of their children, with all things thereon depending, according as it was agreed and concluded betwene their Ambassadors: when the othe was taken and sworne, the French King sayde merily to King Edwarde, brother if you will take payne to come to Parys, you shall be feasted and entertayned wyth Ladies, and I shall appoint you the Cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall gladly assoyle you of such sinnes, if any be committed. The King of Englande tooke these wordes pleasauntly and thankefully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good compaion, and a Chaplayne meete for suche a daliyng pastyme. When this communication was merily

merily ended, the French king intending to shewe himselfe like a maister amongst his seruaunts, made all his companye to drawe back from him, meaning to common with the king of Englande secretly, the Englishe men withdrew them without any commaundement, then the two kinges commoned alone secretly, I thinke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French King demaunded of King Edwarde, whether the Duke of Burgoyne would accept the truce, King Edward aunswered that he would once agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and report the truth to him. Then king Lewys began to speake of the Duke of Britayne, whome he would fayne haue accepted out of the league. To whom the King of England aunswered: Brother I require you to moue no warre to the Duke of Britayne, for on my fidelity, in the time of my neede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlye, sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then king Lewys called his company againe, and with most lowly and amiable cõmendations, toke his leaue of ỹ king of England, speking certain friendly wordes to euery Englishman. King Edward doyng likewise to the Frenchmen, they both at one tyme departed from the Barriers and mounted on horse backe, and departed the French Kyng to Amias, and King Edward to his army, to whome was sent out of the French kings house all things necessary for a Prince, in so much that neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vnsent. When the French king was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the Lord of Argenton, saiyng, by the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first beck would gladly see Paris, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasaunt or talkatyue Dames, which with fayre wordes, and pleasaunt pastimes might allure him to their fantasies, that it might breede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I woulde not gladly see, for his progenitors haue bene to long and to often both in Paris and Normandy (on this side the sea) therfore I loue neyther his sight, nor his companye, but when he is at home, I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friende.

The French king after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britaine, which he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie: wherefore he sent the Lorde Bouchage, and the Lorde of. S. Pierre, to the king of England, entreatyng him by all wayes and moeions possible, to leaue the Duke of Briteyn for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league: the king of England heeryng them so seriously, and so feruently speake agaynst the Duke of Briteyne, with an earnest countenaunce aunswered, saiyng: My Lordes I assure you, if I were peaceably at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of Briteyne and his Countrie, I woulde passe the Seas againe, agaynst all them that either woulde doe hym iniurie, or make warre vpon him. The French Lordes nothing farther saiyng, much maruelled why the king of Englande, so surely claue to the Duke of Briteynes partie: But they knewe not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henry Erle of Richmond, was within the power and Dominion of the Duke of Briteyne, whom king Edwardes phantasie euer gaue him, would make once a title to the Crowne of England, as next heyre to the house of Lancaster: For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Briteyne, would transport him into England, where he had both kinsfolke and friends, with neuer so small an ayde (yea, although it were but a shadowe of an armie) then were he enforced, newely to begin again a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the Crowne, nor obteyned the possession of the Realme, which was the very cause, why he stacke so sore on the Duke of Briteynes part. The same night the Lordes returned to Amias, and reported to their Maister king Edwardes aunswere, which therewith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the Lord Haward, and two other of the King of Englandes Counsaile (which had bene helpers forwarde of the peace) to the Frenche king to suppur. The Lorde Haward sayde to the French king, secretly in his eare, that if it stoode with his pleasure, he coulde perswade the king of England, to come to Amias, yea, peraduenture as farre as Paris, familiarly and friendly to solace himselfe with him, as his trustye friend

and

and faythfull brother. The French king, to whom this mocion was nothing pleasaunt, callyng for water, washed and rose without any answere makyng: but he sayde to one of his Counsaile, that he imagined in his awne conceipt, that this request would be made: the Englishe men began againe, to common of that matter, the Frenche men pollitiquely brake their communication, saiyng: that the king with all speede must marche forward, agaynst the Duke of Burgoyn. Although this mocion seemed, onely for to encrease loue, and continuall amitie betwene the Princes, yet the Frenchmen hauyng in their perfite remembraunce, the innumerable dammages & hurtes, which they of late dayes had susteyned by the English nacion: whereby cõtinuall hatred encreased, agaynst him in Fraunce, thought by pollicie and wisdome, with faire wordes, and friendly countenaunce, to put by this request, and to mocion them rather, to depart homewarde, then to pricke them forwarde to Paris. This peace was sayde to be made, onely by the holy Ghost, because that on the day of meeting, a white Doue sat on the verie top of the King of Englandes Tent: whether she sat there to dire her, or came thether as a token geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgement. At this treatie and meting, was not the Duke of Glocester, nor other Lordes, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with diuers other Lordes of England, to the Frenche King, which both highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. King Lewys considerynge, what gaine the Englishemen had gotten, by makyng warre in Fraunce, and what miserie, and what pouertie, the French nacion had suffered, by reason of the sayd warres, determined clerely, rather to pacifie and enterteine the English nacion, by fayre wordes, and great rewardes, (although it were to his great charge) then by to muche hardinesse, to put himselfe, his nobilitie, and realme, in a hazarde, by geuing them battaile, as his predecessors, had vnwisely done at Poyters, and at Agincort: wherefore, to buy peace, he graunted to king Edward, for a yerely tribute fiftie thousand Crownes, as is mencioned before, to be payde at London, which accompting a Crowne at foure shillinges, amounteth to ten thousande pounde. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chiefe counsaylors, he gaue great pencions, amountyng to the somme of xvj. thousand Crownes a yere, that is to say: to his Chauncelor, to the Lorde Hastynges, his chiefe Chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wit, then vertue, and of great aucthoritie with his Maister, and that not without a cause: For he had aswell in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flatteryng worlde, well and truely serued him, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Sentliger, to sir Iohn Cheiney, maister of the Kinges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Queene, and diuers other he gaue great and liberall rewardes, to the entent to kepe himselfe, in amitie with England, while he wanne and obteyned his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had geuen to them great gifies, beside yercly pencions: For the lord of Argenton his Counsailor, affirmeth of his awne knowlege, that the lord Haward, had in lesse then the terme of two yeres, for reward in money and plate. xxiiij. M. Crownes, & at the time of his meeting, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynges, the Kinges chiefe Chamberlaine, as the Frenchemen write, a hundreth Markes of siluer made in Plate, whereof euery Marke is. viij. ounces sterlyng: but the Englishe writers affirme, that he gaue the said Lorde Hastinges. xiiij. dosen boulles, that is to say, xij. dosen gilte, and xij. dosen vngilte, euery Bolle waiyng. xvij. nobles, which gift, either betokened in him, a great liberall nature, or else a great and especiall confidence, that he had in the sayd Lorde Chamberleyn. Beside this, he gaue him yerely, two thousand Crownes pencion, the which somme he sent to him, by Piers Cleret, one of the Maisters of his house, geuyng him in charge, to receyue of him an acquittance, for the receipt of the same pencion, to the entent that it should appere in time to come, that the Chauncelor, Chamberleyn, Admirall, Maisters of the horses, to the King of England, and many other of his counsaile, had bene in fee and pencionaries, of the French king, whose yerely acquittances (the Lorde Hastynges onely except) remaine of recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes,

in

in the Palace of Paris. When Piers Cleret had payed the pencion to the Lorde Hastynges, he gently demaunded of him an acquittaunce, for his discharge, which request when he denied, he then onely required of him a letter of three lines, to be directed to the King, testifiyng the receipt of the pencion, to the intent that the king his Maister, should not thinke the pencion to be imbesiled. The Lord Hastyngs although he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothing but reason, aunswered him: Sir this gift commeth onely, of the liberall pleasure of the king your maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinate wil, ỳ I shall haue it, then put you it into my sleue, and if not, I pray you render to him his gift agayne: For neither he nor you, shal haue either letter, acquittace, or scrow, signed with my hande, of the receipt of any pencion, to the intent to brag another day, that the kings Chamberlain of England, hath bene pencionarie, with the French king, and shewde his acquittance, in the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behinde, and made relacion of all thinges to his maister, which although that he had not his will, yet he muche more praysed the wisedome and pollicie of the Lord Hastynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaũdyng him yerely to be payed, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the King of Englande had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes of the French King: he trussed vp his tentes, and laded al his bagage, and departed towarde Calice, but or he came there, he remembryng the craftie dissimulacion, and the vntrue dealyng of Lewys Erle of S. Poule, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare him, to the Frenche King, in his verie true likenesse, and portrature: sent vnto him two letters of credence, writtep by the sayde Constable, with the true report of all suche wordes and messages, as had beene to him sent, and declared by the said Constable & his Ambassadors, which letters, the french King gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chiefe instrument, to bring the Constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, suche is the ende of dissimulers.

When King Edwarde was come to Calice, and had set all things in an order, he toke ship, & sailed with with a prosperous winde, into England, and was receyued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in Scarlet, and .v. C. commons, apparelled in Murry, the xxiij. daye of September, in the. xiiij. yere of his reigne, vpon Blacke Heath, and so conueyed with a great triumph, through the Citie of London vnto Westminster, where after hys long labor, he reposed himselfe a while: euery daye almost talking with the Queene his wife, of the maryage of his daughter, whom he caused to be called Dolphinesse: thinking nothing surer, then that mariage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which mariage, caused him to dissimule and doe things, which afterward chaunsed greatly to the French kings profite, and smally to his. The returne of king Edward into Englande.

When king Edwarde was arriued in England, the French King thinkyng by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyn, determined to conclude a truce, for. ix. yeres, vpon couenaunt, euery man to haue his owne: but the Ambassadours, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thinking therby, to saue the Duke from periurie, which had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the King of Englande had beene three monethes in his realme, after his returne from Calice. The King of Englande, was of all these doyngs, assertained by his friendes: wherefore, in all hast he sent syr Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise, and a sage knight, to the french king, being then at Vernyns, concluding with the Duke of Burgoyns Ambassadors, requiryng him to take none other truce, with the Duke Charles, then that which was by them concluded, desiryng him farther, in no wyse to depart with Saint Quintines, to the Duke: Offering that if he woulde, any longer continue the warre, against the sayde Duke, that he woulde for his pleasure, and the Dukes displeasure passe the seas again, the next Sommer: so that the French King, shoulde paie to him fiftie thousande Crownes for the losse which he should sustaine, in his custome by reason that the wolles at Calice, because of the warre,

coulde

coulde haue no vent, nor be vttred, and also paye halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his Souldiers, and men of warre.

The French King, most hartily thanked the King of Englande, of hys kynde offer, and faithfull friendship, excusing hym, that the peace was already assented to: howbeit, it was the verye same peace, that was betweene them concluded, sauing onely, that the Duke woulde be a contractor in the league, and not comprehended in the same, as another Princes alie. This matter was thus aunswered, and faintly excused, and with the same, syr Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conueniently rewarded: and wyth him returned, the Lorde Hawarde, and syr Iohn Cheiney, which were hostages wyth the French King, tyll kyng Edwarde were returned into Englande. The French kyng maruelled not a litle, at king Edwardes offers, and thought it perilous to cause the Englishmen to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the French men, whome they neuer loued, coniecturyng farther, that the Englishmen, and the Burgonions, would sone agree, by reason of their olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, both become enemies to the French men: wherefore, in auoyding of all ambiguities, hee determyned to conclude the truce.

1475 15

When King Edwarde had after this maner established, aswell his affaires of outwarde warre, as hys priuate and perticuler businesse at home: notwithstanding, that he beyng the most valyaunt, & fortunate victor, of such and so many terrible and bloudy battailes, myght thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnesse, and sure safety: Yet considering, that Henry the yong Erle of Richmonde, one of the ofsprings, of the blood of king Henry the sixt, was yet liuyng and in good health, he iudged hymselfe, to be farre from hys purpose, and that onely thing, did so vexe and trouble hys ioye and felicitie, that he thought hymselfe neuer to be in a sure estate. Wherefore, he determined yet once agayne, to sollicite and moue Fraunces Duke of Britayne, eyther for giftes, promises, or prayers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes. Wherefore he sent Doctor Stillyngton, & two other, his Ambassadors, well laden wyth no small somme of Gold, with al haste to the Duke of Britein: And to the entent ỳ their desire should appeere more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was only for this purpose, to ioyne with him aliance by mariage, & so to extirpate & pluck vp, all the dregges and leuyngs of the aduerse part, and contrary faction. The Duke gently harde the Ambassadors, and first he began to deny, and after to excuse, why he might, nor ought not agree to their request: but inconclusion, what with prayers requiring, and monies sollicityng, the Duke beyng weried and ouercome, deliuered the Erle to the Ambassadors, whom in his letters he highly cõmended, to king Edward, not thinking that he deliuered the shepe to the woolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that king Edward would geue in mariage to him Lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whome in deede he maried, after her fathers death, as you hereafter shall here. When the Ambassadors had the pray that they so much desired, they departed to the towne of Saint Malo, standyng on the sea syde, where they reckned to haue taken shippyng, and so to haue sayled into England. The Erle of Richmond knowyng, that he was goyng toward his death, for very pensiuenesse, and inwarde thought, fell into a feruent and sore ague. In this very season, one Iohn Cheulet, so estemed among the Princes of Briteyn, as fewe were in all the Countrey, and in much credite, and well accepted with the Duke, was when these thinges were thus concluded, for his solace in the Countrie, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abhominacion of the fact: resorted to the Court, and familierly came to the Dukes presence, and there stoode so sadly, and so pale, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was much amased, and sodainely maruayled at his sad and frownyng countenaunce, and demaunded of him what should signifie, that dumpishenesse of minde, and inward sighing, the which by his countenaunce manifestly appered: he modestly aunswered, most noble and redoubted Lorde, this palenesse of visage, and deadly looke, doth prognosticate the

Henry Erle of Richmond.

time of my death to approche and be at hande, whiche if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For then had I not beene preserued, to feele the dolorous pāgues which a fact by you done, (that I thought impossible to be obteined) hath imprinted in my stomacke: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall leese my life, or else liue in perpetuall distresse, and continuall miserie: For you my singuler good Lorde, by your vertuous actes, and noble feates, haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: which in euery mannes mouth, is extolled and eleuated, aboue the high Clowdes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenesse) that nowe that you haue obteyned, so high a laude and glorie, you nothing lesse regarde then to keepe and preserue the same inuiolate, considering that you forgetting your faith and faythfull promise, made to Henry Erle of Richmond, hath deliuered the most innocent yong gentleman, to the cruell tormentors, to be afflicted, rent in pieces and slain: wherfore all such as loue you, of the which number I am one, cannot chose but lament and be sorie, when they see openly the fame and glory of your most renoumed name, by such disloialtie & vntruth against promise, to be both blotted and stayned, with a perpetuall note of slaunder and infamie. Peace mine awne good Iohn, quod the Duke, I pray the beleue me, there is no such thing like to happen to the Erle of Richmond: for King Edward hath sent for him, to make of him, beyng his suspect enemie, his good and faire son in lawe. Well, well, quod Iohn, my redoubted Lorde, geue credence to me: the Erle Henry is at the very brinke to perishe, whome if you permit once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him from death. The Duke beyng moued with the perswasions of Iohn Cheulet, which either little beleeued, or smally suspected King Edward, to desire the Erle, for any fraude or decept, or else seduced by blinde auarice and loue of money, more then honestie or wisedome would require, did not consider, what he aduisedly did, or what he aduisedly should haue done. Wherefore, with all diligence, he sent foorth Peter Landoyse, his chiefe treasorer, commaundyng him to stay the Erle of Richmond, in all hast possible. Peter not sluggyng, nor dreamyng his businesse: came to the Englishe Ambassadors, to Saint Malos, there abidyng the winde. And first he inuented a cause of his comming, and kept with them a long communication, to protract the time, till his men in the meane season, had conueyed the Erle (almost halfe dead) into a sure Sanctuarie, within the towne, which in no wise might be violated: where he beyng deliuered, from the continuall feare of dreadful death, recouered his health, and in good plight was brought to the Duke.

Henry Erle of Richmond taketh Sentuarie.

Here a man maye euidently perceyue the olde Greeke Prouerbe to be very true, which is that a man, to a man shall sometime be as a God, for the yong Erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, sodaynely by the labor of Iohn Cheulet, and the fauour of the good Prince was preserued, saued and deliuered. God graunt that suche examples maye be a doctrine and myrror to suche as be rulers aboue other, lackyng counsaylors to monish and warne them of their duety and office. That they remembring thys good act, may learne to take into their counsayle and family, such as will well and truelye admonishe and warne them, and they likewise with good minde and glad intent to be followers of the same.

The Englishe Ambassadours complayned and murmured, that they were both spoyled of their money and marchaundise, requiring Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne so deluded without pray or penny. The treasurer effectuously promised them, that ỹ Erle either should be surelye kept in the Sentuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or else should be againe in the Dukes house put in prison, so that they should not neede no more to feare him then his shadowe. And so the king of England for his money, purchased the keping of his enemie by the space of three dayes and no more.

King Edwarde in the meane season, sore longing, and desiring to knowe what effect his Ambassage toke with the Duke of Britaine, was therefore euery houre troubled and vnquieted with harkening and looking, and at the last was certefied from thence, how the

Erle of Richemond was deliuered, and at a point to be brought home to him as prisoner in captiuitie: but that he escaped, which newes he tooke most greeuously, but after being somewhat appeased, when he had heard that he should be safely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of his minde and phantasie, and to employ all his whole studie and diligence for the keeping of his house, after a more bountifull and liberall proportion, then before he was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored his Cheste with treasure, remembering hys honor, least he peraduenture should be noted with the spot of Nigardship, he shewed himselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and a profitable king to the common wealth, and to the poore people of his realme and dominion.

1476 16 Now as this good king Edward sought & studied daylie and hourely to bring himselfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys realme to a continuall amitie, and a perpetuall peace, so likewise at the same time Charles Duke of Burgoyn, whose wyt neuer loued peace, nor yet was weary or abhorred trouble, whose intollerable paines in the warres were to him pleasure, & especiallye where he thought to obteyne any new seigniorie, or else to be reuenged of auncient enemies, for olde griefes and displeasures to him done. So that desyre of rule mixte with hatred and malice, ioyned with couetousnesse, kindled and prouoked so his courage this yere, that he partly to be reuenged of the Duke of Lorayne & the Swytchers, and partly for the couetous desire that he had to certaine landes, liyng betwene his low countries of Brabant and Flaunders and his Duchie of haute Burgoyn, assembled a great armie and a mightie puyssaunce, & besieged a towne called Granson in Lorayne, which when he had receyued, without mercy lyke a tyraunt he caused all the inhabitants cruelly to be put to death, wherof hearing the Switchers manfully encountred wyth him, and discomfited his whole armie, where the Duke lost both honor, prayse, and such abundaunce of ryches, that fewe princes in his time were able to shewe such iewels, and so many, and of such high price and value. And after not content wyth these chaunces, but euer in hope of reuenging, he fought with the Switchers againe at Morrot, where of xviij. M. good men of warre, he lost ten thousande, beside them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce and couragious Capitayne, more couragious then circumspect, gathered agayne a newe armie, and contrarie to the mindes of hys whole counsayle, in the deepe of wynter, besieged the towne of Nancy, belonging to the Duke of Lorayne, where he was encountred with the said Duke and the Switchers, and there by them agayne ouercome, discomfited and slayne.

Charles Duke of Burgoyne had many ouerthrowes, and at the last slaine.

Granson, Morrat, Nancy.

Thus in one yere he lost three great battayles, the first at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: the second at Morrat, where he lost honor, and almost all hys men: the thirde at Nancy, where he lost life, honor, ryches, men, and all wordly felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany.

Thys ende had the valyaunt hart and stoute courage of Duke Charles of Burgoyne, who in hys time could neuer agree with peace and concorde, tyll death more puyssant then life may resist, brought his bodie to quietnesse, which bodie is interred in the Church of saint George in Nancy, leauing behinde him one sole daughter lawfully begotten to be his heire, which afterward was maried to Maximilian Archeduke of Austriche.

At thys battayle were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastard brethren to Duke Charles, whome the French king bought of the Duke of Lorayne, to the intent that they should not withstand his pretenced purpose in Flaunders. If any man were sorie of the Duke of Burgoyns death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sorie, as the French king was in hart ioyous and glad: For nowe hauing peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him, in earnest or in game, & because he would leese no time, he vnder couler that women be not able to enioye any thing, that is or hath bene apperteyning to the Crowne of Fraunce, tooke of the yong damosell of Burgoyne the townes of Moundedier, Perone, Abbeuile, Monstreul, Roy, and all the townes on the ryuer of Some: Beside thys, he with no great paine obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and

the towne of Bulleyn, with the Countie of Bullonoys, which king Charles his father had before engaged, and empledged to Duke Philip of Burgoyne, as before is mencioned. But thys wylie and wittie king Lewys, comming to the towne of Bulleyn, perceyued that if it were fortefied with a garrison, it should not onely be an ill neighbor to the townes of Calice and Guysnes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subiects, when they should be, eyther by enemies assayled, or by stormie tempestious weather drimen on the narrow Seas: wherefore to cast a sure Ancker, knowing the Lorde Bartrame de la Tourre, Erle of Auluerie, to be the verie true and vndubitate heyre of the said towne and Countrie: He first obteyned of him his right and tytle in the same, rewardyng hym with a greater summe, and a more yerely value of reuenewes, in the Countie of Forest and other places. And after to the entent to haue a port euer open vpon Englande, he annexed the same towne of Bulleyne, and the Countie of Bullonoys, with the partes adiacent, to the crowne and regalitie of Fraunce. And because the forenamed towne and Countie were holden of the Erledome of Artoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemply auowed to hold the same towne & Countie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therefore did homage to the Image in the great Church called our Lady Church in Bulleyn, offring their a Harte of Golde, waiyng two thousand Crownes, ordeyning farther, that all his heyres and successors, at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royall, by themselfe, or their deputie should offer a Hart of like waight and value, as a reliefe and homage done, or made for the same towne and Countie.

You may be sure that the kyng of Englande woulde not haue suffered the French kyng to haue buylded such a couert nest so nere his towne of Calice, and the territories of the same, except hys league had bound him, or that he had to much affiaunce in the French king, whose hart was double, & whose wit was euer inconstant, but surely the hope of the preferment of his daughter, both brought him to blindnesse, and dotage. Let these doyngs ouer passe and see how politikely the French king wrought for his aduantage. During these doings in the lowe partes, he caused the Duke of Lorayne to enter into high Burgoyn with a great army, which by policie and promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to haue the order and mariage of the yong Ladye, as a pupille, warde, and orphane apertainyng to the Crowne of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no small mischiefe and trouble in Flaunders, and the countryes there about. Let vs leaue a whyle to speake of outwarde businesse, and retourne to our owne.

In this yere, then beyng Mayor of London syr Raufe Ioslyn draper, the wall of the Citie of London, that is to say, from Creplegate to Bishopsgate, was buylded, at the costes, and charges of the Citizens.

In the. xvij. yere of kyng Edwarde, there fell a sparcle of priuye malice, betweene the kyng, and his brother the Duke of Clarence, whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newlye kindled, and set a fire by the Queene or her bloud, which were euer mistrusting and priuily barking at the kings linage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisition, of such as were of no small authoritye in those dayes, the certaintye thereof was hid, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures, which as often deceyue the imaginations of fantasticall folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The fame was that the king or the Queene, or both, sore troubled with a folishe Prophesie, and by reason thereof began to stomack and greeuously to grudge against the Duke: The effect of which was, after king Edwarde shoulde reigne, on whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G. and because the Deuill is wont with such witchcrafts, to wrap and entangle the myndes of men which delite in such deuilish fantases, they sayde afterwarde that that Prophesye lost not his effect, when after kyng Edwarde, Gloucester vsurped his kyngdome. 1477

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late the olde rancor betweene them beyng newly reuiued (the which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then

betwene brethren, especially when it is firmelye fixed and rooted) the Duke beyng destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of Lady Margaret, Duches of Burgoyn, his sister, procured to haue the Lady Marye, daughter, and heyre to Duke Charles, her husbande, to be geuen to him in matrimony: which maryage king Edwarde (enuiyng the felicitie of hys brother) both agayne sayde and disturbed. This priuye displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgotten, nor outwardlye forgeuen, for that, notwythstandyng a seruaunt of the Dukes was sodainelye accused (I can not say of truth, or vntruely suspected by the Dukes enemyes) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, and thereof condempned, and put to tast the paynes of death. The Duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in hys conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor paciently suffer the vniust handlyng of hys trusty seruaunt, dayly did oppugne, and wyth ill wordes murmur at the doing thereof. The king much greeued and troubled with his brothers dayly complayntes, and continuall exclamation, caused him to be apprehended, & cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and adiudged for a traytor, was priuily drowned in a Butte of Malmesey.

George duke of Clarence drowned in a But of Malmesey in the towre.

But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death, and destruction, yet he much did both lament hys infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execution. In asmuch, that when any person sued to him for pardon or remission, of any malifactor condempned to the punishment of death, he would accustomably say and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openlye speakyng, and apparauntly meaning, by the meanes of some of the nobility he was surcumuented, and brought to his confusion.

This Duke left behinde him two yong infantes, engendered of the bodie of the daughter to Richard late Erle of Warwicke, which children by destinie, or by their awne merites, folowing the steppes of their auncestors, succeded them in like misfortune, and semblable yll chaunce. For Edwarde hys heire, whome King Edward had created Erle of Warwicke, was. xxiij. yeres after in the time of King Henrie the seuenth, attainted of treason, and on Towre hil behedded. Margaret his sole daughter was maried to sir Richard Pole knight, being much bound to king Henry the seuenth, for her aduauncement in mariage, beside manifolde benefites, by her of him receyued: But most of all obliged to that excellent Prince king Henry the eight, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of Comptesse of Salisburie, as to the possessions of the same: she forgetting the miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembring the kindenesse and kindred of her sayd souereigne Lorde, committed against his maiestie and his realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the which she was in open Parliament, adiudged and attainted, and sixtie and two yeres after her father was put to death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place, with an Axe suffered execution. In whose person died the very surname of Plantagenet, which from Geoffrey Plantagenet, so long in the blood roiall of this realme, had flourished and continued. After the death of this Duke, by reason of great heate and vntemperate aire, happened so fierce and so quicke a Pestilence, that fiftene yeres warre past, consumed not the thirde part of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

Edward erle of Warwick.

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury.

A greate pestilence.

1478
E 18

You haue heard not long before, howe the Frenche king not onely claymed the rule, gouernaunce, and mariage of the yong Princesse, and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also howe he, what with pollicie, and what with force, had plucked from her the fairest feathers of her taile, that is to meane, whole haute Burgoyne, and the strong townes of Picardie, which in time to come might, (as they were very like) happen to proue yll neighbors to the English nacion. All these thinges were pollitikely pondered, and ripely digested by the wise counsaylors of England, which first considered the olde amitie, betwene the house of England and Flaunders, and the dayly entercourse, trafficke and commutacion, which no small season had bene practised, frequented, and exercised, mutually and friendly betwene the subiectes, and all nacions hauyng resort to either of the sayd Countries, sawe it:

it open before their eies, that if the French king, either by force or by coniunction of marriage to Charles Erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised his good will, for the obteyning of the yong Princes) should get the vpper hande of the Damosell or of her seignories and dominions, that then dammage might ensue to the whole realme of England, both for vttering of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impediment or stop of their entercourse, beside new imposicions and gabels, to be set within the sayde Countries, vpon the Marchaunts, their goodes and wares. Wherefore the whole Nobilitie and sage fathers, made humble request to king Edward to helpe and ayde the yong Ladie and Princes of Burgoyne, alleging that as farre as they could perceyue, the mariage of his daughter with the Dolphin, was but dissimuled and fayned, for in the treatie concluded at Picquegnie, betwene him and king Lewys, it was appointed, agreed, and openly sworne, that the French king, within a yere folowing, should send for the Lady Elizabeth, entituled Dolphinesse of Vien, to be conueyed into Fraunce, which yere with foure more were passed and gone, without any worde speakyng of her sendyng for, or goyng into Fraūce.

The Queene of Englande also had written in this season to the Ladye Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the preferment of her brother Anthonie Erle Riuers, to the mariage of the yong Damosell, but the counsaile of Flaunders, considering that he was but an Erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enheritrice of all Christendome at that time, gaue but deafe heeryng to so vnmete a request: the which desire, if the Fleminges had but geuen good eare to, or with gentle wordes delayed the suyte, shee had both bene succoured and defended with a good number, and not susteined so great losse as she did. Whether king Edward were not content with this refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kinges promise, then all his Counsayle coulde see cause, or that he was loth to leese his yerely tribute of fiftie thousande Crownes, he would in no wise consent to sende any armie into Flaunders against the Frenche king: But he sent Ambassadors to king Lewys with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to conclude some reasonable peace, or else at the least to take a certaine truce with her at his request.

The Ambassadors of England, were highly receyued, bountifully feasted, and liberally rewarded: But aunswere to their desire had they none, but that shortly the French king would send Ambassadors, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their Maister, for the concludyng and performance of all things, depending betwene them two: So that their souereigne Lorde and they, should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All these faire wordes, were onely delayes to protract time, and in the meane season, to winne townes and countries, from the Damosell, or any ayde or succor could be to her administred.

A great offer made by the French king to king Edward the fourth.

And beside this, to staye king Edwarde, from taking parte with her. He wrote to him, that if he woulde ioyne with him in ayde, or personally make warre, in any part of the Ladies territories, or dominions, that then king Edwarde, shoulde haue, and enioye, to hym and hys heyres the whole Countye, and Contrey of Flaunders, discharged of all homage, superioritye, and ryght to be claymed by the French kyng, and hys heires and successors, and farther, he shoulde haue the whole Duchie of Brabant, whereof the French kyng offered, at his owne charge and cost, to conquere foure, the chiefe and strongest townes, within the sayde Duchie, and them in quiet possession, to deliuer to the king of Englande, graunting farther to paye to him, tenne thousande Aungelles, towarde hys charges, besides municions of warre and Artillerie, which he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueyance of the same.

The king of Englande aunswered, that the townes of Flaunders were of no small strength, nor of no little quantitie, verie vneasie to be kept, when they were conquered: and of no lesse force was the Duchie of Brabant, with whome his subiectes were both loth, and not verie wylling to haue warre there, considering that thether was one of their common trafficques and ventes, of all their Marchaundise: But if the French king would

make

make him partener of his conquest in Picardy, rendering to him part of the townes, already gotten and gayned, as Boleine, Mounstrell, and Abbeuile, then he would surely take hys part, and aide him with men at his awne costes and charges. While this matter was in aunswering, and repliyng againe, the French king spoyled the yong Princes of townes and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father left, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherefore for pure necessitie of aide and strength, shee maried with Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Emperor, which to his power, sore resisted the french king, for making any inuasions into Flaunders, or other his wifes landes and seigniories. This Princesse conceyued of her husbande, in the first yere of her mariage, a faire Ladie called Margaret, whome king Lewys so phantesied, eyther to haue a publique peace with Maximilian her father, by the which he might stay all warre and hostilitie betwene them, and so by that meane peaceably to enioy the Countries and townes, by him stollen and faintly conquered, or else imagining by that onely damosell, in conclusion to conioyne the whole Countrie of Flaunders, and the other dominions therevnto apperteyning to the crowne of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe times, before attempted and assayed.) That he cleerely forgetting his promise made, written, and sworne to the King of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lordes of Flaundyrs, to haue the sayde Lady Margarete to be conioyned in matrimonie with the Dolphin his sonne, wryting and sending to the king of Englande faire promises and flattering letters, when his purpose was cleerely vanished out of England and fixed in Flaunders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.

1479 19 King Edward in the. xix. yere of his reigne, forgetting as well all exterior inuasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine trouble: which before that time, he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was wylling had both felt and had in continuall experience, began first more then he was before accustomed, to serch out the penall offences, as well of the chiefe of his Nobilitie, as of other Gentlemen, being propritaries of great possessions, or abundauntly furnished in goods, beside Marchaunts and other inferior persons. By the reason whereof, it was of all men adiudged more then doubted, considering his new fame of ryches, and his greedy appetite of money and treasure, that he would proue hereafter a sore and an exstreme prince amongst his subiectes, and this imagination in especiall, wandred through the heades of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence was put to death, he should say, that all men should stande and liue in feare of hym, and he to be vnbrideled and in doubt of no man, But his newe inuented practise, what for other forrein and outwarde affaires, and what for the shortening of his dayes in this transitorie worlde (which were within two yeres after consumed) toke some, but no great effect. Howbeit experience teacheth, that prosperitie often times is as great a trouble as a mischiefe, and as vnquiet a profite to the possessioners of riches and such as haue the fruition of the same: as pouertie and aduersitie are profitable & laudable, in other persons which can with pacient stomack, and meeke hart, beare and suffer the stormes and surges of euill fortune, and peruerse mischaunce.

Here I finde noted that about thys tyme, that one Thomas Iland a Shriefe of London, builded of his awne costes the great Conduyt in Chepe in London.

1480 20 After this king Edward hauing all things brought to that effect, which he had long desired, except the mariage of his daughter with Charles the Dolphyn, much studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, according to the appoyntment made and concluded, to be accomplished and solempnized, and therefore not only wrote, but sent diuers messengers to the french king for the performaunce of the same. The French king which neuer intended to haue that mariage take effect, considering that the Dolphin, was muche yonger then the Ladie Elizabeth, and for other causes sent Ambassadors to the king of England with faire wordes, and friuolous delayes, making hys excuse that he had not sent for the kings daughter to be maried to his sonne the Dolphin, according to the league and treatie concluded by the occasion of his great troubles, and busie warres enterprised in high

high Burgoyne, and the lowe countries, so that he was disgarnished as well of his nobilitie, as of other men of honour to receiue her into his realme, according to her estate and degree: promising faythfully, shortly to sende for her, and to conueye her with such a pompe and royall traine, that it should be to both their honors and laudes, and to the high contentation of the king of England and hys Quene, which he no lesse then her husband desired, and sore longed to see the conclusion of the sayde mariage take effect.

These Ambassadors were well feasted, and lykewise rewarded, and so toke their leaue. And wythin a conuenient season after, he sent other Ambassadors, which were neuer in Englande before, to the entent that if their predecessors, had sayde or concluded any thing, (although they were authorised so to doe) yet if it myght tourne, to the French kings preiudice or damage, they might without blame, excuse themselues by ignoraunce, of that matter, affirmyng that they had no commission to common, or else once to enterpryse, to meddle wyth that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thing was like to be concluded, which sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he woulde sende for his Ambassador, in great hast, and after sende another, with new instructions nothing depending on the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewys, vsed with all Princes, to whome he sent anie Ambassadors, by the which he compased many things, to his purpose and to their losse: But most of all, he thus dalyed with the king of Englande concernyng this mariage, onely to the entent, to keepe him styll in amitye, aboue all other Princes. And for a truth the king of Englande beyng of no suspicious nature, so much trusted, and gaue to hym so much confidence, that hee thought the Sunne, would soner haue fallen from his circle, than that kyng Lewys, eyther would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise wyth him.

But who soner breaketh promise, then he that is most trusted, or who soner deceiueth, then he to whome most credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so sone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but as in nothing, mistrustyng, is no small lightnesse, so into much trusting, is to much foly: wherefore if king Edwarde had eyther not to much trusted, or mistrusted the French kings fayre promises, (as I woulde he had done in deede) the Crowne of Fraunce, had not so increased in possessions and dominions, to the great glory, and strength of that realme, nor the Princes of Burgoyn, had not so bene plucked, harried, and spoyled, of her fayre townes and Castles as she was, which chaunce, she being destitute of friends, and without comfort of defenders, by pacience perforce, was compelled to suffer and susteyne.

Thus is the league made with Lewys the French king, fraudulentlye glosed and dissimuled. Thus is the oth made, and sworne vppon the holy Euangelistes, violated, and contrary to the worde, and honor of a Prince, broken and falsefyed: by which vntrue dealing, and couert dissimuling, with his especiall and trustie friende, all men may easely see, and more apparauntlye then in a glasse beholde that the verie naturall condicion of the French nation, is pleasauntly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, till they haue once obteyned, their pretensed purpose, and haue their ambitious desire accomplished and satisfied, and that gaine once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth nor friendship continueth, nor yet humanitie and kindnesse before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore (sayth Hall) mine aduise is, let all men trust them, as they finde them.

And in this verie season, Iames the thirde of that name king of Scottes, sent into England a solempne Ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cicile, King Edwardes second daughter, to be maried to his eldest sonne, Iames prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, and Erle of Caricke. King Edward and his counsayle, thinking that this affinitie should be as well honorable as profitable to the realme, did not onely graunt to his desire and demaund, but also before hande disbursed certaine summes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should hereafter neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon thys condition that if 1481 21

the

the sayd matrimony by any fortune or chaunce should in time to come, take no successe nor perfection: or that king Edward would notefie to the king of Scottes or his counsayle, that his pleasure was determined to haue the sayd mariage, to be infringed and dissolued: Then the Prouost and Marchaunts of the towne of Edenborough, should be bound for the repaiment of the sayde somme agayne. All which things were with great deliberation concluded & sealed, in hope of continuall peace. But this king Iames beyng a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opinion then reason would scarce beare, would neither here nor geue credite to them, that spake contrarie to his awne phantasie, or his imagined opinion: And to the intent that no man should finde fault with his doings, or reprehende his actes, he promoted and made counsaylers, men of base linage and lowe bloud, and in especiall Cochrane and his company, by whose euill aduise and mischieuous instigation, he so punished and grieued his nobilitie, both with inprisonment, exactions and death, that some of their voluntarie will went into exyle, and other fayning cause to depart, fled into other landes, and straunge Countries. For the Duke of Albanie called Alexander, brother to king Iames, was exiled into Fraunce, but passing through Englande, he taried with king Edward as you shall here. The Erle of Mar a wise and pollitique counsayler, was in Edenborough behedded: And beside this he forgetting his othe, promise and affinitie, concluded with king Edward, caused armies to be made into England, spoyling, burning, and kylling the kings faythfull subiectes: at the which vnpriucely doyng, the king of Englande being not a little moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battayle and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstanding, because king Iames craftily excusing himselfe, alledging the mischiefe late committed to be attempted & done without his consent, knowledge, or counsayle, this matter had beene lightly pacified and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albany being with King Edwarde, had not incensed and prouoked him to make warre on the Scottish king his brother, both to reuenge the iniuries of late, to the sayde king done, contrarie to all lawes of armes and princely demeanure, and also to helpe to restore the sayde Duke to his possessions and dominions agayne: out of the which he was by the king his brother dispossessed and reiected, promising to king Edwarde great ayde and assistence, when his armie was once entered into the confines of Scotland.

King Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somewhat agreeable to this: but the inwarde remembraunce how that king Iames, had supported against him, with men and money, his olde enemie king Henrie the sixt: and also trusting, that if Alexander Duke of Albanie by his ayde should vanquishe his brother, and obteine the Crowne of Scotland, he would be alwayes to him, sure, faithfull, and trustie: whiche did so enflame his courage, and set his heart on fire, that he determined with all diligence, with an armie royall, to inuade the Countrie of Scotland, and make the king to knowe that he had neither honourably nor truely kept his league and promise: Wherefore, all the winter season, he mustred his souldiors, prepared his ordinaunce, rigged his shippes, and left nothing apperteinyng to the warre vnpurueied or vnloked for: so that in the beginnyng of the yere, all thinges were prepared, and no thing was missed.

1482 And when all thinges apperteinyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprice, were put in a redinesse, and redie to be set forwarde: King Edward appoynted, to be chieftaine of his host, and Lieutenant generall, his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Lorde Stanley, Lorde Steward of his householde, the Lorde Louell, and the Lorde Greystocke, and diuers other noble men and Knightes. These valiaunt Capitaines set forwarde in May, and made such diligence, with pollitique conueyaunce of their souldiors: beside the troubleous cariage of their ordinaunce, that they came to the towne of Alnewicke, in Northumberland, about the beginnyng of Iuly, where they first encamped themselues, and marshalled their hoste. The foreward was led by the Erle of Northumberland, vnder whose Standard were, the Lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Iohn Middleton, sir Iohn Dichfield, and diuers other Knightes, Esquiers and Souldiours, to the number of sixe thousand, and seuen

22 The king sendeth a great army to inuade Scotland.

hundred men. In the middle warde was the Duke of Gloucester, and with him the Duke of Albanie, the Lorde Louell, the Lorde Greystock, sir Edwarde Wooduile, and other, to the number of fiue thousand, and eight hundreth men. The Lorde Neuell was appoynted to folowe, accompanied with three thousand men. The Lorde Stanley, led the wing on the right hand of the Dukes battaile, with foure thousande men, of Lancashire, and Chesshire: The left wing was guided by the Lorde fitz Hewe, sir William a Parre, sir Iames Harrington, with the number of two thousand men, & beside all these, there was a thousand men appoynted to geue attendance on the ordinaunce. This royall army, not entendyng to slepe, but to geue the Scots knowlege of their arriuall in those parties, came sodainly by the water syde, to the towne of Berwicke, and there what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, tooke and entered the towne: But the Erle Bothwell, beyng Capitaine of the Castell, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flatteryng wordes, nor for manacing bragges: wherefore, the Capitaines deliberately consultyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it round about. When this siege was thus layde, the two Dukes, and all the other Souldiours, except the Lorde Stanley, sir Iohn Elrington, treasorer of the Kinges house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men, that were left behinde to keepe the siege before the Castell, departed from Barwicke towarde Edenborough: and in marchyng thytherward, he brent and destroyed in Scotland more then. xliiij. townes.

While these thinges were in doyng, King Iames of Scotland, hauing small confidence in his Commonaltie, & lesse trust in his Nobilitie, did voluntarily enclose himselfe into the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfectly trusting there to be out of all doubts and daunger, except famine, or treason should cause him violently to open the portes or gates: wherefore the Duke of Gloucester entred into the towne, and at the especiall request & desire of the Duke of Albany, saued the towne, & the inhabitaunts of the same, from fire, blood, and spoyle, takyng onely such presentes as the marchaunts gently offered him, and his Capitaines: Causyng Gartier, principall king at armes, to make a publique Proclamacion at the high Crosse, in the Market place of Edenborough, in the which he warned and admonished, Iames king of Scottes, to keepe, obserue, and performe all suche promises, compactes, couenauntes, and agreementes, as he had concluded and sealed to, with the high and mightie Prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. &c. And also to make condigne and sufficient recompence to his Subiectes, for the great tirannie, spoyle, and crueltie, that he and his people had perpetrate, and committed contrary to his league, within the marches and territoryes of his Realme of Englande, before the first day of August next ensuyng.

And farther without delay to restore the high & mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, hys naturall brother to hys estate, and all hys offices, possessions, and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner, as he before occupied and enioyed the same: or else the high and valiaunt prince Richarde Duke of Glocester, Lieutenant generall, and chiefetain for the kyng of Englande, was redy at hande to destroy hym, his people and country with slaughter, fyre, and famine.

Kyng Iames woulde make no aunswere, neyther by worde nor by writyng, knowyng that his power nowe fayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defende his countrie beyng with such a puissant armye inuaded. The Lordes of Scotlande, lyyng at Hadington wyth a great puissaunce, hearyng the kyng of Englandes reasonable desire, determined first to practise wyth the Duke of Glocester for a peace, and so to haue the castle of Berwicke to their parte and after by some meanes to allure the Duke of Albanie, from the English amitie, and vpon this mocion, the. ij. day of August, they wrate to the Duke of Glocester, that the maryage betwene the Prince of Englande shoulde be accomplished in all poyntes, according to the couenantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrossed, requiring farther that a peace from hence foorth might be louinglye concluded betweene both the Realmes. The Duke of Glocester wisely and circumspectly certified

them agayne, that as touchyng the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their Prince and the Lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinate pleasure of the kyng his maister and brother, eyther for the affirmaunce or denyaunce of the same, but he desired full restitucion of all such summes of money, as for the said mariage before time had bene disbursed, or prested out in loane. And where the sayde Lordes desyred to haue a peace concluded from thenceforth, betwene both the sayde realmes. He first required to haue the Castell of Barwicke to him deliuered, at the least if he did agree to the sayde peace, that then his siege lyng about the sayde Castell, shoulde be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested, nor the king of Scottes, nor none of his subiectes, nor any other by his procurement or prouoking, should ayde, comfort, or assist with vittaile, ordinance, or otherwyse the Capitaine, Constable, or souldiors of the sayd Castell, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotland, perceiuyng and well pondering, both the aunswere and the demaundes of the Duke of Gloucester sent to him sufficiently enstructed with these conclusions the reuerend father Andrew, Erle of Murray, and the Lord Iohn Darnell, which thus aunswered, that where the sayde Duke desired repayment of the summes of money deliuered in part of payment for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the Prince of Scotland, and the kinges daughter of England: the time of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minoritie of the sayde Prince and Princesse. And the fault hereof is, that no day was appoynted for the money, to be payde before the contract began. And if the king your brother would demaund farther assuraunce, either for the contract to be made, or for the payment of the money, they promise therevnto, according to reason to agree. Secondarily as touching the Castell of Barwicke, they sayde, all we knewe well enough, that it is the olde enheritaunce of the Crowne of Scotland, of many hundreth yeres past, and that our souereigne Lord hath right thervnto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conquest, it is well knowen that it standeth in Scotland, and ouer the Scottishe ground. The Duke notwithstanding their saiyngs, would condiscend to no peace, without the Castell of Barwicke were rendered to the king of Englande, and so the Messengers departed, and on the same daye the Archebyshop of Saint Andrewes, the Byshop of Dunkelle Colyn, Erle of Argyle, Lorde Cambell, and Lorde Andrewe, Lorde Auandale, Chauncelour of Scotlande, wrote vnto the Duke of Albanie a solempne and autenticall Instrument, signed and sealed wyth their seales, bindyng their bodies, landes, and goodes, to the sayde Duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the king of Scottes, and keepe and obscrue his fayth and promise to be made to the sayde Lordes, that he should not onelye bee restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices and possessions, whiche he enioyed at the daye of hys departure out of Scotlande, but also should haue and enioy to him, and his seruaunte and familiers, a free and a generall pardon, which restitution and pardon, they likewise promised to be ratified and approued by the King and the three estates assembled at the next Parliament. The Duke beyng glad to be restored againe to his olde estate and possessions, and especially in his awne native Countrie, receyued their offer, which was truely performed, and so tooke his leaue of the Duke of Glocester, thanking him (as he was no lesse bound) for the great labor, trauaile and paine, that he had taken in his awne person for his restitution. And promised both by worde, and by writyng of his awne hand to doe and performe all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworne and promised to king Edward, notwithstandyng any agreement, nowe made or to be made with the Lordes of Scotland: and for the performaunce of the effect of the sayde Scedule, he againe tooke a corporall othe before the Duke of Gloucester, and sealed the writyng the thirde day of August, in the Englishe campe at Leuington, besides Hadington, & departed to his awne possessions. After he was thus restored and reconciled, the Lordes of Scotland proclaimed him great Lieutenant of Scotland, and in the kinges name made Proclamation, that all men shoulde be readie, vpon paine of death within viij. dayes at Craushaues, both to rayse the siege before the Castell, and for the recoueryng againe

of

of the towne of Barwicke. The Duke of Albanie wrote all this preparacion to the Duke of Glocester, humbly requiring him to haue no mistrust in him, promisyng to kepe his othe and promise, made to Kyng Edward and to him. The Duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe, that it should neither be honourable nor cõmendable in him, to helpe to raise the siege, at the laiyng whereof he was counsaylor and partener, nor yet to reward the king of England with such a displeasure for his kindenesse, costes, and expences, to him in his extreme necessitie, louyngly shewed, and liberally exhibited. But he assured him in the worde of a Prince, that if he and all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayse the siege, planted before the Castell of Barwike, that he himselfe with his armie woulde defende the besiegers, or else die in the quarell.

The counsayle of Scotlande sagely and politiquely sawe before, that if they shoulde come to rayse the siege, that the Duke of Glocester woulde with them shortly encounter, and that if they lost the fielde, both the strength of the realme was brought to an imbecilitie, the nobles sore minished, and the Castell lost and taken. And on the other side, if they obteyned victorye, nothing was gotten but the pore towne of Barwike, & they were likely sone to be inuaded wyth a greater powre shortly agayne, wherefore they sent Lyon king at armes to the Duke of Glocester, offeryng to hym as they thought, two offers very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promise on hys honor, to subuert and cast downe the towne walles of Barwicke, they woulde likewyse race, and clerely deface the walles, Towres, and portes of the Castell, or else the Duke of Glocester to put in a capytayne, and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the Duke of Albanie, likewise to doe with the Castel, for the Tuicion of the same. And farther the forsayde Lion desired an abstinence of warre to be taken, till the two Dukes might haue communication, of thys and other graue matters, concerning the welthes of both the Realmes. The Duke of Gloucester refused both the offers, saiyng, that he had long maintayned the siege before the Castell of Barwicke, to no small wast and consumyng of hys brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauayle & payne of the Lordes, Gentlemen, and men of warre, that continuallye made there abode and dayly residence, at the sayde siege: wherefore he said, that he in this poynt was firmely resolued, not to departe tyll the castell were yelded by apoyntment, or taken by force, or else his siege were by the power of Scotlande raysed, or he and his armie vanquished: wherefore hee woulde by no meane harken to the peticion of the Scottish Lordes, concerning the abstinence of warre, tyll he were eyther vanquished or possessed of the Castell of Barwicke. With which aunswere the Herault departed, and thereof made relacion to the Lordes and counsayle of Scotlande. When the Dukes aunswere was of them well digested, they euidently perceiuyng that the Castell of Barwicke was the onely maker of the peace, and that the not deliuerye of the same, should be the norice and continuer of warre and hostilitie: consyderyng farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotlande, did not draw together by one line, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and chosing the better parte, and reiectyng and auoyding the worse, agreed and determined to delyuer the Castell of Barwicke to the English partie, so that there should be truce or abstinence of warre taken and concluded for a determinate season. And therevpon they sent to the Duke of Glocester a league indented, which was dated the. xxiiij. day of August, in the yeere of our Lorde a. M.CCCC.lxxxij. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the Duke of Glocester, lieuetenaunt generall for the king of Englande, and Alexander Duke of Albanie, lieuetenaunt for Iames kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre shoulde be kept and obserued betwixt the realmes of Englande and Scotlande and the people of the same, aswell by sea, as by lande, to begyn the. viij. day of September next ensuing, & to endure till the fourth day of Nouember, next folowyng. And in the meane season, the towne and Castell of Barwicke, to be occupied, and bee in the reall possession of such as by the kyng of Englands deputie shoulde be apoynted and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites, and territories as the English nacion, last vsed and possessed, when the Castell

and towne were in the subiection of the Englishmen, and all other marches & boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayde realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last truce concluded. The Duke of Glocester, which well perceiued that the Scottes more graunted to his demaunds, for reliefe of their owne necessitie, then to gratifie him or the kyng his brother in any poynt: lyke a wise counsayler, toke his aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these things made for his long desired purpose.

The recouerie of the towne & the Castell of Barwike.

First the deliuery of the Castell of Barwicke, he voluntarilye wythout counsayle (as a praye priuily gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that only cause he did not refuse the abstinence of warre but to that gently agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes dependyng in variance betwene the realmes (commonlye called the batable grounde) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude wyth the Duke of Albanie, without hauing farther intelligence of the king hys souereigne Lordes pleasure and counsaile, meanyng thereby euer to keepe them, as suiters to him, and he no farther to seke on them, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. When he had sealed to the first two Articles, & that they were sent againe to the Lords of Scotlande, they them gladly receiued, and with good will embraced, and lykewise truely performed the same: for the Castell of Barwicke was incontinent deliuered to the Lorde Stanley, and other thereto appointed, which therein put both Englishe men and Artilerie, sufficient for the defence of all Scotlande for. vj. monethes. By this meanes as you haue harde, the Englishmen repossessed agayne the towne and castell of Barwicke, which. xxj. yeres before by kyng Henry the sixt was to the Scottes, as you haue hard, giuen vp & deliuered. And lest peraduenture the Duke of Glocester might thinke that the Duke of Albanie did not in all things set forwarde, preferre, and auance his first requestes, and demaundes, made and required of the Lordes of Scotland, and in especiall one which was for the assurance to be made for the repaiment to the king of Englande, of all such summes of money, as he had before hande prested and disbursed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised and consummate betwene their childrē, as before is rehersed. Therefore the sayde Duke of Albanie caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatorye, to Kynge Edwarde, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same money, which he also sent by the sayde Prouost to the Duke of Glocester to Alnewyke.

When the Duke of Glocester had thus obteined his purpose, and receiued writings signed and sealed for the performance of the same, he sent the instruments to king Edward his brother, which much cōmended both his valiant manhood, and also hys prudent pollicy in conueying his businesse, both to his awne purpose, and also to the profite of the realme. King Edward not a litle mused, and much more debated with his counsayle, whether it were more profitable and honorable to him and his realme, to suffer the sayd mencioned mariage to take effect, and proceede to a conclusion, or else to require a repayment and redeliuery of the summes of money layde out for the same purpose. After long consultation had, and it was considered in what case the realme and the king of Scottes stood in, for it was well knowen that he and hys Nobilitie were at great discorde as you before haue heard: it was considered farther, that if the nobilitie preuayled and gat the souereigntie, the lyne and succession of Iames the thirde were likely to be vtterly extirpate, and disinherited for euer: It was also alleged that the Prince of Scotlande neuer condiscended, nor as he himselfe sayde would agree to this mocioned mariage. These things thus debated, the king by great aduice, refused and reuoked all things to be done for the more forewardnesse of the sayde matrimonie, and elected and chose the repayment of all such summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage was payde, and before hande contented and deliuered. And according to the wordes of the obligation, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Garter hys principall king at Armes and Northumberlande Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and Burgesses

gesses of Edenborough, the determinate refusall of the matrimony, and the election and choyse of the repayment of the money and duety. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion, Garter was instructed by wryting what he should saye and declare: and so by conuenient iourneys came to the towne of Edenborough, eyght dayes before the feast of all Saintes, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I Garter king at armes, seruaunt, protectour and messenger vnto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread souereigne Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God, King of Englande and of Fraunce, and Lorde of Ireland, by vertue of certaine letters of procuracie here redie to be shewed by mee, by my sayde souereigne Lorde made and geuen, make notice and geue knowledge vnto you Prouost, Burgesses, Marchauntes and communaltie of the towne of Edenborough in Scotland, that where as it was sometime commoned & agreed, betwene my sayde souereigne Lorde on the one partie, and the right high and mightie prince Iames king of Scottes on the other party, that mariage and matrimonie should haue bene solempnised and had betwene Iames the first begotten sonne of the sayd king of Scottes, and Ladie Cicilie daughter to my sayde souereigne Lorde the king of England. And for the sayde mariage to haue bene performed, certain and diuers great summes of money, haue bene payde and contented by my sayde souereigne Lord: which summes of money in case of refusall of the sayde mariage, by my sayde souereigne Lorde to be made and declared, ye the said Prouost, Burgesses, Marchaunts and communaltie, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder your common seale of your towne of Edenborough, to repaye vnto hys highnesse vnder like forme, and at such termes as they were first paide. So that the king my souereigne Lorde woulde make notice and knowlege of his pleasure and election, in taking or refusing of the sayde mariage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhalowes next to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearing date at Edenborough the fourth day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and election of my sayde souereigne Lorde, for diuers causes and considerations him moouing, is to refuse the accomplishement of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all such summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage, his highnesse had payde. The sayde repayment to be had of your Prouoste, Burgesses, Marchaunts, and communaltie, and euery of you, your heyres and succeessours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehersed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer to you within the terme in your saide letters lymitted and expressed to all entents and effects, which thereof may ensue.

The message of Garter King at Armes.

When Garter had thus declared all things geuen to him in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made aunswere: that they nowe knowing the kings determinate pleasure, would according to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gently entertayning Garter conueyed him to Barwike, from whence he departed to newe Castell, to the Duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings, which Duke with all speede returned to Sheryhutton, and there abode. Shortly after Garters departing, the Duke of Albanie, thinking to obteyne agayne the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of Captiuitie and prison, wherein he had a certaine space continued (not without the Dukes assent, which besieged him in the Castell of Edenborough a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardly he receyued great thankes, when inwardly nothing, but reuenging and confusion was in the kings stomack incorporate, so that shortly after in the kings presence, he was in ieopardie of his life, & all improuided for dread of death enforced to take a small Balinger & to saile into Fraunce, where shortly after ryding by the men of armes, which encountered at the Tilt, by Lewys then Duke of Orleaunce, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare, by fortunes peruerse countenaunce pittifully slayne and brought to death, leauing after him one onely sonne named Iohn, which being banished Scotlande, enhabited and maried in Fraunce, and there died. How sorrowfull is it to write, and to remember the chaunces and infortu-

The Duke of Albanie in daunger of his life, is forced to flie into Fraunce and shortly after was there slaine.

nites that happened within two yere in England and Scotlande, betweene naturall brethren. For king Edward set on by such as enuied the estate of the Duke of Clarence, forgetting nature, and brotherly friendship, consented to the death of hys sayde brother. Iames king of Scottes, putting in obliuion that Alexander his brother was the onely Organe and instrument by whome he obteyned libertie and freedome, seduced and led by vyle and malicious persons, which maligned at the glory and indifferent iustice of the Duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death and exiled him for euer: what a pernicious Serpent, and what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deuilishe whelpe, called priuie Enuie? Agaynst it no fortresse can defend nor caue can hide, no wood can shadowe, nor foule can escape, nor no beast can auoyde, her poyson is so strong.

Wherefore let euery indifferent person searche histories, read Chronicles, looke on authours, as well holy as prophane, and they shall apparauntly perceyue, that neyther open warre, daylie famine, nor accustomed mortalitie, is not so much an enemie, nor so great a Malle to destroye, and ouerthrowe high power and Nobilitie, as is rooted malice, inward grudge, and dissimuled hatred.

Although that king Edwarde were glad & ioyous of all the prosperous successe of all enterprises in the realme of Scotlande, yet euen now hys Feuer tercian, of the which he had languished sore, sithe hys voyage royall into Fraunce, was sodainely turned into a vncurable quartain: For where he was before tossed betweene hope and dispaire, that the matrimonie of hys daughter and Charles the Dolphin, should come to the solempnization, according to the league, betwene him & the french king, concluded at Picquegnie: Now he was out of all doubt. For the Lorde Haward which was returned out of Fraunce, with many faire wordes & painted promises but without tribute or cōclusion of the mariage, certified the king of his awne knowlege: howe that he beyng present, sawe the Ladie Margaret of Austriche, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperor Fredericke, receyued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the Duke of Burbon, the Lorde Delabret, and many other Lords and magistrates of the realme, and so with great triumph, conueyed to Amboyse, where the Dolphyn laye, and there was to him contracted and espoused.

King Edward now beyng certein, how the French king had with pleasant language, & colourable aunsweres, foded him forth, and allured him to geue credence, to his dissimulyng wordes, neither meanyng as he sayde, nor shewyng what he ment, determined with himselfe, no longer to suffer so apparant wrong, nor so intollerable an iniurie. Wherefore, he called his Nobilitie together, and declared to them the manifolde wrong, which he had receyued of late at the handes of the Frenche king, and howe he vntruely and vnprincely, had broken the league and amitie, aswell in denyng the paymēt of the tribute, as also in refusyng the accomplishement of the mariage of his daughter, accordyng as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therefore to studie how to reuenge and punishe so great a villanie, offered to their natiue Countrie. The nobilitie not a little glad of this mocion, aunswered: that their whole desyre was to fight with the Frenche men, whome they often times had vanquished, and ouercome in battaile, and that for the dignitie and fame of their Countrie, they would let nothing be vnattempted, offering him in an instant, to be redie in harnesse, to fulfill his minde and desire. When the king knewe the towarde myndes of his subiectes of the Temporaltie, he moued the Spiritualtie (because by the ecclesiasticall lawes, they be prohibited to weare armure) to ayde him with money, for maintenaunce of his warres, & suppressyng of his enemies, who also condiscended to his request.

And in this yere I find noted that Edmond Shaw Goldsmith who had bene Maior of London, of his awne costs redefied Cripplegate in London.

1483 But now behold, while king Edward was intentiue, & employed his whole labor, dili-
23 gence, and industerie, to furnish & set forward this warre, which he newly had attempted & begon: whether it was with the melancholy, & anger that he toke with the French king,

for his vntruth and vnkindnesse, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the which he was much geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a grieuous maladie taken, yea, so grieuously taken, that his liuely spirites began to faile, and wax feble, which weaknesse when he perceyued, he called together all his nobles, which that time were about London, and sayd vnto them as in the historie of king Edwarde the fift shall be at large declared, and so shortly after departed vnto God, and was buried at Windsore.

EDWARDE THE FIFT.

KIng Edward of that name the forth, after that he had lyued. Liij. yeres and. vij. Monethes, and. vj. dayes, and had reigned king. xxij. yeres, one moneth & viij. daies, as is afore expressed, died at Westminster the. ix. day of Aprill, the yere of our redemption. 1463. leauing much fayre issue, that is to witte. Edwarde the Prince. xlij. yeres of age: Richarde Duke of Yorke two yere yonger, Elizabeth whose fortune and grace was after to be Queene, wyfe vnto King Henrye the. vij. and mother vnto king Henry the. viij. Cicilie not so fortunate as fayre: Briget, which representyng the vertue of her, whose name she bare, professed and obserued a religious life in Dertforde a house of close Nonnes: Anne that was after honorablye maryed vnto Thomas then Lorde Hawarde, and after Erle of Surrye, and Katheryn which long time tossed in eyther fortune, sometyme in wealth, and often in aduersitie, at the last, if this be the last (for yet she lyueth) is by the benignitye of her Nephewe king Henrye the eyght in very prosperous estate, and worthye her birth and vertue.

1463

I This story from the beginnyng of this king, and a part of Richard the third as shall appere by a note in the mergent was written by sir Thomas Moore when he was vnder Shrife of London, and nowe oflate conferred & corrected by his awne copie.

After that this noble Prince was deceassed at Westminster as aforesayde, he was wyth great funerall honor and heauynesse of his people from thence conueyed and enterred at Windsore. A kyng of such gouernaunce and behauior in tyme of peace (for in warre each part must be others enemye) that there was neuer any prince of this lande attayning the Crowne by battayle, so heartily beloued with the substaunce of the people: nor he himselfe so specially in any part of his lyfe, as at the tyme of his death. Which fauour and affection yet after his death, by the crueltie, mischiefe and trouble of the tempestious worlde that folowed, highly towarde him more encreased. At such tyme as he dyed, the displeasure of them that bare him grudge for kyng Heuries sake the sixt, whom he deposed was well asswaged, & in effect quenched, in that that many of them were dead in more then. xx. yeres of his reigne (a great part of a long lyfe) and many of them in the meane season growen into his fauor, of which he was neuer straunge. He was a goodly personage and very princely to beholde: Of hart couragious, pollitique in counsayll, in aduersitie nothing abashed, in prosperitie rather ioyful then proude, in peace, iust and mercifull, in warre, sharpe and fierce, in the felde, bolde and hardye, and nathelesse no farther then wisdome would, aduenturous. Whose warres, whoso well consider, he shall no lesse commend his wisedome where he voyded, then his manhood where he vanquished. He was of visage louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made, howbeit in his later dayes with ouer liberall diet, somewhat corpulent and bowrelye, and nathelesse not vncomelye. He was in youth greatly geuen to fleshly wantonnesse: From which health of bodye in great prosperitie and fortune without a speciall grace hardlye refrayneth. This faulte not greatly greued the people: for neyther could any one mans pleasure, stretch and extende

The burfall of king Edwarde the fourth.

The description of king Edward the fourth.

extende to the displeasure of very many, and was without violence, and ouer that in hys later dayes blessed and well left. In which tyme of his later dayes, this realme was in quiet & prosperous estate, no feare of outwarde enemyes, no warre in hande, nor none towarde, but such as no man loked for. The people towarde the Prince not in a constreyned feare, but in a willyng and louyng obedience among themselues, and the commons in good peace. The Lordes whome he knew at varyaunce, himselfe in his deathbed appeased. He hadde left all gatheryng of money (which is the onely thing that withdraweth the hartes of the Englishe men from the Prince) nor any thing entred he to take in hand by which he should be dryuen thereto: For his tribute out of Fraunce hee had before obtayned. And the yere fore goyng his death he had obtayned the towne of Barwike. And albeit that all the time of his reigne, he was with his people so benigne, courtesie, and so familier, that no part of his vertues was more esteemed, yet that condicion in the ende of his dayes (in which many princes by a long contynued souereintye decline to a proude port from debonayr behauior of their beginnyng) meruelouslie in him grew and encreased: so farforth that in the Sommer last that euer he sawe, his highnesse beyng at Wyndsor in hunting sent for the Maior and Aldermen of Londō vnto him, for none other arrand but to haue them hunt, and to be mery with him, where he made them not so stately, but so friendly & so familier cheere, & sent venison from thence so frely into the Citie, that no one thing in many dayes before gat him more harts, or more hartie fauor among the common people, which oftentymes more esteme, and take for great kindnesse a litle courtesye then a great benefite. So deceassed as I haue saide, this noble kyng, in that tyme, in which his lyfe was most desyred, whose loue of hys people and entier affection towardes hym, had bene to his noble children (hauing in themselues also as many giftes, of nature, as many princely vertues, as much goodlye towardnesse as theyr age could receiue) a merueilous fortresse and sure armor, if deuision, and dissencion of their friendes, had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desyre of souereintie, prouoked him to their destruction, which if either kind, or kindnesse had holden place, must nedes haue bene their chiefe defence. For Richarde the Duke of Glocester, by nature their vncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselues by oth and allegeaunce bounden, all the bandes broken, that bindeth man and man together without respect of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contryued to bereue them, not onelie of their dignitie, but also of their lyues. But forasmuch as this demeanor ministreth in effect all the whole matter, whereof this speciall storye shall intreate, it is therefore conuenyent somewhat to shewe you ere we farther go, what maner of man this was that coulde fynde in his hart so much mischiefe to conceiue.

Tribute.

A noble and gentle prince.

Richarde Duke of Yorke how he chalenged the Crowne.

Richarde Duke of Yorke slaine at Wakefield.

This was King Edward the fourth.

George duke of Clarence.

Richard Duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre but by lawe to chalenge the Crowne, puttyng his clayme into the Parliament, where his cause was either for right or fauor so farforth aduaunced, that king Henry his blood (albeit he had a goodly Prince) vtterly reiected, the Crowne was by auctoritie of Parliament entayled vnto the Duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder immediately after the death of king Henry. But the Duke not indurying so long to tary, but entendyng vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henryes life, was with many Nobles of the realme at Wakefielde slaine, leauyng three sonnes, Edwarde, George, and Richard. Al thre as they are great states of birth, so were they great & stately of stomacke, gredie, and ambicious of auctoritie, and impacient of partners.

Edward reuengyng his fathers death, depriued king Henry, and attayned the Crowne.

George Duke of Clarence was a noble Prince, and at all poyntes fortunate, if either his awne ambicion had not set him agaynst his brother, or the enuy of his enemyes, his brother agaynst him. For were it by the Queene and the Lordes of her blood, which highly maligned the kinges kindred (as women commonly not of malice, but of nature hate them whome theyr husbandes loue) or were it a proude appetite of the Duke himselfe

selfe entendyng to be king: at the last heynous treason was there layd to his charge, and finally were he faultie or faultlesse, attainted was he by Parliament, and iudged to the death, and therevpon hastily drowned in a Butte of Malmesie (as is aforesayde) whose death king Edward (albeit he commaunded it) when he wist it was done, pitifully bewayled it, and sorowfully repented it.

Richard the thirde sonne, of whome we nowe intreate, was in wit and courage egall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, euill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlike, in other men, otherwise, he was malicious, wrathfull, enuyous, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the Duches his mother had so much a do in her trauaile, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut: and that he came into the world with the feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not vntothed: whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or else that nature chaunged her course in his beginnyng, which in the course of his life many thinges vnnaturally committed, I cannot tell. None euill Capitaine was he in the warre, as to the which his disposicion was more meetly then for peace. Sundry victoryes had he, and sometyme ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his awne person, either of hardinesse or of pollitique order: Free was he called of dispence, and somewhat aboue his power liberall: with large giftes he gate him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoyle in other places, which gat to himselfe stedfast hatred: He was close and secret and a depe dissimuler, lowly of countenaunce, arrogant of heart, outwardly compinable where he inwardly hated, not lettyng to kisse whome he thought to kill: despiteous & cruell, not for euill will alway, but oftener for Ambicion, and either for the suretie or the encrease of his estate: Friend and foe was much what indifferent vnto him; where his aduauntage grew, he spared no mannes death, whose life withstoode his purpose. He slue with his awne handes king Henry the sixt beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, as men constantly say, and that without commaundement or knowlege of the king, which would vndoubtedly, if he had entended that thing, haue appoynted that Butcherly office to some other then to his awne borne brother. Some wyse men also weene that his drift couertly conueyed, lacked not in helpyng forth his brother Duke of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openly, how be it somewhat (as men demed) more faintly then he that were hartily myuded to his welth. And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in king Edwardes life forethought to be king, in case that his brother (whose lyfe he loked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse (as in deede he did) while his children were yong. And they deme that for this intent, he was glad of his brothers death the Duke of Clarence, whose life must nedes haue hindered him so entendyng, whether the same Duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephew the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe. But of all this matter concernyng the Duke of Clarence, there is no certeintie, and whoso deuineth vpon coniectures, may as well shote to farre, as to short. Howbeit this I haue by credible informacion learned, that the selfe night in which king Edwarde died, one Mistlebrooke long before morning came in great haste to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Redcrosse streete without Crepelgate: And when he was with hastie rappyng quickly letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier that king Edwarde was departed: by my troth man quod Pottier, then will my maister the Duke of Glocester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether he beyng towards him any thing knewe that he such a thing purposed, or otherwise had any inckelyng therof: for he was not likely to speake it of naught.

The description of king Richard the thirde.

The death of King Henry the sixt.

But nowe to returne to the course of this historie, were it that the Duke of Gloucester had of olde foremynded this conclusion, or was now at earst therevnto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his nephewes (as oportunitie and likelihoode of spede, putteth a man in courage of that he neuer entented) certeine

teine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the vsurpacion of the Regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forasmuche as he well wysted, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart brennyng betweene the Queenes kindred and the Kings blood, either partie enuiyng others auctoritie, he now thought that their deuision should be (as it was in dede) a fortherly beginnyng to the pursuyte of his entent, and a sure ground for the foundacion of all his buyldyng, if hee might first vnder the pretence of reuengyng, abuse the anger and ignorannce of the one partie, to the destruction of the other: and then winne to his purpose as many as he could: and those that could not be wonne, might be lost ere they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certaine, that if his entent were perceyued, he should soone haue made peace with both the partyes, wyth his awne blood.

King Edward in his life albeit that this discention betwene his friends somewhat yrked him, yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe shoulde alway be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sicknesse, when he perceaued his naturall strength so sore enfeebled, that he dispaired of all recouery, then he considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that which happened, yet well forseeing that many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lack discretion of themselues, and good counsayle of their friends, of which either party would counsayle for their awne commoditie, and rather by pleasaunt aduise to winne themselues fauour, then by profitable aduertisement to doe the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variaunce, and in especiall the Lorde Marques Dorset the Queenes sonne by her first husbande, and Richard the Lorde Hastings a noble man, then Lord Chamberleyn, agaynst whome the Quene especially grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him, and also for that she thought him secretly familier with the king in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him Capitaine of Calice, which office the Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene claymed of the kings former *promise*, as for diuers other great giftes which he receyued, but they loked for. When these Lordes with diuers other of both the parties were come in presence, the king lifting vp himselfe, and vnder set with *pillowes*, as *it is* reported, sayde on thys wise vnto them.

The exhortation of king Edward in his death bed.

My Lords, my dere kinsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye, you see, & I well feele: by which the lesse while I loke to liue with you, the more deepely am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for suche as I leaue you, such are my children lyke to finde you. Which if they should as God forbid, finde you at variaunce, might hap themselues to fall at warre, ere their discretion would serue them to set you at peace. Yee see their youth, of which I rekon the onely suretie to rest in your concord. For it suffiseth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulnesse would happily suffise: but childhood must be mainteyned by mens auctoritie, & slipper youth vnder propped with elder counsail, which neither can they haue, but you geue it, neither can you geue it, if ye agree not. For where eche laboreth to breake that the other maketh, and where hatred is of eche others counsayle, there must it needes be long ere any good conclusion go forwarde. And also while eyther partie laboreth to be chiefe, flatterie shall haue more place, then plaine and faithfull aduise, of which must needes ensue the euill bringing vp of the Prince, whose minde in tender youth infect, shall redily fall to mischiefe and tyot, and draw downe this noble realme to ruine, but if grace turne him to wisedome: which if God send, then they that by euill pleased him before best, shall after fall farthest out of fauour, so that euer at the last, euill drifts driue to naught, and good playne waies prosper. Great variance hath there long bene betwene you, not alway for great causes. Sometime a thing right well entended, oure misconstruction turneth it to worsse: or a smal displeasure done vnto vs, either oure awne affection or euill tongs maketh it much more grieuous. But this wot I wel, ỹ ye neuer heretofore had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue

haue now of loue. That we be al mē and all christen men, this will I leaue vnto preachers to tell you (& yet I wot not whether any preachers words ought more to moue you, then his that is by and by goyng to the place that they all preach off.) But this shall I desire you to remember that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of mine alies, & ech of you with other eyther of kindred or affinity, which spiritual kindred of affinity, if the sacraments of Christes church beare that weight with vs, that I would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, then the respect of fleshly consanguinitie. Our Lorde forbid that ye loue together the worsse for the selfe same cause that ye ought to loue together the better. And yet that happeneth sometime: and no where finde we so deadly debate as among them which by nature and lawe, ought most best to agree together: Such a pestilent Serpent is ambition, and desire of vaine glorie and souereigntie, Ambicion. which among states where he once entereth, creepeth so farre forth, till with diuision and variaunce he turneth all to mischiefe. First longing to be next to the best: Afterward egall with the best, and at the last chiefe and aboue the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and discention, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeres growen in this realme, I praye God as well to forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseene as I haue with my more pain then pleasure proued: By Gods blessed Ladie (that was euer his othe) I would neuer haue wonne the curtesie of so many mens knees with the losse of so many mens heads. But sithence things passed cannot be called agayne, much ought we the more to beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt before, that we eftsones fall not into that occasion of daunger againe. Now be those griefes passed, & all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder your Cosyns my children, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things the lesse losse were they, by whome though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alway finde kings, and paraduenture as good kings. But if you among your selues in a childes raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall perishe, and happily he to, and ye to, or this land finde peace agayne: wherfore in these last wordes that euer I looke to speake to you or with you, I exhort and require you all for the loue that ye haue euer borne to me, for the loue that I haue euer borne to you, and for the loue that our Lorde and sauiour Christ beareth to vs all, from this time forward, all griefes forgotten, eche of you loue other. Which I verily trust you wil, if you any thing earthly regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kindred, this realme your awne Countrie, or your awne suretie. And therwithall the king not able to endure any lenger to sit vp, layd him downe on his right side, his face toward them: and none was there present that could refrain from weping. But the Lordes comforting him with as good wordes as they could, and aunswering for the time, as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their wordes appered, eche forgaue other, and ioyned their hands together, when (as it after appered by their deedes) their hartes were farre a sunder.

Assone as the king was departed, Edward the Noble Prince his sonne drewe towardes London, which at the time of his fathers decease, kept his house at Ludlow in Wales: which Countrie being farre of from the lawe and recourse to iustice, was begonne to be farre out of good rule and waxen wylde, so that Robbers and Ryuers walked at libertie vncorrected. And for this encheason the Prince was in the life of his father sent thether, to the ende that the auctiority of his presence, should refraine euill disposed persons from the boldenesse of their former outrages. And to the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong Prince at his sending thether, was there appointed syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers and brother to the Quene, a right honorable man, as valyaunt of hande as politique in counsayle. And there were adioyned vnto him other of the same party, and in effect euery one as he was neerest of kinne vnto the Queene, so was he planted nere about the Prince. That drift was by the Queene not vnwisely deuised, whereby her bloud might in the youth of the Prince be rooted in his fauour. But all thys the Duke of Gloucester

Edward the Prince commeth toward London.

Syr Anthony Wooduile Lorde Ryuers, brother to the Quene.

turned vnto their destruction, and vpon that ground he set the foundation of all this vnhappy building. For whome soeuer he perceaued eyther at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them, some by mouth, some by wryting and secret messengers, that it neither was reason, nor in any wise to be suffred, that the yong King their maister and kinsman should be in the hands and custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in maner from their company and attendance, of which euerie one of them ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and many of them of farre more honorable part of kinne then his mothers side: whose bloud (quod he) sauing the kinges pleasure, was full vnmeete to be matched with hys: which now to be as who saye remoued from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quod he) neither honorable vnto his maiestie, nor vnto vs, and also to his grace no suretie to haue the mightiest of his friendes from him, and vnto vs no little ieopardie to suffer our well proued euill willers to growe in ouer great auctoritie with the Prince in his youth, namely which is light of beliefe and sone perswaded. Ye remember I trow king Edwarde himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bende, more then stoode eyther with his honor or our profite, or with the cõmodity of any man else, except only the immoderate aduaũcement of themselues: which whether they thristed after their awne weale, or our woe, it were hard I wene to gesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden better place with the king then any respect of kindred, they might easely haue trapped and brought to confusion some of vs or thys: and why not as easely as they haue done some already, as nere of his royall bloud as we are? But our Lorde hath wrought his will, and thanks be to his grace that perill is past. Howbeit, as great is growyng, if we suffer thys yong king in our enemies hande, which wythout his witting might abuse the name of hys commaundement to any of our vndoyng, which thing God and good prouision forbid. Of which good prouision none of vs hath any thing the lesse neede for the late made attonement, in which the kinges pleasure had more place, then the partie willes. Nor none of vs I beleue is so vnwise or ouersene, to trust a newe friend made of an olde foe: Or to thinke that an hourely kindnesse, sodainely contract in one houre continued, should be deeper setteled in their stamackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these wordes and writynges, and such other, the Duke of Gloucester soone set on fire them that were of themselues ethe to kindle, and in especially twaine, Edward Duke of Buckingham, and Richard Lorde Hastinges and Chamberlaine, both men of honour and of great power. The one by long succession from his auncestrie, the other by his office, and the kinges fauour. These two not beryng eche to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the Quenes part: in this poynt accorded together with the Duke of Glocester, that they would vtterly amoue from the kinges companie all his mothers friendes, vnder the name of their enemyes. This beyng concluded, the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandyng that the Lordes which were about the king, entended to bring him vp to his coronation, accompanied with suche power of their friendes that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gatheryng and assemble of people, and in maner of open warre, whereof he wist the ende was doubtfull, and in which the king beyng on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: He secretly therefore by diuers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought in minde, that it neither was neede, and also shoulde be ieopardous the king to come vp so strong. For where as nowe euery Lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronacion and honor of the king: If the Lordes of her kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should geue the Lordes an occasion, betwene whome had bene before some debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kinges sauegard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce, then to their newe atonement: For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched farre, and thus should all the realme fall on a

roare

roare. And of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be little, and the most harme there like to fall, where she lest would, all the world would put her & her kindred in the wight, and say that they had vnwisely and vntruly also broken the amitie and peace that the king her husband had so prudently made betweene his kin and hers in his death bed, and which the other partie faythfully obserued.

The Queene beyng in thus wise perswaded such worde sent vnto her sonne, and vnto her brother beyng about the king, and ouer that, the Duke of Gloucester himselfe and other Lordes the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king so reuerently, and to the Queenes friendes there so louingly, that they nothing earthly mistrustyng, brought the king vp in great haste, but not in good speede, with a small companie. Now as the king passed towardes London, from the towne of Northampton, leauyng behinde him the Lorde Ryuers, the kinges vncle, who thought the next day to be with the king at stony Stratforde, ten miles from thence, thether came the Dukes of Gloucester, and Buckingham. So was there made that night much friendly cheere betwene these Dukes, and the Lorde Riuers, a great while. But incontinently that they were openly departed with great courtisie, and the Lord Riuers lodged, the Dukes secretly, with a fewe of their most priuie friendes, set them downe in counsaile, wherein they spent a great part of the night. And at their risyng in the dawning of the day, they sent about priuily vnto their seruantes in their Innes and lodgynges, geuing them commaundement to make them selues quickly redie, for their Lordes were redie to horsebacke. Vpon which Messages many of their folkes were attendant, when many of the Lord Ryuers seruaunts were vnreadie. The Dukes also at that tyme, had taken the Keyes of their Inne into their custodie, that none should passe forth without their license. And also in the high way towarde stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had bestowed certaine of their folke to stoppe the passage, that no person shoulde passe from Northampton towarde stonie Stratforde, but should be either stayed, or compelled to returne againe, vntill they shoulde geue other licence: because sayd they, that the Dukes themselues entended for the shewe of their diligence, to be the first that should attend that day vpon the kinges highnesse out of that towne: thus bare they folke in hande.

But when the Lorde Ryuers vnderstoode the Gates to be closed, and the wayes on euery syde beset, neither his seruauntes, nor himselfe suffered once to go out, and perceiuyng well that so great a thing without his knowlege could not be begon for naught, comparyng also with himselfe this maner of doyng present, with the last nightes cheere, in so fewe houres, so great a chaunge, which he marueylously mislyked. Howbeit, sith he could not get away, and to keepe himselfe close he would not, least he should seeme to hide himselfe for some secrete feare of his awne fault, whereof he sawe no suche cause in himselfe, he determined vpon the suretie of his awne conscience to go boldely vnto them, and to inquire what this matter did meane. Whom assone as they saw, they began to quarell with him, and sayde, that he entended to set distaunce betwene the king and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when he began, as he was a verye well spoken man, in goodly wise to excuse himselfe, they taryed not the ende of his aunswere, but shortly tooke him and put in warde, and that done went forthwith to horsebacke, and tooke the way to stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie readie to leape on horsebacke, and to depart forward and to leaue that lodgyng for them, because it was to streight for both companies. And assone as they came in his presence, they light downe with all their companie about them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham sayde, go afore Gentlemen, and yomen, kepe your rowmes. And thus in a goodly aray they came to the king, & on their knees in humble wise saluted his grace, which receyued them in verye ioyous and amiable maner, nothing earthly knowyng nor mistrustyng as yet: But euen by and by in his presence, they picked a querell to the Lorde Richard Gray the kinges other brother by his mother, saiyng that the Lorde Marques his brother, and the Lord Ryuers his Vncle, had compassed to rule the king and the realme, and to set variance among the states, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realme.

The Lorde Ryuers committed to warde.

Richard lord Gray apprehended.

realme. Toward the accomplishyng whereof, they sayde that the Lorde Marques had entred into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the kinges treasure, and sent men to the sea. All which thinges these Dukes wist well, were done for good purposes, and necessary by the counsaile at London, sauyng that somewhat they must say. Vnto which wordes the king aunswered, what my brother Marques hath done, I cannot tell: But in good fayth I dare well aunswere for my Vncle Ryuers, and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matters. Yea my leege, quod the Duke of Buckingham, they haue kept their dealyng in these matters farre from the knowlege of your good grace. And forthwith they arrested the Lorde Richard Gray, and sir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kinges presence, and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further counsail. And there they sente away from the king whome it pleased them, and set newe seruantes about him, such as liked better them then him. At which dealyng the king wept, but it booted not. And at dinner the Duke of Gloucester sent a dishe from his awne table to the Lorde Ryuers, praiyng him to be of good cheere, all should be well enough. And he thanked the Duke, and prayed the messenger to beare it to his Nephew the Lorde Richard Gray, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such aduersitie was straunge: But himselfe had bene in all his dayes invred therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable curtisie of the Duke of Gloucester, he sent the Lorde Riuers, and the Lorde Richard, with sir Thomas Vaughan into the North Countrie to diuers places into prison, and afterwarde, they were all sent to Pomfret Castell, where in the ende they were beheaded.

The death of the Lorde Ryuers and diuers other.

In this wise the Duke of Gloucester tooke vpon him selfe the order and gouernaunce of the yong kyng, whome with much honor and humble reuerence, he conueyed vpwarde towarde the Citie of London. But anone the tidyngs of this matter came hastily to the Queene a litle before the midnight followyng, and that in the sorest wise, that the kyng her sonne was taken, her brother, her sonne, and her other friends arested, and sent, no man wist whether, to be done wyth, God wot what. With which tidinges, the Queene in great flight, and heauinesse, bewailyng her childes reigne, her friends mischaunce, and her owne infortune, curssyng the time that euer shee was disswaded the gatheryng of power about the king, gote her selfe in all the hast possible wyth her yong sonne and her daughters out of the palaice of Westminster, in which she them lay, into the Sanctuarie, lodging herselfe and her company there in the Abbots place.

The Quene taketh sanctuarie.

Now came there one in likewise not long after midnight from the Lord Chamberleyn, vnto the Archebishop of Yorke, then Chauncelor of England, to hys place not farre from Westminster. And for that hee shewed his seruauntes that he had tidinges of so great importaunce, that his maister gaue him in charge not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admitte this messenger vnto his bed syde. Of whome hee heard that those Dukes were gone backe with the kinges grace from Stony Stratforde vnto Northhampton: Notwithstanding, Syr quoth he, my Lord, sendeth your Lordship worde, that there is no feare: For he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him quod the Archebishop, be it as well as it wil, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it. And thervpon by and by after the messenger was departed, he caused in all the hast, all his seruaunts to be called vp, and so with his owne housholde about him, and euerye man weaponed, he tooke the great seale with him, and came yet before daye vnto the Queene. About whome he founde much heauinesse, romble, hast and businesse, cariage, and conueiyng of her stuffe into the Sentuary, Chestes, Cofers, Packes, Ferdels, Trusses, all on mens backes, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some goyng, some discharging, some commyng for more; some brekyng downe the walles to bring in the next way, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carye a wrong way. The Queene her selfe sate alone alowe on the rushes all desolate, and dismayed, whome the Archebishop comforted in the best maner he coulde, shewyng her that he trusted that the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, & that he was put in good hope, and out of feare

by

by the message sent him from the Lord Chamberleyn. Ah, wo worth him quoth she, for he is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my blood. Madam quoth he, be ye of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne any other king then your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morow crown his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great Seale, which in likewise as that noble Prince your housbande, deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behofe of your sonne, & therewith he toke her the great Seale, and departed home agayne, yet in the dawning of the day: By which time he might in his chamber window se al the Thamis full of boates of the Duke of Glocesters seruauntes, watching that no man shoulde go to the Sentuary, nor passe vnserched, and examined. Then was there great commocion, and murmor aswell in other places about, and specially in the Citie, the people diuerslye deuinyng vpon this dealing. And some Lordes, Knights, and gentlemen, either for fauor of the Queene, or for feare of themselues, assembled in sundry companies, and went flocking in harnesse: and many also, for that they reconed this demeanor attempted, not so specially against the other Lords, as against the king himself in the disturbance of his coronation: therefore they assembled by and by together, to common of thys matter at London: At which meeting, the Archebishop of Yorke fearing that it woulde be ascribed (as it was in deede) to his ouermuch lightnesse that he so sodainely had yelded vp the great seale to the Queene, to whome the custody thereof nothyng appertayned, without especiall commaundement of the king, secretly sent for the great seale agayne, and brought it with him after the customable maner. And at this meting the Lord Hastinges, whose troth towarde the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the lords to beleue that the Duke of Glocester was sure & fastly faithfull to his prince, and that the Lord Ryuers, and Lord Richarde with the other knights were for matters attempted by them against the Duke of Glocester, and Buckingham put vnder arrest for their suretie, not for the kinges ieopardie: and that they were also in safegarde, and there no longer to remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but also by all the other Lords of the kings counsayle indifferently examined, and by their discrecions ordered, and either iudged or appeased. But one thing he aduysed them to beware, that they iudged not the matter to farre forth, ere they knewe the truth, nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irriting and prouoking men vnto anger, and desturbing the kings coronacion, towarde which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioynt, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap, as it were likely to come to a fielde, though both parties were in all other thinges egall, yet shoulde the aucthorite be on that side, where the Kyng himselfe is: with these perswasions of my Lorde Hastinges, whereof parte himselfe beleued, of part he wist the contrary: these commocions were somewhat appeased, but specially, by that that the Dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, were so nere and came so shortlye on with the kyng, in none other maner, nor with none other voyce or senblaunce, then to his coronacion, causyng the fame to be blowen about, that these Lords & knightes that were taken, had contriued the destruction of the Dukes of Glocester & Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the ende that themselues would alone demeane and gouerne the king at their pleasure. And for the colourable proofe therof, such of the Dukes seruaunts as rode with their cartes of their stuffe, which were taken, among the which stuffe no marueyll though some were harnesse, which at the breaking vp of such an housholde must nedes be brought away, or cast awaye, they shewed to the people all the way as they went and sayde: lo, here be the barelles of harnesse, that these traitours had priuilye conueighed in their cariages to destroy the noble Lordes wythall. This diuerse, (although it made the matter to wise men more vnlikely) well perceiuyng that the entendours of such a purpose woulde rather haue hadde their harnesse on their backes, then to haue bounde them vp in barrelles, yet many of the common people were therewith right well satisfyed, and saide it were almose to hang them.

When

The King comming to London.

When the king approched nere the City, the Maior, and Aldermen and fiue hundred commoners receiued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueyed him to the Citie, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the first and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishop of Londons Pallace: but the Duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, saiyng to all men as he rode, beholde your Prince and souereigne Lorde, and made suche semblaunce of lowlynesse to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before, he was sodainely fallen in so great trust that at the counsaile next assembled, he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be Protector of the king and his realme: so that, were it destenie, or were it foly, the Lambe was betaken to the Woolfe to kepe. At which counsel ỹ Archbishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliuering ỹ great seale to the Quene, & the seale taken from him and deliuered to Doctor Iohn Russell Bishop of Lincoln, a wise man and a good, & of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedly that Englande had in his time, & diuers lords & knights were apointed to diuers rowmes, the Lord Chamberlayne & some other kept the rowmes that they were in before, but not many.

The Duke of Gloucester made Protectour.

Now were it so that the Protectour (which alwayes you must take for the Duke of Gloucester) sore thirsted for the achieuyng of his pretensed enterprise, and thought euery daye a yere till it were perfourmed, yet durst he no farther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his praye in his hande, well witting that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he remayned eyther in Sanctuarie, or should happily be shortly conueyed to his farther libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lordes in counsell, he purposed to them that it was a heynous deede of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice toward the kings counsellers, that she should kepe the kings brother in Sanctuarie from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to bring all the Lordes in an obloquy and murmour of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, which Lordes were by the whole assent of the Nobles of the Realme appointed as the kings nere friends to the tuition of his royall person, the prosperitie whereof (quod he) standeth not alonely in keeping from enemies and euill dyet, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure, which he can not take in his tender youth in the company of old and auncient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be not farre vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuerthelesse of estate conuenient to accompany his noble maiestie, wherefore with whome rather then with his awne brother? and if anye man thinke this consideration light (I am sure no man so thinketh that loueth the king) let him consider that sometime without small thinges, greater cannot stande, and verily it redowneth greatly to the dishonour both of the kinges highnesse, and of all vs that be about his grace to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euill wordes walke farre) that the kings brother should be faine to kepe sanctuarie. For euery man will iudge that no man wil so do for nought, & such opinion once fastened in mens harts, hard it is to be wrested out, and may growe to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore me thinketh it were not the worst to send to the Quene some honorable and trustie personage, such as tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in credite and fauour with her: for all which considerations none seemeth more meetely to mee, then the reuerend father here present, my Lorde Cardinall Archebyshop of Yorke, who may in this matter doe most good of all men, if it please hym to take the payne, which I doubt not of hys goodnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and oures, and wealth of the yong Duke himselfe the kinges most honorable brother, and for the comfort of my souereigne Lord himselfe my most deare Nephew, considering that thereby shall be ceassed the slaunderous rumour and obloquy nowe going abrode, and the hurtes auoyded that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And if shee percase be so obstinate and so precisely set vpon her awne will and opinion, that

The Protectors perswasion.

neither his wise and faythfull aduertisement can moue her, nor anye mans reason satisfie her, then shall we by mine aduise by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose contynuall company he shall be so well cherished and so honorably intreated, that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche, perceyue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse, and foly, that caused her to keepe him there. Thys is my mynde for thys tyme, except that any of you my Lordes any thyng perceyue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods grace so wed my selfe vnto mine awne wyll, but I shall be ready to chaunge it vpon your better aduises.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the counsayle affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the Duke hys brother honorable, and a thing that should cease great murmour in the realme, if the mother might by good meanes be induced to delyuer him: which thing the Archebyshop of Yorke, whome they all agreed also to be most conuenient therevnto, tooke vpon him to moue her, and thereto doe his vttermost endeuour. Howbeit, if she could in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to delyuer him, then thought he and suche other of the spiritualtie as were present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted to take him out against her wyll, for it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many yeres beene kept, which both kings and Popes so good had graunted, so many had confirmed, and which ground was more then fiue hundred yeres ago sanctified by saint Peter himselfe, in his awne person (sayth Sir Thomas Moore) in spirite accompanied, with a great multitude of Aungels by night so specially halowed and dedicate to God, for the proofe whereof they haue yet in the Abbey, saint Peters Cope to shewe, and from that time hetherward, was there neuer so vndeuoute a king, that euer enterprised the sacred priuilege to violate, nor so holy a Byshop that durst presume the Church of the same to consecrate: and therefore, quod the Archbishop, God forbid that any man should for any earthly enterprise breake the immunite and libertie of that sacred Sanctuarie, that hath bene the safegarde of so many a good mans lyfe, and I trust quod he we shall not neede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust ỹ she with reason shal be contented, and al thing in good maner obteyned. And if it hap that I bring it not so to passe, yet shal I further it to my best power, so that you all shall perceyue my good wil, diligence and endeuor: But the mothers dread and womanish feare shall be the let, if any be.

Nay womannishe frowardnesse, quod the Duke of Buckingham, for I dare take it on my soule, that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thing to feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some of the men of hir kinne were women to, and then should all be sone in rest. Howbeit there is none of her kinne the lesse loued for that they be of her kinne, but for their owne euill deseruyng. And put the case that we neyther loued her nor her kinne, yet there were no cause why we should hate the kinges noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kinne, whose honour if she asmuch desired as our dishonour, and asmuche regarde toke to his welth, as to her awne will, shee would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king as any of vs be, for if she had any wit, as would God she had as good will, as she hath frowarde wit: she would thinke her selfe no wyser then some that are here, of whose faythfull myndes she nothing doubteth, but verily beleueth and knowlegeth, that they would be as sory of his harme as her awne self, and yet they would haue him from her, if she abyde there.

And we all I thinke be content that both her children be with her, if she come from thence, and abide in such place where they may be with their honour. Nowe then, if she refuse the deliuerance of him to folow the wisedome of them, whose wisedome she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceyue that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to feare her

awne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her handes, for if she cast such fond doubtes that she feare his hurt, then will she feare that he shall be fet thence, for she will sone thinke that if men were set (which God forbid on so great a mischiefe) the Sanctuarie will little let them, which Sanctuary good men as me thinketh might without sinne, somewhat lesse regard then they do. Now then, if she doubt least he might be fetched from her, is it not likely enough, that she will sende him somewhere out of the Realme? verily I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she nowe as sore mindeth it, as we minde the let thereof. And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great maisterie to doe, we lettyng her alone, all the world would say that we were a sort of wise counsaylors about a king, to let his brother be cast away vnder our noses. And therfore I ensure you faythfully, for my minde, I will rather mauger her stomack fetche him away, then leaue him there till her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey him away, and yet will I breake no Sanctuarie, for verily sith the priuilege of that place and other of that sort haue so long continued, I woulde not go about to breake it, and in good fayth if they were nowe to begin, I would not be he that should go about to make them: yet will not I say naye, but it is a dede of pittie that such men as the chaunce of the sea, or their euill debters haue brought into pouertie, should haue some place of refuge to kepe their bodies out of daunger of their cruell creditours. And also if it fortune the Crowne to come in question as it hath done before this time, while eche part taketh other for traytors, I thinke it necessary to haue a place of refuge for both. But as for theeues and murderers, whereof these places be full, and which neuer fall from their craft, after they once fall therevnto, it is pittie, that euer Sanctuary should serue them, and in especiall wilfull murderers, whome God commaundeth to be taken from the Aultar, and to bee put to death. And where it is otherwise then in these cases, there is no nede of sanctuaryes, appoynted by God in the olde lawe. For if necessitie of his owne defence, or misfortune driue him to that neede, then a pardon serueth him, which eyther is graunted of course, or the king of pitie & compassion geueth. Then looke me nowe howe fewe sanctuary men there be whome necessitie or misfortune compelleth to go thether? And then see on the other syde, what a sort there be commonly therein of such, whom wilfull vnthriftinesse hath brought to nought? what a rable of theues, murderers, and malicious heynous traytors be there? and that in two places specially, the one at the elbowe of the Citie, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well auowe it, if you way the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, ye shall finde it much better to leese both, then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused (as they nowe be, and so long haue bene) that I feare me euer they will be while men be afearde to set to their handes to the amendment, as though God and Saint Peter were the Patrones of vngracious liuyng. Now vnthriftes riott and runne in debt vpon boldnesse of these places, yea, and riche men ronne thether with poore mennes goodes, there they builde, there they spende and byd their creditors go whistle. Mens wyues ronne thether with their husbandes Plate, and say they dare not abide with their husbandes for beatyng, theeues bring thether stolne goodes and liue thereon. There they deuise newe robberyes nightly and steale out and rob, ryue, and kill men, and come againe as though those places gaue them not onely a sauegarde for the harme that they haue done, but a licence also to doe more mischiefe: howbeit much of this great mischiefe (if wise men would set their handes therevnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breche of the priuilege. The conclusion is, sith it is so long ago, I wote not what Pope, nor what Prince, more piteous then pollitique, hath graunted it, and other men since of a certeine religious feare haue not broken it, let vs take a paine with it, and let it stande a Goddes name in his force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fully so farre forth as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honour and welth, out of that place in the which he neither is nor can be a sanctuarie or priuileged man. A sanctuarie euer serueth to defende the bodie of that man that standeth in daunger abroade,

Of Sanctuary men.

The abuse of Sanctuaries.

no

not of great hurt onely, but also of lawfull hurt: for agaynst vnlawfull hurtes and harmes, no Pope nor king entended to priuilege any one place, for that priuilege hath euery place. Knoweth any man any place wherin it is lawfull for one man to do another man wrong? That no man vnlawfully take hurt that libertie the king, the lawe, and very nature forbiddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regarde for euery man euery place a Sanctuary, but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuicion of some speciall priuilege, which is the onely ground and cause of all Sanctuaries, from which necessitie this noble Prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature, and kindred proueth, whose innocencie to all the worlde his tender youth affirmeth, and so Sanctuary as for him is not necessary, nor none he can haue. Men come not to Sanctuary as they come to baptisme to require it by his Godfathers, he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason, sithe no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his awne fault maketh him haue neede to require it. What will then hath yonder babe which if he had discretion to require it if nede were, I dare say would be now right angry with them that kepe him there? And I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breche of priuilege, to be somewhat more homely with them that be there Sanctuary men in deede, for if one go to Sanctuary with another mans goodes, why should not the king leauyng his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goodes euen within the Sanctuary, for neither king nor Pope can geue any place suche a priuilege that it shall discharge a man of his debtes beyng able to pay.

And with that diuerse of the clergie that were there present, whether they sayde it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed playnly by the lawe of God, and of the church, that the goods of a sanctuary man, shoulde be deliuered in payment of his debtes, and stollen goods to the owner, and onelye lybertie reserued to him to get his liuing with the labour of his handes. Verily, quod the Duke, I thinke you say verie trueth. And what if a mannes wife will take sanctuary, because she list to ronne from her husband, I would thinke if she can allege none other cause, he maye lawfullye without any displeasure done to saint Peter, take her out of saint Peters church by ỹ arme. And if no body may be taken out of sanctuary because he saith he will abyde there, then if a Childe will take sanctuary, because he feareth to go to schole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it, for there, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, & herein is no feare at all. And verily I haue often hard of sanctuary men, but I neuer heard before of sanctuary children: and therefore, as for the conclusion of my minde, whosoeuer may deserue to haue neede of it, if they thinke it for their surety let them keepe it, but he can be no sanctuary man that hath neither discretion to desire it, nor malice to deserue it, whose lyfe nor libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in ieoperdy, and he that taketh one out of Sanctuary to doe hym good, I saye playnely he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholy, and the most part of the spirituall men also thinking no hurt earthly ment towarde the yoong Babe, condiscended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it all best in aduoyding of all maner of rumour that the Lorde Cardinall shoulde first assay to get him with her good wyll. And therevpon all the counsail came to the Sterre chambre at Westminster, and the Cardinall leauing the Protector & other Lords in the Sterre chamber, departed into the sanctuary to the Queene, accompanied with certaine Lords, were it for the respect of his honor, or that she should by the presence of so many, perceiue that this arrand was not onely one mans mind, or were it for that the protectour entended not in this matter to trust one man alone, or else if she finally were determined to kepe him, some of the company had peraduenture some secret instruction incontinent maugre her will to take hym and to leaue her no respite to conuey hym, which shee was likely to minde after this matter broken to her if time in any wise would haue serued her.

When the Queene, and these Lordes were come together in presence, the Cardinall

shewed vnto her, that it was thought to the lorde protector and the whole counsaile that her kepyng of the king his brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people and their obloquie, but also to the importable griefe and displeasure of the king his royall maiestie to whose grace it were a singuler comfort to haue his naturall brother in companie, and it was their dishonoures and theirs and hers also to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother, stoode in daunger, and perill of the other. And he shewed her farther, that the whole counsaile had sente him to require of her the deliuerie of him, that he might bee brought to the king his presence at his liberty, out of that place which men rekoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, and shee in this doyng shoulde both doe great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsaile, profite to her selfe, succour to her friendes that were in distresse, and ouer that which he wist well she specially tendered, not onely great comfort and honour to the kyng, but also to the yong Duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes, as also for their both disport, and recreation, which things the Lordes esteemed not light, though it seemed light, well pondering that their youth wythout recreation and play cannot endure, nor any estraunger for the conuenience of both their ages and estates so metely in that point for anye of them, as the eyther of them for the other.

The quenes answere. My Lorde (quod the Queene) I say not nay, but that it were very conuenient that this gentleman whome you require were in the company of the king his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet a while to be in the custody of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but in especiall the yonger, which besides his infancie that also nedeth good loking to, hath a while bene so sore diseased with sicknesse, and is so newly rather a lytle amended then well recouered, that I dare put no person earthlye in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onely, considering that there is as the phisicians say, and as we also find, double the perill in the resiluation that was in the first sicknesse, with which disease, nature beyng sore laboured, foreweried, and weakened, wexeth the lesse able to beare oure a newe surfet. And albeit, there might be founden other that would happily doe their best vnto him, yet there is none that eyther knoweth better how to ordre him then I, that so long haue kept him, or is more tenderly lyke to cherish him then his owne mother that bare him.

No man denieth good Madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke were most necessary about your children, and so would all the cousaile not only be content, but also glad that you were, if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stande with their honor. But if you appoint your selfe to tarie here, then thinke they it more conuenient the Duke of Yorke were with the king honorably at his libertie to the comfort of them both, then here as a Sanctuarie man to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alway so great necessity to haue the childe to be with the mother, but that occasion sometime may be suche that it should be more expedient to kepe him else where, which in this well appeareth, that at such time that your most dearest sonne, then Prince, and now king should for his honor and good order of the Countrie kepe household in Wales, farre out of your keping, your grace was well content therewith your selfe. Not very well content (quod the Quene) and yet the case is not like, for the one was then in helth and the other is now sick, in which case I maruayle greatly why my Lorde Protectour is so desirous to haue him in keeping, where if the childe in his sicknesse miscaried by nature, yet might he run into slaunder and suspicion of fraude. And they call it a thing so sore agaynst my childs honor and theirs also, that he abideth in this place, it is all their honors there to suffer him to abide where no man doubteth he shal be best kept, and that is here while I am here, which as yet intend not come forth and ieopard my selfe after my friendes, which would God were rather here in suretie wyth mee, then I were there in ieopardie with them. Why Madame (quod

the

the Lorde Haward) knowe you any thing, why they should be in ieopardie? Nay verily, (quod she) nor why they should be in prison neyther, as they now be, but I trowe it is no great maruell though I feare least those that haue not letted to put them in duraunce without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The Cardinall made a countenaunce to the Lord Haward that he should harpe no more vpon that string; and then sayde he to the Quene, that he nothing doubted but those Lords of her kinne the which remayned vnder a rest, should vpon the matter examined doe well ynough, and as towarde her Noble person, neyther was, nor could be anye maner of ieopardie. Whereby should I trust that (quod the Queene) in that I am guiltlesse, as though they were guiltie, in that I am with their enimies better beloued then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere to the king, and how farre be they of that would helpe, as God send grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not to depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind he shall be where I am till I see further, for I assure you for that I see some men so greedy without any substantiall cause to haue hym, this maketh me much more further and scrupulous to delyuer him. Truely Madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer hym, the further be other men to suffer you to kepe him, least your causelesse feare, might cause you farther to conuey him, and many be there that thinke he can haue here no priuilege, which can haue neyther wyll to aske it, nor yet malice nor offence to neede it. And therefore, they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch him out of Sanctuarie, which if you finally refuse to deliuer him, I thinke verily the counsayle will enfraunches hym, so much dread hath my Lorde his Vncle, for the tender loue that he beareth him, least your grace should sende him away. Ah Syr, quod the Quene, hath he so tender a zeale to him, that he feareth nothing, but least he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which is neyther in the plight to sende out? and in what place could I recon hym sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuarie? whereof was there neuer tyraunt yet so deuilishe, that durst attempt to breake the priuilege, and I trust God is nowe as strong to withstande his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no Sanctuarie you say, and therefore he can not haue it, forsooth the Lorde Protectour hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that may defende a Theefe, may not saue an innocent: but he is in no ieopardie nor hath no neede thereof, I would God he had not. Troweth the Protectour (I pray God he may proue a Protectour, rather then a destroyer, wherevnto his paynted processe draweth) that it is not honourable, that the Duke bide here? it were more comfortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a play felow, yea be you sure, I praye God send them both better play felowes then him that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the king, but if hys brother which had no lust to play for sicknesse, must come out of this sanctuary, & out of his safegard to play with him, as though that Princes so yong as they be, could not play without their peeres, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the more part they agree much worse then with straungers. But the childe you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the Protector so? Aske him and you shall heare him aske it, and so shall he if he wyll. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he could not aske it, and thinke he would not aske it, and imagine he would aske to go out, if I say he shall not: Note if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I saye, that he that agaynst my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onely, or for my goodes to? you may not from hence take my horse from me, if I stole him not, nor owe you nothing: then foloweth it, that you may not take my childe from mee, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsayle sheweth mee, he hath nothing by dissent holden, by knightes seruice, but by socage, then the lawe maketh me his guarden, then maye no man lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of Sanctuarie, and if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith

the

the lawe committed to me the custodie of him, I maye require it for myne, except the lawe geue the infaunt a guarden onely for his goods, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodye, for which onely both goodes and landes serue. And if examples be sufficient to attaine priuilege for my childe, I nede not farre to seeke: For in this place in which we now be, and which is now in question, whether my childe may take benefite of it? Mine other sonne now king, was borne and kept in his Cradell & preserued to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuarie: For when my Lorde my husband was banished and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hether beyng great with childe, and here I bare the Prince, and when my Lorde my husbande returned safe agayne, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home. And from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when he first tooke him in his armes: And I pray God that my sonnes Palace may be as great a safegarde to him nowe reigning, as thys place was sometime to the kings enemie: In which place I entend to kepe his brother, sithe mans lawe serueth the guarden to keepe the infante, and the lawe of nature wylleth the mother to keepe the childe, and Gods lawe priuilegeth the Sanctuarie, and the Sanctuary priuilegeth my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the Protectors handes, that hath hys brother alreadie, which is (if both fayled) inheritor to the crowne as heire Male, as he sayth. The cause of my feare no man hath to doe to examine, and yet feare I no farther then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euery man the custody of them, by whose death he may enherite lesse lande then a kingdome. I can say no more, but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holye Sanctuarie, I praye God send him shortly neede of Sanctuarie, when he may not come to it, for I would not that my mortall enemie should be taken out of Sanctuarie.

The Cardinall perceyued that the Queene waxed euer the longer the farther of, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and speake sore byting words agaynst the Protectour, and such as he neither beleued, and also was loth to heare, he sayde to her, for a finall conclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, & if she were content to deliuer the Duke to him and to the other Lordes there present, he durst lay his awne body & soule both in pledge, not onely for his suretie, but also for his estate, and surely he knew nor suspected no cause but he might so doe, (but he knewe not all.) And further he sayde, if she would geue him a resolute aunswere to the contrary, he would therewith depart incontinent, and shyft who so would with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer intended further to mooue her in the matter, in the which she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked eyther wit or truth. Wyt if they were so dull that they nothing could perceiue what the Protector entended, and if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towards the childe any euill will entended, then she might thinke all the counsail both euill aduised and of little fidelitie to their Prince.

The Queene with these wordes stoode a good while in a great studie, and forasmuch as she sawe the Lorde Cardinall more redier to depart then the remnaunt, and the Protector himselfe redie at hande, so that she verilye thought that she could not kepe them there, but he shoulde be incontinent taken thence: and to conuey him else where, neither had she time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appoynted to conuey him, and so all thing was vnredie, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothing lesse loking for, then to haue him out of Sanctuary, which she knew now men to be set in all places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly as she thought it might fortune her feare to be false: so well she wist it was either nedelesse or bootelesse. Wherefore if she should nedes go from him, she demed best to deliuer him, and specially of the Cardinalles fayth she nothing doubtyng, nor of some other Lordes whome she sawe there, which as she feared least they might be deceyued, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see his suretie, if shee with her awne handes betoke him

to them of trust, and at the last shee tooke the yong Duke by the hand, and sayde vnto the Lordes, my Lord quod she, and all my Lordes, neyther am I so vnwise to mistrust your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truthes: of the which thing I purpose to make you such a proofe, that if either of both lacked in you, might turne both me to great sorow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she thys Gentleman, whome I doubt not but I could keepe safe if I would, whatsoeuer any man saye, and I doubt not also but there be some abrode so deadly enemies vnto my bloud, that if they wist where any of it laye in their awne body, they would let it out: we haue also experience that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred, the brother hath beene the brothers bane, and may the Nephewes be sure of the Vncle? eche of these children are others defence, whyle they be a sunder, and eche of theyr lyues lyeth in others body: kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perillous then both to be in one place: for a wise Marchant neuer aduentureth all his goodes in one ship. All this notwithstanding here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to keepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske them both before God and the worlde. Faythfull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength to keepe him, if you list to keepe him, for you lack no helpe of your selues, nor neede to lack no help in this case, and if you cannot elsewhere, then may you leaue him here: But onely one thing I beseeche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the trust that I put you in nowe, that as farre as you thinke that I feare to much, ye be well ware that you feare not as farre to little. And therwithall she sayde to the chylde, farewell mine awne sweete sonne, God sende you good keeping, let mee once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse together againe, and therewith she kissed him, and blessed him, and turned her back and wept, going her waye, leauing the poore innocent childe weeping as fast as the mother.

The desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred.

When the Cardinall and the other Lordes had receyued the yong Duke, they brought hym into the starre Chamber, where the Protector tooke him into his armes and kissed him with these wordes: nowe welcome my Lorde euen with al my very hart, & he sayd in that of likelihood euen as he inwardly thought, & therevpon forthwith brought him to the king his brother into the Bishops palace at Paules, and from thence through the Citie honorably into the tower, out of which after that day they neuer came abrode.

Oh dépe and wretched dissimulation.

When the Protectour had both the children in his handes, he opened himselfe more boldly both to certaine other men, and also chiefly to the Duke of Buckyngham, although I know that many thought that thys Duke was priuie to all the Protectors counsayle, euen from the beginning: and some of the Protectors friends sayde, that the Duke was the first moouer of the Protector to thys matter, sending a priuie messenger vnto him streight after king Edwardes death: But other agayne which knew better the subtile wit of the Protector, denied that he euer opened hys enterprise to the Duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehersed. But when he had imprisoned the Quenes kinsfolkes, and gotten both her sonnes into his awne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whom he thought mete for the matter, & especiall to the Duke, who being wonne to his purpose, he thought his strength more then halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the Duke by subtile folkes, & such as were their craftes maisters in the handelyng of suche wycked deuyses, who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinsfolkes sakes, and that if he were able he would reuenge them: who would prick him forward thervnto, if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, the yong king without doubt would be carefull for their deathes, whose imprisonment was grieuous vnto him. And that wyth repenting, the Duke should nothing auayle, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefites: but he should soner destroy himselfe then saue the king, who with his brother and kinsfolkes he sawe in such place imprisoned, as the Protectour might with a beck destroy them all, and that it were no doubt, but that he would doe it in deede, if there

The Protectour discloseth nowe all his purpose.

The pollecie of the Protectour.

there were any new enterprise attempted, and that it was likely, that as the Protector had prouyded a priuy garde for himselfe, so had he espialles for the Duke, and traynes to catche him, if he should be agaynst him, and that peraduenture from them whome he least suspected. For the state of things, and the dispositions of men were then such that a man could not tell whome he might well trust, or whome he might feare. These things & such lyke, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entred, yet would he go forth in the same. And sithence he had once begonne, he would stoutly go thorowe, and therefore this wicked enterprise which he beleued could not be aduoyded, he bent himselfe, and went thorough, and determined that sithence the common mischiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his awne commoditie.

The entrance into one mischiefe prouoketh the going forward with more.

A compact made betweene the Protectour and ye Duke of Buckingham.

Then it was agreed that the Protectour should haue the Dukes ayde to make him king, and that the Protectors onely lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter. And that the Protectour should graunt him the quyet possession of the Erledome of Hertford, which he claymed as his inheritaunce and could neuer obteyne it in king Edwardes time. Beside these requestes of the Duke, the Protector of his awne minde promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure and of his housholde stuffe. And when they were thus at apoint betwene themselues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king, as they would haue it seeme: And that they might turne both the eyes and mindes of men from perceyuing of their driftes, they had caused the Lordes beyng sent for from all the partes of the realme, to come thicke to that solempnitie. But the Protector and the Duke, after that they had set the lord Cardinall the Archbishop of Yorke, then lord Chauncelour, the Byshop of Ely, the Lorde Stanley, and the Lord Hastinges, then Lorde Chamberleyn, wyth many other noble men, to commen and deuyse about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in another place contryuing the contrarie, and to make the Protectour Kyng. To which counsayle albeit there were called verye fewe, and they verye secret: yet then began there, here and there some maner of mutteryng amongest the people, as though all thing should not long be well, though they wist not what they feared nor wherefore: were it, that before such great thinges mennes harts (of a secret instinct of nature) misgeueth them, as the sea without winde somtime swelleth of himselfe before a tempest: or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiuyng, filled many men with suspicion though he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, thoughe the counsaile were close, for little and little all folke drewe from the Tower where the king was, and drewe to Crosbies place in Bishopesgate streete, where the Protector kept his houshoulde. The Protector had the resort, and the king in maner desolate. While some made sute vnto them that had the doyng, some of them were by their friendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to much attendant on the king, without the Protectors appoyntment, which remoued diuerse of the king his olde seruauntes from him, and set newe in their rowmes about him.

A subtile practise.

Thus many things comming together, partly by chaunce, and partlye by purpose caused at length, not common people onely, which wauer with the wynde, but wise men also and some Lordes, to marke the matter, and muse therevpon: in so much that the Lord Stanley, which afterwarde was Erle of Darby, wisely mistrusted it, and sayd to the Lord Hastynges, that he much mislyked these two seuerall counsayles, for whyle we, quod he, talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my Lorde, quod the Lord Hastinges, on my life neuer doubt you, for whyle one man is there, which is neuer thence, neyther can there be any thing once minded that should sounde amisse toward me, but it shoulde be in mine eares or it were well out of their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby which was nere of his secret counsaile, and whom he familiarly vsed in hys most weightie matters, putting no man in so speciall trust as him, reconing him selfe to no man so liefe, sith he wist well there was no man to him so much beholding

beholding as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the lawes of thys lande, and by the speciall fauour of the Lorde Hastinges in good auctority, and much rule bare in the coũties of Leicester, and Northampton, where the Lorde Hastinges power lay. But surelye great pitie was it that he had not had either more truth, or lesse witte, for his dissimulation onely, kept all that mischiefe vp, in whome if the Lorde Hastinges had not put so speciall trust the Lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other Lordes had departed into their countries, & broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, which he now construed all for the best, so surely thought he that there coulde be no harme towarde him in that counsaile entended where Catesby was. And of truth the Protectour and the Duke of Buckingham made very good sembleaunce vnto the Lord Hastinges and kept him much in their company. And vndoubtedly, the Protectour loued him well, and loth was to haue lost hym, sauing for feare, lest his life should haue quayled their purpose, for ỹ which cause he moued Catesby, to proue with some worde, cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to winne the Lorde Hastinges to their part. But Catesby, whether he assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them that he founde him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible wordes that hee durst no farther breake, & of a truth the Lord Hastinges of very trust shewed vnto Catesby the mistrust that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearing lest their mocions might with the Lorde Hastings minish his credence, wherevnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the Protectour, hastily to ryd him, and much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obtayne much of the rule which the Lorde Hastinges bare in his countrie, the onely desire whereof, was the thing that enduced him to be the procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all this horrible treason. Wherevpon the Lorde Protectour caused a counsaile to be set at the Tower on the friday, the thirtene day of Iune, where was much commonyng for the honourable solemnitie of the coronation, of the which the time appointed aproched so neere that the pageauntes were a making day and night at Westminster, and vytaile killed, which afterwarde was cast away. Catesby. The counsaill in the Tower.

These Lordes thus sitting, commoning of this matter, the Protectour came in among them first about nine of the clocke, salutyng them curteously, excusing himselfe that he had been from them so long: saiyng merily that he had bene a sleper that day. And after a litle talking wyth them, he said to the Bishop of Ely, my Lorde you haue very good strawberies in your Garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly (my Lorde quod he) I would I had some better thing as redie to your pleasure as that, and with that in all haste he sent his seruaunt for a dishe of Strawberies. The Protector set the Lordes fast in commonyng, and therevpon praiyng them to spare him a litle, and so he departed and came againe betwene. x. and. xj. of the clocke into the Chamber, all chaunged with a wonderfull sowre angry countenance, knittyng the browes, frownyng and frettyng and gnawyng on his lippes, and so set him downe in his place. All the Lordes were dismayed, and sore marueyled of this maner and sodaine chaunge, and what thing should him ayle. When he had sitten a while, thus he began: What were they worthie to haue that compasse and ymagine the destruction of me beyng so nere of blood to the king, and Protector of this his royall realme? At which question, all the Lordes sate sore astonied, musyng much by whom the question should be ment, of which euery man knewe himselfe clere.

Then the Lorde Hastynges as he that for the familiaritie that was betwene them, thought he might be boldest with him, aunswered and sayd, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whatsoeuer they were, and all the other affirmed the same, that is (quod he) yonder Sorceresse, my brothers wife and other with her, meanyng the Queene, at these wordes many of the other Lordes, were sore abashed which fauoured her, but the Lorde Hastynges was better content in his minde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit his hart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsaile of this matter, as well as he was of the takyng of her kindred,

and of their puttyng to death, which were by hys assent before deuised to be behedded at Pomfret, this selfe same daye, in the which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should the same day be behedded at London: then sayd the Protector, ye shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse and other of her counsaile, as Shores wife wyth her affinitie haue by their sorcerye and witchecraft wasted my bodie, and therewith plucked vp his Dublet sleue to his elbow on his left arme, where he shewed a werishe withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other. And therevpon euery mans minde sore misgaue them, well perceiuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the Queene was both to wise to go about any such folly, and also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shores wife least of her counsaile, whome of all women she most hated, as that Concubine whome the king her husband most loued.

Also there was no man there present, but knew that his arme was euer such sithe the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the Lorde Hastynges, which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somewhat doted in the kinges life, sauyng as it is sayde, that he, that while forbare her for reuerence toward his king, or else of a certaine kinde of fidelitie toward his friend: yet now his heart somewhat grudged, to haue her whome he loued, so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore he aunswered and sayde, certainely my Lorde, if they haue so heynously done, they bee worthie of heynous punishement, what quod the Protector, thou seruest me I wene with if and with and, I tell thee they haue so done, and that will I make good on thy bodie traytor. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fist on the boorde a great rappe, at which token geuen, one cried treason, without the Chamber, and therewith a doore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse as many as the Chamber could holde. And anone the Protector sayde to the Lorde Hastynges, I arrest thee traytor, what me, my Lorde quod he? yea, thee traytor quod the Protector. And one let flie at the Lorde Stanley, which shronke at the stroke and fell vnder the Table, or else his head had bene cleft to the teeth, for as shortly as he shranke, yet ranne the blood about his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke, and Doctor Morton bishop of Ely, and the Lord Stanley taken, and diuers other which were bestowed in diuers Chambers, saue the Lorde Hastynges (whom the Protector commaunded to speede and shriue him apace) for by Saint Paule (quod he) I will not dine till I see thy head off, it booted him not to aske why but heauily he toke a priest at aduenture, and made a shorte shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to his dinner, which might not go to it till this murder were done, for sauyng of his vngracious othe. So was he brought forth into the greene besyde the Chappell within the tower, and his head layd on a logge of Tymber, that lay there for buildyng of the Chappell, and there tyrannously stricken off, and after his bodie and hed were enterred at Windsore by his maister king Edward the fourth.

The Lorde Hastinges arrested.
The Lorde Stanley wounded.
The Lorde Hastynges behedded in hast.

A marueylous case it is to heare, eyther the warnynges that he shoulde haue voyded, or the tokens that he could not voyd. For the next night before his death, the Lorde Stanley sent to him a trustie and secret messenger at midnight in all the hast, requiryng him to rise and ryde away with him, for he was disposed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had so fearefull a dreame in the which he thought that a Bore with his tuskes, so rased them both by the heads that the blood ranne about both their shoulders, and forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his Cognisaunce, he imagined that it should be he. This dreame made such a fearefull impression in his heart, that hee was throughly determined no lenger to tarie, but had his horse redie, if the Lord Hastynges would go with him: So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger the next day. Ah good Lorde (quod the Lord Hastyngs) to the messenger, leaneth my Lord thy maister vnto such tryfles, and hath such fayth in dreames, which either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest, by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thinketh he not that we might as likely make them true by our goyng, if

The Lorde Stanleyes dreame.

if wee were caught and brought backe, (as friendes faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to rase vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshoode, wherefore either is there perill, nor none there is in deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in perill one way or other, yet had I liefer that men shoulde see it were by other mens falshead, then thinke it were eyther our awne fault or faint feble heart, and therefore go to thy maister, and commend me to him, and pray him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure him, I am assured of the man that he wotteth of, as I am sure of mine awne hand. God send grace (quod the messenger) and so departed. Certaine it is also, that in ryding toward the Tower the same mornyng, in which he was behedded, his horse that he accustomed to ryde on stumbled with him twyse or thrise almost to the fallyng, which thing although it happeneth to them dayly to whome no mischaunce is toward, yet hath it bene as an olde euill token obserued as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warnyng but an curious scorne, the same mornyng ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him al night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the Lorde Hawarde (which Lorde was one of the priuiest of the Lorde Protectors counsaile and doyng) as it were of curtesye to accompanie him to the counsail, but of truth sent by the Lord protector to hast him thetherward.

This sir Thomas, while the Lorde Hastinges stayed a while commoning with a priest whome he met in the Towerstrete, brake the Lords tale, saiyng to him merrily, what my Lorde? I pray you come on, wherefore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, and laughed vpon him, as though he woulde say, you shall haue neede of one sone: But litle wist the other what he ment (but or night these words were well remembred by them that heard them) so the true Lorde Hastinges litle mistrusted, and was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suretie in all his dayes, which thing is often a signe of chaunge: but I shall rather let anye thing passe mee then the vayne surety of mans minde so neare his death, for vppon the verye towre wharffe, so nere the place where his head was of not so farre of as a man might wel cast a balle, a Pursiuaunt of his awne called Hastinges mette with him, and of their meting in that place he was put in remembraunce of another time, in which it happened them to mete before together in the same place, at which other time the Lord Hastinges had bene accused to king Edwarde by the Lorde Ryuers the Queenes brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the kinges indignation, forasmuch as he now mette the same Pursiuaunt in the same place, the ieoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof with whome he had talked in the same place of that matter, and therefore he sayde: Ah Hastinges, art thou remembred when I met thee here once with an heauy hart. Ye my Lorde (quod hee) that I remember well, and thanked be to God they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby, thou wouldest say so (quod he) if thou knewest so much as I do, which fewe knowe yet, and mo shall shortlye, that meant he that the Erle Riuers and the Lorde Richarde, and Syr Thomas Vaughan shoulde that day be behedded at Poumfret, as they were in deede which act he wist well shoulde be done, but nothing ware that the axe hong so nere his awne heade. In faith man (quod he) I was neuer so sory nor neuer stoode in so great daunger of my life as I did, when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned now, now stande mine enimies in the daunger as thou maist happe to heare more hereafter, and I neuer in my life merier nor neuer in so great suretye, I pray God it proue so (quod Hastinges, proue quod he? doubtest thou that) nay may I warraunt thee, and so in maner displeased, he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. O Lord God the blindnesse of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in most suretie, and when he reconed himself most surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight and a gentle, of great auctiority with his Prince, of liuyng somewhat dissolute, The discription of the Lorde Hastinges.

solute, plain and open to his enemies, and sure and secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage foresawe no perilles, a louyng man and passyng well beloued, very faythfull and trusty enough, but trusting to much was his destructiō as you may perceiue.

Now flewe the fame of this Lordes death through the Citie and farther about, like a wiude in euery mans eare, but the Protector immediately after dinner (entendyng to set some colour vpon the matter) sent in all the hast for many substanciall men out of the Citie into the Tower, and at their comming himselfe with the Duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored Briganders, such as no man would wene that they woulde haue vouchsafed to haue put on their backes, except that some sodeine necessitie had constrayned them. Then the Lorde Protector shewed them, that the Lord Hastynges and other of his conspiracie had contriued to haue sodeinly destroyed him and the Duke of Buckyngham there the same day in counsaile, & what they entended farther was yet not well knowen, of which their treason he had neuer knowlege before ten of the clocke the same forenoone, which sodeine feare draue them to put on such harnesse as came next to their handes for their defence, and so God had holpen them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it, and thus he required them to report. Euery man aunswered fayre, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleued.

The Protectours proclamation. Yet for the further appeasyng of the peoples mindes, he sent immediately after dinner an Herauld of armes with a Proclamacion to be made through the Citie of London which was proclaymed in the kings name, that the Lord Hastyngs with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same day to haue slain the Protector, & the Duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaile, and after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the king, and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill & spoyle whome they list vncomptrolled, and much matter was there in the Proclamacion deuised to the slaunder of the Lorde Hastynges, as that he was an euill Counsaylor to the kinges father, entisyng him to many thinges highly redounyng to the diminishyng of his honour, and to the vniuersal hurt of his realme by his euill company & sinister procuryng and vngracious example, aswell in many other things, as in vicious liuing & inordinate abusion of his body, both with many other and especially with Shores wife, which was one also of his secret counsaile of this heynous treason, with whome he lay nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse maruaile if vngracious liuyng brought him to an vnhappie ende, which hee was now put to by the commaundement of the king his highnesse, and of his honourable and faythfull Counsaile, both for his demerites beyng so openly taken in his false contriued treason, and also least the delaiyng of his execution might haue encouraged other mischieuous persons parteners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselues together, in makyng some great commocion for his deliueraunce, whose hope nowe beyng by his well deserued death politikely repressed, al the realme shall by Gods grace rest in good quiet and peace. Now was this proclamacion made within two houres after he was behedded, and it was so curiously endited, and so fayre written in Parchement in a fayre set hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euery childe might perceyue that it was prepared and studyed before, (& as some men thought by Catesby) for all the time betwene his death & the Proclamacion proclaymyng, could scant haue suffised vnto the bare writyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduenture. So that vppon the proclaimyng thereof, a certayne Scholmayster standing by and comparyng the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, sayde to them that stoode about him, here is a gaye goodly cast, foule cast away for hast: And a Marchaunt that stoode by him sayde that it was written by inspiration and prophesie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger and not for couetous, the Protector

Shores wife. sent Sir Thomas Hawarde to the house of Shores wyfe (for her husband dwelt not with her) which spoyled her of al that euer she had, aboue the value of two or three thousand markes, and sent her bodie to prison. And the Protector had layde for the maner sake

that

that she was a counsaile with the Lorde Hastynges to destroy him. In conclusion, when no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he layde heynously to her charge that thing that she coulde not denie, for all the worlde knewe that it was true, and that notwithstanding euery man laughed to here it then so sodeinly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her bodie. And for this cause as a godly continent prince cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious worlde, for the amendment of mens maners, he caused the bishop of London to put her to open penaunce, goyng before a Crosse on a Sonday at Procession with a taper in her hand. In the which she went in countenaunce and pace so womanly, and albeit she was out of all array sauyng her Kyrtell onely, yet was she so fayre and louely, and namely, when the wõdring of the people cast a comely red in her chekes, of the which she before had most misse, that her great shame wanne her muche prayse amongest them that were more amorous of her bodie, then curious of her soule, and many good folke that hated her liuyng, and were glad to see sinne corrected, yet pitied they more her penaunce, then reioyced in it, when they considered that the Protector did it more of corrupt minde, then of any vertuous affection.

The description of Shores wife.

This woman was borne in London, wel friended, honestly brought vp, and very well maried, saning somewhat to sone, her husbande an honest, and a yong Citezen, godly, and of good substaunce, but forasmuch as they were coupled or she were well rype, she not verye feruently loued for whome shee neuer longed, which was the thing (by chaunce) that the more easelye made her to enclyne to the kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton welth was able sone to pierce a soft tender hart: but when the king had abused her, anone her husbande beyng an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kinges concubyne left her vp to hym altogether. When the king dyed, the Lorde Hastinges toke her, which in the kings dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her, yet he forbare, eyther for a Princely reuerence, or for a certayne friendly faithfulnesse. Proper she was, and fayre, nothing in her body that you coulde haue chaunged, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. This say they that knewe her in her youth, some sayde, & iudged that she had beene well fauoured, and some iudged the contrary, whose iudgement seemeth like as men gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by a skalpe taken out of a charnel house, and this iudgement was in the time of king Henrye the eight, in the eightene yere of whose reigne she dyed, when she had nothing but a reuyled skynne and bone. Her beautie pleased not men, so much as her pleasaunt behauiour, for she had a proper witte, and could both rede and write, merry in company, redy and quick of aunswere, neither mute, nor full of bable, somtime taunting without displeasure, but not without disport.

The description of king Edwardes three Concubines.

King Edward woulde say that he had three concubines, which in diuerse properties diuersely excelled, one, the meriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holyest harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the Church to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then mystres Shore, and neuerthelesse of their humilitie were content to be namelesse and to forbeare the praise of these properties. But the meriest was Shores wife in whome the king therefore toke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauour to say the truth (for it were sinne to lye on the deuill) she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many mens comfort, and reliefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his minde, where men were out of fauour, she would bring them into his grace, for manie that had highlie offended, she obtayned perdon, & of great forfeitures she gat remission, & finally, in many weighte suites she stode many men in great steade, either for none, or for very small rewarde: and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the deede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shewe what shee was able to doe with the king, or for that that wanton woman, and welthie be not alwayes couetous, I doubt not some man will thinke this woman to be to slight a thing to bee written of, among so graue and weightie matters,

matters, which they shall speciallye thinke that happily sawe her in her age, and aduersitie, but me semeth the chaunce so much more worthye to be remembred, in howe much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and frour riches to beggery vnfriended, out of acquaintaunce, after great substaunce, after so great fauour with her Prince, after as great suite and sekyng to with all those, which in those dayes had businesse to speede as manye other men were in their tymes, which be nowe famous onely by the infamy of their euill deedes, her doynges were not much lesse, albeit they bee much lesse remembred, because they were not euill, for men vse to write an euyll turne in marble stone, but a good turne, they write in the dust, which is not worst proued by her, for after her welth, shee went begging of manye that had begged themselues, if shee had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

The Lorde Riuers and other beheded.

Now was it so deuised by the Protector and his counsail, that the same day that the Lorde Chamberlayne was behedded in the Towre of London and about the same houre should be behedded at Pountfret the Erle Ryuers and the Lorde Rychard the Quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan, and syr Richard Haute, which as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony Stratford by the consent of the Lorde Hastings, which execution was done by the order and in the presence of syr Richard Ratclife knight, whose seruice the Protector specially vsed in the counsaile, & in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene long secrete with hym, hauyng experience of the worlde, and a shrewde wyt, short and rude in speech, rough and boysterous of behauiour, bolde in mischiefe, as farre from pittie as from all feare of God.

Richarde Ratclife knight.

Thys knight brought these foure persons to the Scaffolde at the daye appointed, and shewed to all the people that they were Traytors, not suffering the Lordes to speake, and to declare their innocencie, least their words might haue enclined men to pittie them, and to hate the Protectour and hys part, and so wythout iudgement and processe of the lawe caused them to be behedded, wythout other earthly guilt, but onely that they were good men and true to the king and to nie to the Queene, in so much as Syr Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death, sayde: A woe worth them that tooke the prophecie that G. should destroy king Edwardes children, meaning that by the Duke of Clarence Lorde George, which for the suspicion is now dead, but now remayneth Richard G. Duke of Glouces-ter, which nowe I see is he that shall and will accomplishe the prophecie, and destroye king Edwardes children and all their alyes and friends, as it appereth by vs thys day, whom I appeale to the high tribunall of God for his wrongfull murther and oure true innocencie. And then Ratcliffe saytle, you haue well appealed, lay downe your head, yee quod Syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was behedded and the other three, and buried naked in the Monastery at Pountfret. When the Lord Hastings & these other Lords and knights were thus behedded and rid out of the waye, then the Protector caused it to be proclaymed that the coronation for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the second daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter ment, and whyle the Lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wiste what to thinke, nor whome to trust, or euer they should haue time and space to digest the matter, and make parts, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crowne, or men could haue tyme to deuise any warye to resist. But now was all the studye, thys matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might well be taken. To thys counsayle they tooke diuers suche as they thought meete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that part, and able to stande them in stead, eyther by power or by policie. Among whome they made a counsayle Edmond Shaa then Maior of Londō, which vpon trust of his awne auauncement, where he was of a prowde hart highly desirous, tooke on him to frame the Citie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they tooke such as had wyt, and were in auethoritie amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Amongs these had, they

Edmond Shaa maior of London.

tooke

tooke Rause Shaa Clearke, brother to the Maior, and Fryer Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Friers, both Doctors in diuinitie, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. For they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a Sermond in prayse of the Protectour before the coronation, and Pynkye made one after the coronation, both so full of tedious flatterie, that no good mans eares could abyde them, Pinkye in his Sermond so loste his voyce, that he was fayne to leaue off and come downe in the middest, Doctour Shaa by his Sermond loste hys honestye, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the which he durst neuer after much come abrode, but the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and manye thinke that Pynkye was not of counsayle before the coronation, but after the common maner fell to flatterie after, namely because his Sermonde was not incontinent vpon it, but at Saint Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certaine it is that Doctor Shaa was of counsayle in the beginning, in so much that they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermond at Paules crosse, in which he should by the auctboritie of his preaching, induce the people to enclyne to the Protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the Prince and accept the Protector for King. In which dyuers things they deuised, but the chiefe thing, and the weighe of all that inuention rested in thys, that they should allege bastardy in King Edwarde hymselfe, or in his children, or both, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the crowne by the Duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in Kyng Edwarde, sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors awne mother, which was mother to them both. For in that point could be none other colour, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuerthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more finely and closely handled, not euen fully playne and directly, but touched a slope craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake al the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardie, they deuised to surmise in King Edward his children, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceyued, except we first repete some thinges long before done about king Edward his mariages.

Doctor Shaa named Rause. Frier Pinkie.

After king Edwarde the fourth had deposed king Henrie the sixt, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining hymselfe to marry (as was requisite) both for himselfe and for the realme, he sent ouer in Ambassade the Erle of Warwike, and diuers other noble men to the French king to intreat a mariage betweene the king and Bonathe Ladie syster to the French Quene, then being in Fraunce, as before in the storie of King Edwarde the fourth ye haue heard. In which thing the Erle of Warwike founde the parties so toward and wylling, that he speedily without any difficultie according to his instructions, brought the matter to a good conclusiō. Now happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the king by peticion Dame Elizabeth Gray (which after was his Quene) then a Widdowe, borne of noble bloud, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, which was maried to Sir Richarde Wooduile, Lorde Riuers, her Father.

Dame Elizabeth Gray.

Howbeit this dame Elizabeth being in seruice with Queene Margaret, wife to king Henry the sixt, was maried to one Iohn Gray Esquire whome king Henry made Knight at the last battayle of Saint Albones, but little whyle he enioyed his knighthood, for at the same fielde hee was slayne.

After when that king Edward was king and the Erle of Warwike being on hys Ambassade, this poore Lady made sute to the King to be restored to such small lands as her husbande had geuen her in ioynture, whom when the King beheld and heard her speake, as she was both fayre and of good fauour, moderate of stature, well made, & very wise, he not all onely pitied her, but also waxed enamored on her, and taking her afterward secretly

secretly aside, began to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when she perceyued, she verteously denied hym, but that shee did so wisely and that with so good maner & words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire then quenched it. And finally after many a meeting and much woyng and many great promises she well espied the king his affection toward her so greatly encreased, that she durst somewhat the more boldly say her minde, as to him whose hart she perceyued more feruently set then to fall off for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed hym playne, that as she wist her selfe to simple to be hys wyfe, so thought she her selfe to good to be hys Concubine. The king much marueyling of her cõstancie, as he that had not bene wont else where so stifly sayde nay, so much esteemed her continencie and chastitie, that he set her vertue in stead of possession and rychesse: And this taking counsayle of his awne desire, determined in all possible haste to marry her. And after that he was thus appointed, and had betwene them twayne ensured her, then asked he counsayle of his secret friends, and that in such maner that they might easyly perceyue that it booted not to say nay.

The kinges mother.

Notwithstanding the Duches of Yorke his mother was so sore moued therewith, that she disswaded that mariage as much as shee possibly might: alleging that it was his honor, profite and suretie, to marry in some Noble progeny out of his realme, wherevpon depended great strength to hys estate by that affinitie, and great possibilitie of increase of his dominions. And that he could not well otherwise doe, considering the Erle of Warwike had so farre forth entred into the matter all ready, which was not like to take it wel if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she sayde farther, that it was not princely to marry his owne subiect, no greater occasion, leading thervnto no possessions, nor other commoditie depending thervpon, but only as a riche man would marry his mayden onely for a little wanton dotage vpon her person. In which mariage many men commended more the maydens fortune then the mans wisedome, and yet she sayd that there was more honesty then honor in this mariage, for as much as there is not betwene a Marchant and his mayde so great a difference as betwene a king and his subiect, a great Prince and a poore Wydow. In whose person, although there were nothing to be mislyked, yet was there saide shee, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuers other that were more meetely (quoth she) for your estate: yea and maydens also, the onely Wydowhed of Dame Elizabeth Gray (although she were in all other points and things conuenient for you) should suffise as me thinketh to refraine you from her mariage, sith it is an vnfitting thing & a great blemish to the sacred maiestie of a Prince, that ought as nere to approch priesthood in cleannesse, as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bygamy in his first mariage. The king made his mother an answere part in earnest and part in play merily, as he that wiste himself out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take it wel, yet was he at a point in his awne minde, take she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfy her he said, ỹ albeit mariage being a spiritual thing it ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace encline th, the parties ought to encline to loue together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regarde of any temporall aduauntage: yet neuerthelesse him seemed that this mariage well considered not to be vnprofitable, for he reconed the amitie of no earthly nacion to be so necessary for him as ỹ friendship of his awne, which he thought likely to beare him so much the more harty fauor, in that he disdeined not to mary with one of his awne land: and yet if outwarde aliaunce were thought so requisite, he would finde the meanes to enter thervnto much better by other of his kinne where all ỹ parties could be contented, then to marry himself wherin he should nerer happily loue, and for the possibilitie of possessions, lese the fruite and pleasure of thys that he had alredie. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath besyde, if he be wiued agaynst his appetite, and I doubt not (quod he) but there be as you say other that be in euery poynt comparable with her, and therefore I let not them that like them to mary them, no more is it reason that it mislike any man that I marry where it liketh me. And I am sure

The kinges aunswere to his mother.

that my Cosyn of Warwicke, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that that I loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choyse of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye then by mine awne, as though I were a warde that were bounden to mary by the appoyntment a gūarden. I would not be a king with that cōdicion to forbeare mine owne libertie in choyse of mine awne mariage. As for possibilitie of more inheritaunce by newe affinitie in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble then profite. And we haue alredie title by that meanes, so much as suffiseth to get and keepe well in one mans dayes. That she is a widdowe and hath alredie children: By God his blessed Lady, I am a Bacheler and haue some to, and so eche of vs hath a proofe, that neyther of vs is like to be barren. And therefore Madame, I pray you be content, I trust to God she shall bring forth a yong Prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamye, let the Bishoppe hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a priest, but I neuer wist that it was forbidden a Prince. The Duchesse with these wordes nothyng appeased, and seyng the king so set on that she coulde not plucke him backe, so highly she disdeyned it, that vnder pretext of her dutie to Godward, she deuised to disturbe this mariage, & rather to helpe that he should marry one dame Elizabeth Lucy, whome the king not long before had gotten with childe: wherfore ỹ king his mother obiected openly against this mariage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy, and was her husbande before God, by reason of which wordes such obstacle was made in that matter, that eyther the Byshop durst not, or the king would not proceede to the solemnization of the mariage, till his fame were cleerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Wherevpon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for, and albeit she was by the king his mother and manye other put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the King, yet when shee was solemply sworne to say the truth, shee confessed shee was neuer ensured. Howbeit she sayde, his grace spake suche louyng wordes to her, that she verily hoped that he woulde haue maryed her, and that if such kinde of wordes had not bene, she would neuer haue shewed such kindenesse to him, to get him so kindely get her with childe. This examinacion solempnly taken, when it was cleerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to marrie, wherefore he shortly after at Grafton besyde stonie Stratford maryed the Ladie Elizabeth Gray very priuily, which was his enemies wife, and had prayed hartily for his losse, in the which God loued her better then to graunt her her bone, for then had she not beene hys wife: And after that she was crowned Quene, then her father was created Erle Riuers, and her sonne created Marques Dorset. But when the Erle of Warwike vnderstoode of this mariage, he tooke it so highly, that thereof ensued much trouble and great bloodshed as is declared before in the storye of king Edward the fourth.

Elizabeth Lucy

The kinges mariage.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appere vpon howe slipper a ground the Protectour builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to bee bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked them to whome it suffiseth to haue somewhat to saye, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proofe then themselues list to make.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I began to shewe you, it was by the Protector and his counsaile concluded that this Doctor Shaa shoulde in a sermon at Paules Crosse signifie to the people, that neither king Edwarde himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other persons, by aduoutery of the Duches their mother. And that Dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so Prince Edward and all the children begotten on the Queene were bastardes. And accordyng to this deuise, Doctor Shaa the Sonday after at Paules crosse in a great audience (as alway a great number assembled to his preachyng) came into the Pulpit takyng for his Theme. *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas. Sapien.* 4. that is to say, Bastard slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherevpon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth and secretly infoundeth

Doctor Shaas sermon.

in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he that those children commonly lacked the grace (and for the punishement of their parentes) were for the most part vnhappy which were gotten in haste, and speciallye in aduoutrie, of which, (though some by the ignoraunce of the worlde and the truth hid from knowledge) haue enherited for a season other mens landes, yet God alway so prouideth that it cōtinueth not in their blood long, but the truth commyng to light, the rightfull enheritors be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had layde for the proofe and confirmation of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testament and other auncient Hystories, then began he to discende to the prayse of the Lord Richard, late Duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the Lorde Protector and declared his title to the crowne by enheritaunce, and also by entaile authorised by Parliament after the death of king Henry the sixt. Then shewed he that the Lorde Protector, was onely the right heyre, of his bodie lawfully begotten. Then declared he that king Edward was neuer lawfully maryed to the Queene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children were bastardes. And besydes that, that neythier king Edward himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of Yorkes houshold) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble Duke, as those that by their fauors more resembled other knowen men then him, from whose vertuous condicions he sayde also that king Edward was farre off. But the Lord Protector (quod he) that very noble Prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowesse, aswell in all princely behauior, as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the verye face of the noble Duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is hys awne countenaunce, the verye print of his visage, the sure vndoubted Image, the plaine expresse likenesse of this noble Duke. Nowe was it before deuised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should haue come in amongest the people to the Sermond ward, to the ende that these words, so meetyng with his presence, might haue bene taken amongest the heerers, as though the holy ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, and shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cried king Richard, king Richard, that it might haue bene after sayde, that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, eyther by the Protectors negligence, or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the Protector staied by the way, tariyng, least he should haue preuented these wordes, the Doctor fearyng that he should come or his sermon coulde come to those wordes, hastyng his matter therto, he was come tc them, and past them, and entred into other matters or the Protector came, whom when he behelde commyng, he sodainly left the matter which he had in hand, and without out any deduction therevnto out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repete those wordes agayne. This is the verye noble prince, the especiall patrone of knightly prowesse, which aswell in all princely behauiour, as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the noble Duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the very print of his visage, the sure and vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble Duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people vp into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in the vpper storye, where they hearde out the Sermon: but the people were so farre from criyng king Richarde, that they stoode as they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull Sermon: after which once ended, the preacher gate him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an Owle, and when he asked any of his olde friendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other aunswered him, that there was in euery mans mouth of him much shame spoken, it so strake him to the heart, that in fewe dayes after, he withered and consumed away.

Then on the tuesday after next folowing this sermond, beyng the. xvij. day of Iune, there came to the Guyld hall of London, the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Lordes, and

knightes mo then happily knewe the message they brought. And there in the east ende of the hall, where the hoystinges be kept, the Duke and the Mayor, and the other Lords sate downe, and the Aldermen also, all the commons of the Citie beyng assembled and standing before them. After scilence cõmaunded vpon a great payne in the Protectors name. The Duke stode vp, and as he was well learned, and of nature meruellously well spoken, he sayde to the people, with a cleare, and a lowd voyce: Friendes, for the zeale, and hartye fauour that we beare you, we become to breake of a matter right great, and weightie and no lesse weightie, then pleasing to God, & profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme more profitable, then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thyng that you haue long lacked, and as we well knowe sore longed for, that you woulde haue geuen great good for, that you woulde haue gone farre to fetch: that thing be we come hether to bring you, without your labour, paine, coste, auenture, or ieoperdie. What thing is that? Certes, the surety yo your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues & daughters & the sauegarde of your goods, of all which things in tyme passed you stood in doubt. For who was there among you all that could recon himselfe Lord of his owne good, among so many ginnes, & traps as were set therfore, among so much pilling and polling among so many taxes & tallages, of the which there was neuer ende, or oftentimes no nede or if any were, it grew rather of riote, or of vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honorable charge, so that there was daily plucked, & pilled from good & honest men great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifts so far forth ỹ fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence & good will, the commissioners so much of euery man toke, as no man would with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should pay not what he of himselfe of his good wyll lust to graunt, but what the kyng of his good will lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, smal trespaces, into mesprision, mesprision into treason, whereof I thinke that no man loketh ỹ we shal remẽber you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten which was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. This Burdet was a Merchant dwelling in Chepeside, at ỹ signe of crowne, which now is ỹ signe of the flower de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merily in the ruffling time, betwene king Edward the fourth, and king Henry the sixt, said to his owne sonne, that he woulde make him inheritor of the crowne, meaning his owne house: but these words king Edward made to be misconstrued, and enterpreted, that Burdet ment the Crowne of the realme: wherefore within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged drawen and quartered in Chepeside, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honour to Merkam chiefe Iustice then, which lost his office, rather then he woulde assent to that iudgement: then to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare, or flatterye, gaue that iudgement. What neede I to speake of sir Thomas Cooke Alderman, and Mayor of this noble Citie, who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull, that he remembreth not, or so harde harted that he pitieth not that worshipfull mans losse? What speake I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle, and vndeserued distruction, onely because it happened those to fauour him, whome the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name sith I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselues, or nigh friendes haue knowen aswell their goodes as their persons greatly endaungered, either by fained quarels or smal matters aggrauated with heinous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there coulde lacke a pretext. For sithe the king preuentyng the time of his inheritaunce attayned the crowne by battaile, it sufficed in a riche man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or aliaunce, nere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintaunce with any of those, that were at any time the kings enemies which was at one time or another more

The oration of the duke of Buckingham made to the Citizens of London.

Beneuolence.

Burdet.

Merkam chiefe Iustice.

Of this sir Thomas Cooke ye may reade afore in the seuenth yere of king Edward the fourth.

Open warre. then halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goods, neither lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieoperdie, beside the common auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the well and occasion of much mischiefe, yet is it neuer so mischeuous as where any people fall in deuision, and at distaunce among themselues, and in no realme earthly so deadlye, & so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst vs. And among vs neuer continued so long discention nor so many battailes in any season, nor so cruell, nor so deadly foughten, as were in the kinges his dayes that dead is. God forgeue it his soule. In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garlande, keping it, lesing, and wynning agayne, it hath cost more English blood, then hath the twise winnyng of Fraunce. In which inward war amongst our selues hath bene so great effusion of the auncient noble blood of this realme, that scarcely the halfe remayneth, to the great enfebling of this noble lande, beside manye a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that haue bene going to the fielde or returning from thence, and peace long after, not much surer then warre. So that no tyme was there in the which rich men for their money, & great men for their landes, or some other, for some feare or for some displeasure were out of peril. For whom trusted he, that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he, that killed his owne brother? Or who coulde perfectly loue him, if his owne brother coulde not? What maner of folke that he most fauoured (we shall for his honour spare to speake of) howbeit, this ye wot well all, that whoso was best bare euer the lest rule, and more suite in his daies was to Shores wife, a vile and abhominable strompet, then to all the Lordes in Englande, except vnto those that made her their protectour, which simple woman was yet well named, and honest, till the king for wanton lust, and sinful affection, bereft her from her husbande, a right honest yong man, and substanciall amongst you. And in that point which in good faith I am sory to speake of, sauing that it is in vayne to kepe counsaile in that thing, that all men knoweth, the king hys greedy appetite was insaciable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no women was there any where yong or olde, poore or riche, whome he set his eie vpon, whome hee any thing liked, either for person, or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmure or grudging of the worlde, he woulde importunatly pursue his appetite and haue her, to the great distruction of manye a good woman, and great doloure to their husbandes and friendes, which being honest people of themselues, so much regarded the clennesse of their houses, the chastitie of their wiues, and children, that them were liefer to lose all that they haue beside, then to haue such a vilany done to them. And albeit that with this, and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place anoyed, yet speciallye you the Citezens of this noble Citie, as for that amongst you is most pleutie of all suche thinges as minister matter to suche iniuries, as for that you were nerest at hande, sith that nere here about was hys most common abiding. And yet be ye the people whome he had as singuler a cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of his realme: not onelye for that the prince by this noble Citie, as of his speciall chamber, and renoumed Citie of this realme, much honourable fame receiueth amongst all other nacions, but also for that, yea not without your great cost & sundry perilles and ieoperdies in al his warres bare euer your especiall fauor to his part: which your kinde mindes borne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthily requited you, there is of that house now, which by God his grace shall make you full recompence, which thing to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our arrande. It shall not I wote well neede, that I reherse vnto you agayn that you already haue heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so prowd to loke therfore that you should receiue my words of so great authority as the preachers of the worde of God, namely a man so cunning, and so wise, that no man wotteth better what he should doe & say, and thereto so good and verteous y he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into the which no honest man commeth to lie: which honourable preacher

Ciuil warre.

London is the speciall Chamber of the Prince.

ye

ye well remember, substancially declared to you at Paules Crosse on Sonday last paste, the right and tytle of the most excellent Prince Rychard Duke of Gloucester now Protector of this realme, which he hath vnto the crowne of the kingdome of the same. For that worshipfull man made it perfectly and groundely open vnto you, that the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfully begotten, for as much as the King (liuing his verie wyfe dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfully maried to the Queene their mother, whose blood, sauing that he set his volupteous pleasure before his honour, was full vnmeetely to be matched with his (the mingling of which two bloodes together hath beene the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme, whereby it maye well be seene, that mariage was not well made of which there is so much mischiefe growen. For lack of which lawfull copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipfull Doctor, rather signified then fully explaned, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that euery man forbeareth to say that he knoweth, in aduoyding the displeasure that my noble Lorde Protectour bearing as nature requireth a reuerence to the Duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saye, that for lacke of issue lawfully comming of the late noble Prince Richard Duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood the crownes of Englande and of Fraunce, are by the high auctoritie of a parliament entayled, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of inheritaunce according to the common law of this land, dissended and come vnto the most excellent prince the Lorde protectour, as to the verie lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble Duke of Yorke. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowesse of him pondered, with many vertues which in his noble person singulerly do abound: The nobles and commons also of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not wylling anye bastard blood to haue rule of the lande, nor the abusions in the same before vsed and exercised any longer to continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determined to make humble peticion vnto the puyssaunt prince the Lorde protectour, that it maye like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon him the guyding and gouernaunce of this realme, to the welth and increase of the same, according to his verie right and iust title, which thing I wote well he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdome well perceyueth, the labour and studie both of minde and body that shall come therewith to him, whosoeuer shall occupie that rome. I dare say he will if he take it (for I warraunt you that rome is no childes office) and that the great wise man well perceyued, when he sayd *Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est*, woe to that realme whose king is a childe, wherefore so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entituled thereto, is of so sad age, and thereto of so great wisedome, ioyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will be loth as I haue sayde to take vpon him, yet shall he to our peticion in that behalfe the more graciously encline, if ye the worshipfull Citizens of thys Citie, being the chiefe Citie of the realme, ioyne with vs the Nobles in our sayde request, which for your awne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neuerthelesse we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall doe great profite to all this realme: Beside that, in chosing them so good a King, it shall be to your selfe a speciall commoditie, to whome his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauour in how much he shall perceyue you the more prone and beneuolently minded towarde his election: wherein deare friendes, what minde you haue we require you playnely to shewe vs?

When the Duke had sayde and looked that the people whome he hoped that the Maior had framed before, should after this flattering preposition made, haue cryed king Richard, king Richard, all was still and muete, and not one worde aunswered to: wherewith the Duke was maruellously abashed, and taking the Maior neere vnto him, with other that were about hym priuie to the matter, sayde vnto them softly. What meaneth thys, that the people be so styll? Sir quod the Maior, percase they perceyue you not well, that shall we amende quod he, if that wyll helpe, and therewith somewhat lowder rehearsed the same matter agayne, in other order and other words so well and ornately,

ornately, and neuerthelesse so euidently and plaine, wyth voyce, gesture, and countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much marueyled that heard him, and thought that they neuer heard in their lyues so euill a tale so well tolde. But were it for wonder or feare, or that eche looked that other should speake first, not one worde was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as rouning among them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to doe. When the Maior sawe thys, he wyth other parteners of the counsayle, drewe about the Duke and sayde that the people had not bene accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Fitz Wylliam, a sadde man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and lothe was with that matter to beginne, notwithstanding therevnto commaunded by the Maior, made rehersall to the commons of that which the Duke had twise proponed himselfe, but the Recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euery thing as the Duke his wordes were, and no part of his awne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, which alwaye after one, stood as they had bene amased. Whervpon the Duke rouned with the Maior and sayde, this is a maruellous obstinate scilence, and therewith turned to the people agayne with these wordes. Deare friends we come to moue you to that thing which paraduenture we so greatly needed not, but that the Lords of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised, sauing such loue we beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be parteners is your weale and honour, which as to vs seemeth you see not or way not: Wherefore we require you to geue vs an aunswere, one or other, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue thys noble Prince now Protector to be your king. And at these wordes the people beganne to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voyce was neyther loude nor base, but lyke a swarme of Bees, tyll at the last at the nether ende of the hall a bushement of the Dukes seruaunts & one Nashfield, and other belonging to the Protectour, with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall amongst the prease, began sodainely at mens backs to cry out as loude as they could, King Richard, King Richard, and there threw vp their Cappes in token of ioy, and they that stood before cast back their heads marualyng thereat, but nothing they sayde. And when the Duke and the Maior saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and sayd it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to here euery man with one voyce & no man saiyng nay. Wherefore friends (quod the Duke) sithe we perceyue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall report, that we doubt not but that it shall redownde to your great welth and commoditie. We therefore require that to morowe ye go with vs, and we with you to hys noble grace, to make our humble peticion and request to him in maner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe and the company dissolued and departed the more part all sadde, some with glad semblaunce that were not very merie, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrowe, were fayne at hys backe to turne their face to the wall, whyle the dolour of their hartes brast out of their eyes.

Thomas Fitz William Recorder of London.

Then on the morow the Maior and Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their best maner apparelled, assembled themselues together at Paules, and resorted to Bainerds Castell where the Protector lay, to which place also accordyng to the appointment repayred the Duke of Buckingham and diuers Nobles with him, besydes many knightes and gentlemen: And therevpon the Duke sent worde to the Lorde Protector of the beyng there of a great honourable companie to moue a great matter to his grace. Wherevpon the Protector made great difficultie to come to them, except he knewe some part of their errand, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the commyng of such a number to him so sodainly, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme.

Then

Then when the Duke had shewed this to the Maior and other, that they might thereby see howe little the Protector loked for this matter, they sent againe by the messenger such louyng message, and there so humbly besought him to vouchesafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their entent of which they would to none other person any part disclose. At the last he came out of his Chamber, and yet not downe to them, but in a Galory ouer them, with a Bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speake to him, as though he would not come nere them, till he wist what they ment. And therevpon, the Duke of Buckingham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obteyned, they durst not be so bolde to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they ment as much honour to his grace as welth to all the realme besyde, yet were they not sure howe his grace woulde take it, whom they would in no wise offende. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himselfe, and also longed sore apparauntly to know what they ment, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them any thing would entend to himward wherewith he ought to be grieued. When the Duke had this leaue and perdon to speake, then wexed he bolde to shewe him their entent and purpose, with all the causes mouyng them thervnto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to besech his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse, and zeale vnto the realme, nowe with his eye of pitie to beholde the long continued distresse and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendment thereof, by takyng vpon him the Crowne and gouernaunce of the realme, accordyng to his right and title lawfully discended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profite and suretie of the lande, and vnto hys grace so muche the more honour and lesse paine, in that that neuer Prince reigned vpon any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obeysaunce, as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the Protector had heard the proposition, he loked very straungely thereat and made aunswere, that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to be true, yet such entier loue he bare to king Edward and his children, & so much more regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, so that he coulde not finde in his heart in this poynt to enclyne to their desire, for in all other nacions where ỹ truth were not well knowen, it should peraduenture be thought that it were his awne ambicious minde and deuise to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would in no wise haue his honour steyned for any Crowne, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthie to haue it. Notwithstandyng, he not onely pardoned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praiyng them for hys sake to geue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whome he was and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsaile as farre as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doe his vttermost deuoyer to set the realme in good estate which was alredie in the little tyme of his protectorship (lauded be God) well begon in that the malice of such as were before the occasion of the contrary, and of newe entended to be, were now partly by good pollicie, partly more by God his speciall prouidence, then mans prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Vpon thys aunswere geuen, the Duke of Buckyngham by the Protector hys licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about hym as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that (vpon lyke pardon desired and obteyned) he shewed alowde vnto the Protector, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that king Edward his lme should no longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had so farre gone that it was now no suretie to retreate and for that they thought it for the weale vniuersal to take that way, although they had not yet begon it. Wherefore if it would lyke hys

grace

grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseeche hym therevnto, and if he would geue them a resolute aunswere to the contrarie (which they would be loth to here) then must they seeke and should not fayle to finde some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the Protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may weet would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that eyther he must take it, or else he and his both to go from it, he sayde to the Lordes and commons, sithe it is we perceyue well that all the realme is so set (whereof we be very sory) that they wyll not suffer in any wise king Edwarde his line to gouerne them, whom no man earthly can gouerne against their wyls: And we also perceyue that no man is there to whom the crowne can by so iust tytle appertayne as to our selfe as verie right heire lawfullye begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard, late Duke of Yorke, to which tytle is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, which we of all tytles possible take for most effectuall, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your peticion and request, and according to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kingdome of the two noble realmes, Englande, and Fraunce, the one from this day forward by vs and our heyres to rule, gouerne and defend, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get agayne, subdue and establishe for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the auauncement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and set forth. With this there was a great cry and shoute, cryyng king Rychard, king Richard, and so the Lords went vp to the King. But the people departed talking diuersly of the matter, euery man as his phantasie gaue him, but much they maruelled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as though neuer the one parte had communed with other part thereof before, when they wist that there was no man so dull that hearde them, but he perceiued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, saiyng: all thinge must be done in good order, and men must sometime for the maner sake not be a knowen what they knowe. For at the consecration of a Bishoppe, euery man perceiueth by paiment of his Bulles, that he entendeth to bee one, yet when he is twise asked whether he will be a Bishop, he must twise say naye, and at the third time take it vpon him, as compelled therto by his awne wil. And in a stage playe, the people know right well that he that plaieth the sowdaine, is percase a sowter, yet if one of acquaintance perchaunce of little nurture shoulde call him by his name, while he standeth in his maiestie one of hys tormentours might fortune breake his heade for marring of the play. And so they saide, these matters be kynges games, as it were stage playes, and for the most part plaid vpon scaffoldes, in which poore men be but lokers on, & they that wise be, wil meddle no farther, for they that steppe vp with them when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play and doe themselues no good.

The Protector taketh vpon him the royall estate and Kingdome of this realme.

RICHARDE THE THIRDE.

AFTER that the Protector had taken vpon him the royal estate, preheminence and kingdome of this realme, as is aforesaid in the historie of king Edward the fift, he the next day folowyng with a great traine, went on foote to Westminsterhall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the Court of the kings Benche, he declared to the audience, that

he would take vpō him the crowne there in that place where the king himselfe sitteth, & ministreth the lawe, because he considered, that it was the chiefest duty of a king to minister the lawes. Then with as pleasaunt an oracion as he coulde, he went about to wynne the hartes of the nobles, the merchauntes, & artificers, and in conclusion all kinde of men, but speciall the Lawyers of this realme. And finally to the entent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceytfull clemency might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommoditie of discord, and the commoditie of concord, and vnitie, he made an open proclamacion, that he did put out of his minde all enemities, and that he there did pardon all offences committed against him. And to the entent that he might shew a proofe thereof, he commaūded that one Fogge, whome he had deadly hated, shoulde be brought before him, who being brought out of the Sanctuarie, for thether had he fled for feare of him. In the sight of the people he tooke him by the hand, which thing the common people reioysed at, and praysed: But wise men tooke it for a vanitie. And in his retourne homewarde, whom so euer he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe guiltie, is in a maner deiected to a seruile flattery.

When he had begonne his reigne the. xix. daye of Iune, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1483
1483. after this mockish election, then was he proclaymed king openly by sounde of trompet the next day folowing, and the sixt day of Iulye next ensuyng, was solemply crowned at Westminster. And that solempnitye was furnished for the most parte with the selfe same prouision that was apoynted for the coronation of his nephew. But forasmuch as the maner of the same coronacion came vnto my hands, & also for that no mencion is made of the maner of the Coronacion of any prince in al this Chronicle, I thought it not amisse in this place to expresse the same.

The fourth day of Iuly he came to the tower by water with his wyfe, and there he created Edwarde, his onely begotten sonne, a childe of ten yeres olde, Prince of Wales, and Iohn Hawarde, a man of great knowlege, and vertue, (aswell in counsaile, as in battaile) he created Duke of Norffolk, and sir Thomas Haward his sonne, he created Erle of Surrey, & William Lord Barkley was then created Erle of Nottingham, and Fraunces Lord Louell was then made vicount Louell and the kings chamberleyne, and the Lorde Stanley, was deliuered out of ward for feare of his son the Lord Straunge which was then in Lancasshire gathering men (as it was saide) and the sayd Lorde was made stewarde of the kings housholde, and likewise the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered. But Morton Bishop of Ely was deliuered to the Duke of Buckingham to kepe in warde, which sent him to his manor of Brecknock in Wales, from whence (as ye shall after here) hee escaped to kyng Richardes confusion. The same night the king made. xvij. knights of the Bathe, whose names were these.

Sir Edmonde the Duke of Suffolkes sonne.
Sir George Gray the Erle of Kentes sonne.
Sir william the Lorde Souches sonne.
Sir Henry Burgany.
Sir Christopher Willoughby.
Sir William Barkley.
Sir Henry Banington.
Sir Thomas Arondell.
Sir Thomas Boleyn.
Sir Brews of Clifton.
Sir william Say.
Sir Edmond Bedingfield.
Sir William Enderby.
Sir Thomas Lekenor.
Sir Thomas of Vrmon.
Sir Iohn Browne.
Sir William Barkley.

The next day beyng the fift day of Iuly the king roade through the Citie of London towarde Westminster with great pompe, beyng accompanied with these Dukes, Erles, Lordes, and knightes, whose names folow.

Edward Prince of Wales the kinges onely sonne.

Dukes.

The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Buckyngham
The Duke of Suffolke.

Erles.

The Erle of Northumberland

The Erle of Arondell
The Erle of Kent
The Erle of Surrey
The Erle of Wilshire
The Erle of Huntingdon
The Erle of Nottyngham
The Erle of Warwicke
The Erle of Lyncolne.

Lordes.

The Lorde Lisle Vicount
The Lorde Louell Vicount
The Lorde Stanley
The Lorde Audeley
The Lorde Dakers
The Lord Ferrers of Chertley
The Lorde Powes
The Lorde Scrope of Vpsale
The Lorde Scrope of Bolton
The Lorde Gray Cotener
The Lorde Gray of Wilton
The Lorde Sturton
The Lorde Cobham
The Lorde Morley
The Lorde Burgany
The Lorde Sowche
The Lorde Ferrers of Croby
The Lorde Welles.
The Lorde Lomney
The Lorde Matreuers
The Lorde Harbert
The Lorde Becham.

Knightes.

Sir Iames Tyrell
Sir William Knyuet
Sir Thomas Aborow
Sir William Standley
Sir William Aparre
Sir George Browne
Sir Robert Middleton
Sir Iohn Heningham
Sir Nicholas Latimer
Sir Thomas Monghonbrey
Sir Thomas Delamer
Sir Gilbert Debnam
Sir Terry Robsart
Sir William Brandon
Sir Iohn Sauell
Sir Henry Wentfoord
Sir Edward Standley
Sir Henry Seyntmonte
Sir William Yong
Sir Thomas Bowser
Sir Henry Winkfielde
Sir Thomas Wortley
Sir Iohn Seyntlowe
Sir Charles of Pilkington
Sir Iames Haryngton
Sir Iohn Asheley
Sir Thomas Barkley
Sir Richard Becham
Sir William Hopton
Sir Thomas Percye
Sir Robert Dimock
Sir Iohn Cheyney
Sir Richard Ludlow
Sir Iohn Eldryngton
Sir William Sandes
Sir Richard Dudley
Sir William Seyntlowe
Sir Thomas Twaightes
Sir Edmond of Dudley
Sir Raufe Ashton
Sir Richard Charlyngton
Sir Thomas Graye
Sir Philip Barkley
Sir Robert Harington
Sir Thomas Gressley
Sir Richard Hartcourt
Sir William Noris
Sir Thomas Selenger
Sir Richard Hodylston
Sir Iohn Conyas
Sir William Stoner
Sir Philip Courtney
Sir William Gaskoyn
Sir Richard Amedylton
Sir Roger Fynes
Sir George Vere
Sir Henry Percye
Sir Iohn Wood
Sir Iohn Aparre
Sir Iohn Gray
Sir Iohn Danby
Sir Richard Taylebushe
Sir Iohn Ridet
Sir Iohn Heryng
Sir William Stoner
Sir Richard Enderby
Sir Iohn Barkeley
Sir Iames Strangwishe
Sir Raufe Carubreke
Sir Iohn Constable
Sir Robert Elyard
Sir Richard Derell

Sir Iohn Gilford
Sir Iohn Lekenor
Sir Iohn Morley
Sir Iohn Hewes
Sir Iohn Boleyn
Sir Edmond Shaa Alderman.

On the morow beyng the sixt day of Iuly, the king with Queene Anne his wife, came downe out of the white Hall into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the kinges Benche. And from thence the king and the Queene goyng vpon raye cloth barefooted, went vnto Saint Edwards Shrine, and all his Nobilitie goyng with him, euery Lorde in his degree. And first went the Trompets, and then the Heraultes of Armes in their rich Cotes, and next folowed the Crosse with a solempne Procession, the priestes hauyng fine Surplesses, and gray Amysses vpon them. The Abbottes and Bishops Mytred and in riche Copes, and euery of them caryed their Crosiers in their handes. The Bishop of Rochester bare the Crosse before the Cardinall. Then folowed the Erle of Huntingdon, bearyng a payre of guilt Spurres, signifiyng Knighthood. Then folowed the Erle of Bedford bearyng Saint Edwardes staffe for a Relique. After them came the Erle of Northumberland bare hedded, with the poyntlesse sworde naked in his hand, which signified mercy. The Lorde Stanley bare the Mace of the Constableship. The Erle of Kent bare the second sworde on the right hande of the king naked, with a poynt which signified iustice to the Temporaltie. The Lorde Louell bare the thirde sworde on the left hande with a poynt, which signified iustice to the Clergie. The Duke of Suffolk folowed with ỹ Scepter in his hande, which signified peace. The Erle of Lincolne bare the Ball and Crosse, which signified a Monarchy. The Erle of Surrey bare ỹ fourth sword before the king in a rich skaberd, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went three together, in the middest went Garter king at armes in his riche Cote. And on his left hande went the Maior of London bearing a Mace, and on his right hand went the Gentleman Vsher of the priuie chamber. Then folowed the Duke of Norffolke bearing the kinges crowne betwene his handes. Then folowed king Richard in his robes of purple Veluet, and ouer his head a Canapie borne by foure Barones of the fiue portes, and on euery side of the king there went one Bishop, that is to say, the Byshop of Bathe, and the Byshop of Durham. Then folowed the Duke of Buckyngham bearing the kings trayne, with a whyte staffe in his hande, signifiyng the office of the high Steward of England. Then there folowed a great number of Erles and Barons before the Queene. And then came the Erle of Huntington, who bare the Queenes Scepter, and the Lorde Lisle Vicount bare the rod with the doffe, which signifieth innocencie. The Erle of Wiltshire bare the Queenes crowne before her. Then folowed Queene Anne daughter to Richard Erle of Warwike in robes lyke to the king, and hauing a Canapy ouer her head, and on euery corner of the same was a Bell of Golde. And on her head was a Circlet of Golde, set with manye precious stones. The Countesse of Richmond bare the Queenes trayne. And after them came the Duchesse of Suffolke in her robes of estate, and on her head a Cronicle of Golde. Then folowed the Duchesse of Norffolke appareled in lyke maner as was the Duchesse of Suffolke, and then folowed twentie Ladies richely apparelled, and after them a great number of knightes and Esquires, and then a great number of Typstaues, and passed forwarde vntill they came vnto Saint Edwardes Shryne to their seates of estate. And shortly the king and the Queene sat downe in their seats of estate. And forthwith there came vp before the King & the Queene both priests and Clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent Musick. And so soone as thys was done, the King and Queene were shifted from their robes, and had dyuers places open from the middle vpwarde, in which places they were annoynted. And that beyng done, the King and Queene chaunged their robes into cloth of Golde. And then forthwith the Cardinall beyng accompanied with all the Byshops, crowned the King and Queene with great solempnity, with the crowne of Saint Edward, and then they sang *Te deum* and the Organs went, and then they put vpon the king Saint Edwardes Cope (as an holy relique.)

And the Byshops deliuered to the king the Scepter in his right hande, and the Ball with the Crosse in his left hande, and to the Queene the Scepter in her right hand, and the rod with the Doue in her left hande. And then the Cardinall and Byshops went to Masse, and the King and Queene went to their seates agayne. And shortly after came vp before the king two Byshops and kneeled downe before him a little whyle, and then they arose vp and kissed the King one after another: on euery side of the king stoode a Duke, and on euery side of the Queene stood a Byshop. And before the king stood the Erle of Surrey with a sword in hys hande, and before the Queene was a Lady kneeling. And there kneeled before the Queenes seate the Duches of Norffolke and sundrie other Ladies. And so they sate still vntill the Paxe was geuen, and then the King & Queene dissended and came downe to the highe aultar, and there receyued the Sacrament, the same beyng deuided betweene them. And then they went vp vnto S. Edwards Shryne, and there the king offred saint Edwards crowne with many other reliques. And then the king returned agayne to his seat, and the Lordes set hys awne crowne vpon his head. And so in order as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their Chambers for a season. During which time the Duke of Norffolke came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground in cloth of Golde as high Marshall, and voyded the Hall.

About foure of the clock the King and Queene entred the Hall, and the King sate in the middle, and the Queene on the left hande of the table, and on euery side of her stoode a Countesse, holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke. And on the right hande of the King sate the Archebyshop of Caunterburie. All the Ladies sate on one side at a table, in the middle of the hall, and at the table agaynst hym sate the Chauncelour and all the Lordes. At the table next the Cupbord sat the Maior of London. At the table behind the Lordes sate the Barones of the fiue Portes. And at the other bords sate dyuers noble and worshipfull personages.

When all persons were set, the Duke of Norffolke Erle Marshall, the Erle of Surrey Constable for that day, the Lorde Stanley Lorde steward, syr Wylliam Hopton Treasorer, and syr Thomas Percy Comptroller came in and serued the King solempnly with one dishe of Golde, & another of Syluer, and the Queene all in guilt Vessell, and the Byshop in Siluer. At the second course came into the hall syr Robert Dymmock the kings Champion makyng proclamation, that whosoeuer would saye that king Richard was not lawfull King, he woulde fight with him at the vtteraunce, and threwe downe his gauntlet, and then all the hall cryed King Richard, King Richard. And so he did in three partes of the hall. And then one brought him a Cup of Golde with Wine couered, and when he had dronke as much as he woulde, he threwe out the rest and departed with the Cup. After that the Heraultes cryed a largesse thrise in the hall, and so went vp to their stage. At the ende of dynner the Maior of London serued the king and Queene with Ipocras, and had of eche of them a Cup of Golde with a couer of Golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night, and so the King and Queene returned to their Chambers, and euery man to his lodging.

Incontinent after thys feast he sent a solempne Ambassade to Lewys the French king to conclude a league and amity with him, trusting also to obteyne the tribute that king Edwarde his brother had before out of Fraunce. But the French King so abhorred him and his crueltie, that he woulde neyther see nor here his Ambassadors, & so in vaine they returned home againe.

Now after this triumphant coronation, there fell mischiefes thick and thick, & as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, so through all the time of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased their cruel murther, death, and slaughter, till his awne destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and most rightwise, that is to say his awne, so began he with the most pitteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephews the yong king and his tender brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuerthelesse so farre come in question that some remayned long in doubt whether they were

were in his dayes destroyed or no. Not for that onely that Parkyn Warbeck by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so long space abusing the worlde, was as well with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the yonger of these two: But for that also that all things were in late dayes so couertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another ment, that there was nothing so playne and openly prooued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well counterfeit Iewels, make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning ỹ opinion, with the occasions mouing either party, we shall haue place more at large to intreate, in the storie of the late Noble Prince of famous memorie king Henry the seuenth, in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane season, for this present matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two Babes, not after euery waye that I haue heard, but after that waye that I haue so heard by such men and such meanes as me thinketh it were harde but it should be true.

Close dealing is euer suspicious.

Kyng Richarde after his coronacion, taking his waye to Glocester, to visite in his newe honour, the towne, of which he bare the name before of old, deuised as he rode to fulfill that thing which he before had entended. And forasmuch as his minde gaue him that his neuewes lyuing, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue right to the realme: he thought therefore without delay to ridde them, as though the killyng of his kynsmen might ende hys cause, and make him a kindly king. Where vpon he sent one Iohn Greene, whome he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakenburie, constable of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert in anye wyse shoulde put the two children to death. This Iohn Greene did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our Ladye, in the Towre, who plainely aunswered that he would neuer put them to death, to die therefore. With ỹ which aunswere Iohn Greene returned, recompting the same to king Richarde at Warwike yet on his iourney, wherwith he toke such displeasure, & thought, that the same night, he sayd, to a secret page of his: Ah, whome shall a man trust? they that I haue brought vp my selfe, they that I went would haue most surely serued me, euen those fayle me, & at my commaundement wyll do nothing for me. Sir quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambre without, that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by sir Iames Tirrell, which was a man of right goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a much better Prince, if he had well serued God, & by grace obteyned to haue as much truth and good will, as he had strength and witte. The man had an high hart, and sore longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had hoped beyng hindered and kept vnder by sir Richard Ratcliffe, and sir William Catesby, which longyng for no more partners of the Princes fauour, namelye not for him, whose pride they knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him in secret driftes out of all secret trust: which thing this page had well marked, and knowen: wherefore, this occasion offered, of very speciall friendship spied his time to set him forward, and in such wise to doe him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the Deuill) coulde neuer haue done him so much hurt and shame, for vpon the Pages wordes, king Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting on a Iaques, a conuenient carpet for such a counsayle) and came out into the palet chambre, where he did find in bed the sayd Iames Tyrrell, and sir Thomas Tyrrell, of person like, & brethren of blood, but nothing of kinne in condicions. Then sayde the king merely to them, what sirs, be you in bed so sone? and called vp Iames Tyrrel and brake to him secretly his minde, in this mischeuous matter, in the which he founde him nothyng straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakinburie with a letter by the which he was commaunded to deliuer to the sayd Iames all the keyes of the Towre for that night, to the ende that he might there accomplishe the kings pleasure in such things as he there had geuen him in commaūdement. After which letter deliuered and the keyes receyued, Iames appointed the next night ensuyng to destroy them, deuisyng before & preparyng ỹ meanes.

The destruction of King Edwardes children.

Iohn Greene.

Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of ye Towre.

Auctoritie loueth no partners.

Iames Tyrell.

The

The Prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon him to be king, and left the name of Protectour, was thereof aduertised and shewed, that he shoulde not raigne, but his vncle shoulde haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed, began to sighe, and sayde: Alas I woulde mine vncle woulde let me haue my life, although I leese my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale vsed him with good wordes, and put him in the best comfort that hee coulde, but forthwith he and his brother were both shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyll, or William Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and foure other to see them sure. After which time, the Prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thing rought of hymselfe, but with that yong babe his brother lyngered in thought & heauinesse, till this traiterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednesse.

The lamentable wordes of the yong king.

For Iames Tyrrell deuised that they should be murthered in their beds and no blood shed: to the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest one of the foure that before kept them, a felow flesh bred in murther before time, and to him he ioyned one Iohn Dighton, his awne horsekeper, a big, broade square, and strong knaue. Then all the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest, and Iohn Dighton about midnight, the siely children liyng in their beddes, came into the chambre, and sodenly lapped them vp amongest the clothes, and so bewrapped them, and entangled them, kepyng downe by force the fetherbed & pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored, and stifled them, & their breathes faylyng, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules, into the ioyes of heauen, leauing to ỹ tormentors their bodies, dead in ỹ bed, which after the wretches perceiued, first by the strugling, with the pangs of death, & after long liyng stil to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies naked out vpon the bed, & fetched Iames Tyrell to see them, which when he saw them perfitely dead, he caused ỹ murtherers to bury them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the ground vnder a great heape of stones.

Miles Forest.
Iohn Dighton.

The yong king and his brother murdered.

Then rode Iames Tyrrell in great haste to king Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murder, who gaue him great thankes, and as men say, there made him knight, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng that he would haue them buried in a better place, because they were a kinges sonnes: Lo the honourable courage of a king, for he would recompence a detestable murther with a solempne obsequie. Wherevpon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp, and buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after) which onely knew it, the very truth coulde neuer yet be well and perfectlye knowen. Some say that king Richard caused them to be taken vp, and closed them in lead, & to put them in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the endes with two hookes of yron, and so cast them into a place called the black deepes, at the Thames mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be seene againe. This was the verye truth vnknowen by reason that the sayde priest died so shortly, and disclosed it neuer to any person that would vtter it. And for a truth, when sir Iames Tyrrell was in the Tower for treason committed agaynst king Henry the seuenth: both he and Dighton were examined together of this poynt, and both they confessed the murder to be done in the same maner as you haue heard, but whether the bodyes were remoued, they both affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that much knewe, and little cause had to lye, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of the most royall blood, and brought vp in great welth, likely long to liue, to reigne & rule in the realme, by trayterous tirannie taken and depriued of their estate, shortly shut vp in prison, and priuilye slaine and murdered by the cruell ambicion of their naturall Vncle and hys dispiteous tormentors: which thinges on euery part well pondered, God gaue this worlde neuer a more notable example, either in what vnsuretie standeth this worldes weale, or what mischiefe worketh the prowde enterprice of an high heart, or finally what wretched ende ensueth of such dispiteous crueltie. For first to begin with the ministers, Myles Forest, at Saint Martines le graund, by peece meale miserably rotted away, Iohn Dighton liued at Calice long after, no lesse disdeyned and

The ende of the murderers of king Edwardes children.

and hated then poynted at, and there dyed in great misery: But Sir Iames Tirrell was behedded at the Tower hill for treason: And king Richard himselfe was slaine in the fielde, hacked, and hewen of his enemies hands, haried on a horseback naked being dead, his heare in dispite torne and tugged like a curre Dogge. And the mischiefe that he tooke in lesse then three yeres, of the mischiefe that he did in three monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane time spent in much trouble and paine outwarde, and much feare, dreade, and anguishe within. For I haue heard by credible report, of such as were secret with his chamberers that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mind, he neuer thought himselfe sure where he went abroade, his bodie priuilye fainted, his eyen whirled aboute, his hande euer on his dagger, his countenaunce and maner like alwayes to strike again, he toke euill rest on nightes, lay long wakyng and musyng, foreweried with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly sometime start vp, leapt out of his bed and loked about the Chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and tombled with the tedious impression and stormie remembraunce of his abhominable murther and execrable tirannie. The out and inward troubles of Tirants.

King Richard by this abominable and mischieuous act, thinkyng himselfe well relieued both of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaile, but within a fewe dayes caused it to runne in a common rumor that the two children were sodainly deade, and to this entent as it is to be demed, that now none heyre male beyng alyue of king Edwardes bodie lawfully begotten, the people would be content with the more pacient heart, and quiet mind to obey him and suffer his rule and gouernaunce: but when the fame of this detestable fact was reueled, and demulged through the whole realme, there fell generally such a dolor and inward sorow into the heartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set asyde, they in euery towne, streete, and place, openly wept, and piteously sobbed. And when their sorrow was somwhat mittigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crie out in places publike, and also priuate, furiously saiyng, what creature of all creatures is so malicious and so obstinate an enemie either to God, or to Christian religion, or to humaine nature, which would not haue abhorred, or at the least absteyned from so miserable a murther of so execrable a tyranny. To murder a man is much odious, to kill a woman is in maner vnnaturall, but to slay and destroy innocent babes, and yong infantes, the whole world abhorreth, and the blood from the earth cryeth, for vengeaunce to almightie God. If the common people cryed out, I assure you the friendes of the Queene, and her children made no lesse exclamation and complaint with lowde voice, lamentably criyng and saiyng, alas what will he doe to other, that thus shamefully murdereth his owne blood without cause or desert? whom will he saue when he slaieth the poore Lambes cõmitted to him in trust? now we see and behold that the most cruell tirannie hath inuaded the common welth, now we see that in him is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mercie, but abundaunce of crueltie and thryst of innocent blood. But when these newes were first brought to the infortunate mother of the deade children yet beyng in Sanctuary, no doubt but it strake to her heart, like the sharpe darte of death: for when she was first informed of the murder of her two sonnes, she was so sodainly amazed with the greatnesse of the crueltie, that for feare she sounded and fell downe to the ground, and there lay in a great agonie like to a dead corps. And after that she came to her memorie, and was reuiued againe, she callyng by name diuers tymes her sweete babes, accounted her selfe more then mad that she deliuered her yonger sonne out of the Sanctuarie to his enemie to be put to death, thinkyng that next the othe made to God broken, and the duetie of allegeaunce toward her children violated, she of all creatures in that poynt was most seduced and disceyued. After long lamentacion, when she saw no hope of reuengyng otherwise, she kneled downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the deceytfull periury, as who sayd that she nothing mistrusted but once he would remember it. What is he lyuyng that if he remember and beholde these two noble infantes without deseruyng, so shamefully murthered, that will not abhorre the fact, yea and

and be moued and tormented with pitie and mercie. And yet the worlde is so frayle, and our nature so blinde that fewe be stirred with such examples, forgetting and little considering, that oftentimes for the offences by the parents perpetrate and committed, that sinne is punished in their line and posteritie. This chaunce might so happen to this innocent children, because king Edwarde their father and parent offended in staynyng his conscience: he made his solempne othe before the gate of the City of Yorke (as you haue heard before) and promised and sware one thing by his worde, thinkyng cleane contrarie in his heart, as after did appere. And afterwarde by the death of the Duke of Clarence his brother, he incurred (of likelyhoode) the great displeasure towarde God.

After this murther thys perpetrated & that he had visited his towne of Gloucester which he for his olde dignity both loued and with ample liberties and priuileges endued and garnished, he toke his iorney toward the Countie of Yorke, where the people abusing hys lawfull fauour, as he both fauored and trusted them in hys hart, had of late presumed to attempt dyuers rootes and riots contrarie to his lawes and enfringing of his peace, and vpon hope of his maintenaunce, were so exalted, that no Lorde, were he neuer of so great power could eyther pacifie or rule them till the king himself came personally thether to set a concorde and an vnitie in that Countrie, and so he by long iourneying came to the Citie of Yorke, where the Citizens receyued him with great pompe and triumph, and made diuers dayes playes and Pagiaunts in token of ioy and solace. Wherefore King Richarde magnified and much commended them and also did shewe himselfe apparantly before them in habite royall with Scepter in hande and Diademe on his head, and made proclamation that all persons should resort to Yorke on the day of the Assention of our Lorde, where all men should both beholde him and his Queene and Prince in their high estates and degrees, and also for their good wylles shoulde receyue many thankes. At the daye appointed the whole Clergie assembled in Copes richelye reuested and so with a reuerent ceremonie went about the Citie in Procession, after whome folowed the king with his Crowne and Scepter appareled in his circote Robe royall accompanied with no small number of the Nobilitie of hys Realme: after whome marched in order Queene Anne hys wife lykewise crowned, leading on her left hande Prince Edwarde her sonne, hauyng on hys head a Demy Crowne appointed for the degree of a Prince. The king was had in that triumph in such honor, and the common people of the North so reioysed that they extolled and prayseth him farre aboue the starres. After thys solempne feast and glorious pompe he kept great counsayles there, as well for the ordering of the Countrie in time to come, as for the brydeling and punishing of such as there had misgouerned themselues: and farther of the gentlemen of that Countrie, he augmented the number of hys household, ministers and seruaunts, in the which persons he put his whole trust and affiaunce. When all things were thus discreetely ordered, he returned by Notyngham, and after came to London: whome more for dread then for loue, the Citizens receyued in great companies. Thus king Richard by a newe inuented cruelty and late practised tirannie obteyned and grewe to high praise and honor, and then by the admiration and iudgement of the common multitude, he was most esteemed to be exalted into heauen, when he couertly had intelligence that he was lyke to lose hys estate, and could by no meanes haue long continuaunce in hys vsurped power: For assuredly after the death of king Edwards children, when any blustering winde, perillous thunder, or terrible tempest chaunced or were apparauntly like to happen: Sodainly the people hauing in there fresh memorie the mischieuous act of their king and Prince, would openly speake and cry that God did take vengeaunce, and punishe the poore English men for the crime and offence of their vngracious king, whom they blamed, accursed, and wished to haue extreme tortures. Although king Richarde harde often of these slaunderous wordes and malicious saiyngs and knewe well by what persons they were spoken, yet he durst not wyth strong hande be on the first inuentors reuenged, knowyng that some time it is no wisedome to refuse or disdaine them

A prowde and foolishe procession.

that

that tell a ruler his duetie, or declare to him his misbehauiour towarde the common welth or counsayle him to amende and chaunge hys yll lyfe. After this great felicitie, he fell agayne into a great feare and pensiuenesse of minde, & because he could by no meanes eyther correct or amend things that were passed, he determined by doing his duetie in all things to his commons, to blot and put out of memorie that note of infamie, with the which his fame was iustly spotted & stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thence forth no calamitie or trouble should be adiudged to happen to the common welth, eyther by his negligence or by his misgouernaunce (although it is harde and straunge shortly to turne and pluck out such qualities and vsages as haue of long time beene engrauen in a mans minde and rooted in his maners and conditions.) Therefore whether it was for the performaunce of his former entent of amendment, or (as the common fame flue abrode) that he tooke great repentaunce of hys mischieuous actes, and deuilishe doyngs, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, by reason that he shewed himselfe more iust, more meeker, and more liberall (especially amongst the pore people) then before he had accustomed to doe, and so by thys meanes he surely trusted first to obteyne of God forgeuenesse, and after to remooue by little and little the enemitie and inwarde grudge that the common people bare in their mindes toward him, and in conclusion, to obteyne their friendly loue and assured fauour. He furthermore beganne and enterprised diuers things as well publike as priuate, the which he beyng preuented by sodaine death did neyther accomplishe nor bring to conclusion, for he begun to founde a College of a hundred priestes, which foundation with the founder shortly tooke an ende. To please the common people also, he in his high Courte of Parliament enacted diuers and sundrie good lawes and profitable estatutes and in especiall one agaynst straungers and forreyn wrought wares, not to be transported into this realme, which cõmodious act for the common welth if he had liued he fully purposed to haue auaunced and set forward and put in execution. But afterward euidently to all persons it appeared, that onely feare (which is not a mayster long in office and in continuall auctoritie) and not iustice, caused king Richard at that verie time to waxe better and amend his sinnefull lyfe, for shortly the goodnesse of the man which was but painted and deceauable, sodainly waxed colde and vanished away. And from thenceforth not onely all hys counsayles, doyngs and proceedings, sodainely decayed and sorted to none effect: But also fortune began to frowne and turne her wheele downeward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edwarde in the thirde Moneth, after he had created him Prince of Wales.

The death of Edward the sonne of king Richard.

1484

And shortly after he was vnquieted by a conspiracy, or rather a confederacie betwene the Duke of Buckingham and many other gentlemen against him as ye shall here: But the occasion why the Duke and the king fell out, is of diuers folke diuersly pretended. Thys Duke as you haue heard before assoone as the Duke of Gloucester after the death of King Edwarde was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for king Edward, sent to him a secret seruaunt of hys called Persall, with such messages as you haue heard before. And after the Duke of Buckyngham came wyth three hundred horse to Northampton and still continued with him, as partener and chiefe organe of his deuises till after his coronation, they departed to all seeming verie friends at Gloucester. From whence assone as the Duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so vehemẽtly conspired against him, that a man would marueyle whereof the chaunge grewe in so shorte space. Some say this occasion was that a little before the coronation, the Duke required the King amongest other things to be restored to the Erle of Herfordes landes: And for as much as the tytle which he claymed by inheritaunce, was somewhat interlaced with the tytle of Lancaster, which house made a tytle to the crowne, and enioyed the same three discentes, as all men knewe, till the house of Yorke depriued the thirde king, which was Henry the sixt, king Richard somewhat mistrusted and conceyued suche an indignation, that he reiected the Dukes request with many spitefull and knappishe

2 Grudge betwene the Duke of Buckinghã and King Richard.

wordes, which so wounded the Dukes hart with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to looke right on king Richard, but euer feared hys awne lyfe, so farre forth, that when the Protector should ryde to his coronation, he feyned himselfe sicke, because he would doe him no honor. And the other taking it in euill part, sent him worde to rise and ride, or he woulde make him to be caried. Wherevpon gorgiously apparelled and sumpteously trapped with burning cart naues of Golde embrodered, he roade before the King through London with an euill wyll and worse hart. And that notwithstanding he rose the daye of the coronation from the feast, fayning himselfe sicke, which King Rychard sayde was done in hate and spight of him. And therefore men sayde that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the Duke looked verily to haue bene murthered at Gloucester, from which he in fayre maner departed: but surely such as were right secret with both, affirme all this to be vntrue, and otherwyse men thinke it vnlikely, the deepe dissimuling nature of both these men well considered. And what neede in that greene worlde the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood if he fell once in suspicion of that tyraunt, that eyther the Protector would geue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust: And surely men thinke that if king Richard had any suche opinion conceyued in him, he would neuer haue suffred him to auoyde his handes or escape his power: but verie true it is that the Duke of Buckyngham was an high minded man, and euil could beare the glorie of another, so that I haue heard of some that sawe it, that he at such time as the crowne was set vpon the Protectors head, his eye coulde neuer abide the sight thereof, but wryed his head another way: but men said he was not well at ease, and that was both to king Rycharde well knowen and well taken, nor any demaunde of the Dukes request vncurteously reiected, but gently deferred, but both he wyth great giftes and high behestes in most louing & trustie maner departed from the King to Gloucester. This euery man iudged as he thought, but soone after his cõming home to Brecknocke, hauing there by king Richardes cõmaundement Doctor Morton Bishop of Ely, who before as you haue hard was takẽ at the coũsail at ỹ towre, waxed with him very familier, whose onelye wisedome abused his pride, to his awne deliueraunce, and the Dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall witte, very well learned, and of honourable behauiour, lacking no wise wayes to winne fauour. He was first vpon the part of Kyng Henry, while that part was in welth, and neyther left it nor forsoke it in no wo, but fled the realme with the Queene and the Prince. And whyle King Edwarde had king Henrye in prison, hee neuer returned but to the fielde at Barnet: after which fielde lost and vtterly subdued and all parte takings extynguished, king Edwarde for his fast fayth & wisedome, was not onely content to receyue him, but also wooed him to come, & had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and speciall fauour whome he nothing deceyued. For he beyng after king Edwardes death first taken by the tyraunt king Richarde, for his truth to king Edwarde found the meane to set the Duke of Buckingham in his toppe, & ioyned Gentlemen together in ayde of the Erle of Richmonde, which after was named king Henry the seuenth: First deuising the mariage betwene the Ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the fourth, by the which his faithfull & true seruice declared to both his maisters at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the coniuntion of the bloods of Lancaster, and Yorke, whose seuerall titles had long iniquieted the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the Duke of Buckingham, and fled the realm, and went to Rome, neuer minding to meddle with the world, till king Henry the seuenth sent for him, and after made him Archebishop of Caunterburye, and Chauncelour of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, & liued well to all mens iudgements, and died well. But to returne to the former purpose he by the long, and often chaunges, aswell of prosperitie, as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience the very mother and maistresse of wisedome, and depe insight in pollitique and worldly driftes, whereby perceiuyng nowe the Duke to common with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleasant prayses, and perceiuyng

Doctour Morton Bishop of Ely, which afterward was Cardinall Morton.

perceiuyng by the griefe of their communications, the Dukes pride now and then to balke out a litle, braide of enuy toward the glory of the kyng, and thereby felyng him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought the wayes to pricke him forwarde takyng alwayes the occasion of his comming, & also kepyng himself close within his bands that he rather seemed to folow him then to lead him. For when the Duke began first to praise, and boast the king, & shew how much profite the realme should take by his reigne. Bishop Morton answered, surely my Lord, foly it were for me to lie, for I am sure if I would sweare the contrary, ye would not once beleue me, but if the world would haue gone as I would haue wyshed, ỹ king Henries sonne had had the crowne & not kyng Edward, then would I haue bene his true & faithfull subiect, but after that God had ordayned him to lose it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad w a dead man: to striue against the quick, so was I euer to king Edward a faithful and true chapleyn, & glad would haue bene that his childrē should haue succeded him, howbeit if the secret iudgement of God, haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurne against the prick, nor labor to set vp, that God pulleth downe. And as for ỹ late protectour, & now kyng: and with that worde he left, sauing that he said, that he had alreadie medled to much with the worlde, and woulde from that daye medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the Duke sore to heare, what he woulde haue sayde, because he ended with the king, and there so sodainely stopped, and exhorted him familierly, betweene them both to be bolde and to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there shoulde neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good then he woulde weene. And that he himselfe entended to vse his faithfull secret aduice, & coūsayle, which he sayde was the onelye cause for the which he procured of the kyng to haue him in his custodie, where he might recon himselfe at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whome he shoulde not haue founde like fauour. The Bishoppe right humbly thanked him, and sayde, in good faith my Lorde, I loue not much to talke of Princes, as of a thing not all out of perill, although the worlde be without faulte, forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I thinke on Isopes tale, that when the Lion had proclaymed that on payne of death there shoulde no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of flesh growyng out of his heade, fled a great pace: the Foxe that sawe him flie with all the hast, asked him whether he fled? In faith quod he, I neyther wote, ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamacion made against horned beastes. What foole quod the Foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by thee, for that which thou hast is no horne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wot that w[illegible]gh, but if he saye it is a horne where am I then? The Duke laughed merely a[illegible]le, and sayde, my Lorde I warraunt you, neyther the Lion, nor the Bore shall picke a[illegible]matter at anye thing here spoken, for it shall neuer come neere their eares. In good fay[illegible] sir sayde the bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to saye taken aswell as be[illegible]e God I ment, it could deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to tourne me to little good, and you to lesse.

Then longed the Duke much more to weete what it was, whervpon the bishop sayde. In good faith my Lorde, as for the late Protectour, sith he is nowe king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the welth of this realme, whereof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and whereof I my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wishe that to those good abilities whereof he hath alredie right many, little needyng my prayse, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen him some of such other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the Realme, as our Lorde hath planted in the person of your grace, and there left of again.* The Duke somwhat marueylyng at his sodaine pauses, as thoughe they were but Parentheses, with a high countenaunce sayde: my Lorde I euidently perceyue and no lesse note your often breathing, and sodaine stoppyng in your communication, so that to my vnderstandyng your wordes neyther come to any direct or perfect

Hetherto is written by sir Thomas Moore, that is to say, from the beginning of the history of king Edward the fift vntill this marke* sauyng one place which is noted in the first yere of this king.

perfect sentence in cõclusion, wherby either I might perceiue & haue knowledge what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, (for the which I myselfe knowlege and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no prayse of any Creature for the same) maketh mee not a little to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuye imaginacion, by loue or by grudge engraued and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childishe shamefastnesse you be abashed to disclose and reueale, and especially to me beyng your friend, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The Bishop beyng somewhat bolder, considerynge the Dukes promise, but most of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the Duke desirous to be exalted and magnifyed, & also he perceyued the inward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward king Richard, was now boldened to open his stomack euen to the very bottome, entending therby to cõpasse how to destroy and vtterly confound king Richard & to depriue him of his dignity royall, or else to set the Duke so a fyre with the desire of ambiciõ, that he himselfe might be safe & escape out of al daunger & perill, which thing he brought shortly to conclusion, both to the kings destruction, and the Dukes cõfusion, & to his awne safegard, & finally to his high promociõ. And so (as I said before) vpon trust & confidence of the Dukes promise, the Bishop sayd: my singuler good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custody, I may rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprisonment, in auoyding ydlenesse mother and norisher of all vices, in readyng bookes and auncient Phamphlets, I haue found this sentence written, that no man is borne free and in libertie of himselfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or should owe to his parentes for his procreation due by nature: another part, to his friendes and kinsfolke for nerenesse of blood: But the natiue Country in the which he tasted first the sweete ayers of this pleasaunt and flatteryng worlde after his natiuitie, demaundeth as a debt by a naturall bonde not to be forgotten, which saiyng causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natiue Countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assuraunce before this time it hath continued: what gouernour we nowe haue, and what ruler we nowe haue, and what ruler we might haue, for I plainly perceyue the realme beyng in this case must nedes decay and be brought to vtter cõfusion. But one hope I haue incorporate in my breast, that is, when I consider and in my minde doe diligently remember, and dayly beholde your noble personage, your iustice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue towarde your n[illegible]ll Countrie, and in like maner the loue of your Countrie toward you, the great lear[illegible]regnaunt witte, and goodly eloquence, which so much doth abound in the perso[illegible]our grace, I must nedes think this Realme fortunate, yea twise more then fortunat[illegible]nich hath suche a prince in store, mete and apt to be a gouernor, in whose person b[illegible] endued with so many Princely qualities, consisteth and resteth the verye vndoubted s[illegible]ilitude and ymage of true honour. But on the other syde, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so chaunged and altred by vsurped auctoritie, so clowded and shadowed by blind and insaciable ambicion, yea and so sodeinly (in a maner by a metamorphosis) transformed from pollitike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nedes say and iustly affirme, that he is neither mete to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by such a tyraunt: Was not his first enterprise to obteyne the Crowne begun by the murther of dyuers noble, valiaunt, true, and vertuous personages? O a holy beginnyng to come to a mischieuous endyng, did he not secondarily procede contrary to all lawes of honestie, shamefully against his naturall mother, beyng a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaryng her openly to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuyng, which thing if it had bene true (as it was not in deede) euery good and naturall childe would haue rather mummed at, then to haue blasted abroad and especially she beyng aliue. Declaryng furthermore his two brethren, and his

his two nephewes to be Bastardes, and to be borne in aduoutery, yet not therewithall this content: After that he had obteyned the garland for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two poore innocentes his Nephewes committed to him (for especial trust) to be murdered and shamefully to be killed. The blood of which siely and little babes dayly crie to God, from the earth for vengeaunce. Alas my heart sobbeth, to remember this bloody and cruell monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person either for life or goodes vnder suche a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his awne blood, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentymes it chaunceth, where a couetous or a cruell Prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swaruyng that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of many guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and welthie personages, hauyng great possessions and richesse: Such a Lorde is Lucifer when hee is entered into the heart of a prowde Prince, geuen to couetousnesse and crueltie. But nowe my Lorde to conclude what I meane towarde your noble person, I say and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your natiue Countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne and Diademe of this noble Empyre, both for the maintenaunce of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowne) as also for the deliueraunce of your naturall Countrie men, from the bondage and thraldome (worse then the captiuitie of Egypt) of so cruell a tyraunt and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare say, if any forrein Prince or Potentate, ye the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here and the crowne, the Commons would rather admit and obey him, then to liue vnder such a blood supper and childe killer: but how much more ioyfull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whom they all know to be a ruler mete and conuenient for them, and they to be louyng and obedient subiectes mete to liue vnder such a gouernor: dispise not, nor forsake not so manifest an occasion so louingly offered. And if you your selfe knowing the paine and trauaile that apperteyneth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne and Scepter of this realme: Then I adiure you by the fayth that you owe to God, by your honour, and by your othe made to Saint George, patrone of the noble order of the gartier (whereof you be a Companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natiue Countrie and the people of the same, to deuise some way how this realme now beyng in miserie may by your high discrecion and Princely pollicie, be brought and reduced to some suretie and conuenient regiment vnder some good gouernour by you to be named or picked out. For if you could either deuise to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduaunce the eldest daughter of king Edwarde to some highe and puissaunt Prince, not onely the newe crowned king shall small tyme enioy the glory of his dignitie, but also all ciuill warre should ceasse, and peace, profite and quietnesse should be set forth and embrased.

When the Bishop had thus ended his saiyng, the Duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the Bishop and made him chaunge coulor: which thing when the Duke apperceyued, he sayde, be not afrayd my Lord, all promises shall be kept, to morow we wil common more: let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a little to the vnquietyng of the Bishop, which nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the Dukes minde and entent, as the Duke longed the day before to knowe his opinion and meanyng. So the next day, the Duke sent for the Bishop, and rehersed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betwene them before, and so pawsed a while, and after a little season puttyng of his bonet he sayde: O Lorde God creator of all thinges howe much is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnesse, for where we nowe be in vexation and trouble, and with great stormes oppressed, sailyng and tossyng in a desperate shippe without good mayster or gouernor: but by thy helpe good Lorde I trust or long time passe that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the maintenaunce and defence of this noble Realme. And then he put on his Bonet, saiyng to the Bishop,

The wisedome of a Prince.

my Lorde of Ely whose true heart and syncere affection toward me at all tymes, I haue euidentlye perceiued and knowen, and now most of al in our last priuie communication, and secrete deuisyng, I must nedes in heart thinke and with mouth confesse and say, that you be a sure friend, a trustie Counsaylor, a vigilant foreseer, a very louer of your Countrie, & a natural Countriman: for which kindnesse for my part, I most louyngly render to you my hearty thankes nowe wyth wordes: hereafter trustyng to recompence and reward you with deedes, if life and power shall serue. And sith at our last communication, you haue disclosed, and opened, the verie secretes and priuities of your stomake, touching the Duke of Glocester nowe vsurper of the Crowne, and also haue a little touched the auauncement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onely declare and manifest vnto you, all my open actes, attemptes, and doynges, but also my priuie ententes, and secrete thoughtes. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckled your Bouget of your priuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdie working, close deuises, and secret imaginations, be (as cleere as the Sunne) reueled, opened, and made lightsome to you. And to beginne, I declare: that when king Edward was disseased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholdyng, (although we two had maried two sisters) because, he neyther promoted nor preferred me (as I thought I was worthie and had deserued) neither fauoured nor regarded me, accordyng to my degree and birth: For surely I had by him little auctoritie, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, because I found small humanitie, or none in their parent. I then began to studie, and wyth good deliberation, to ponder and consider, howe and in what maner thys realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembred an olde prouerbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme, where children rule, and woman gouerne. This olde adage so sanke, and setled in my heade, that I thought it a great error and extreme mischiefe to the whole realme, eyther to suffer the yong king to rule, or the Queene his mother to be a gouernour ouer him, considerying that her brethren, and her first children (although they were not extract of highe and noble lynage) tooke more vpon them, and more exalted themselues by reason of the Queene, then did the kinges brethren, or anye Duke in his Realme: Which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I beyng perswaded with my selfe in thys poynt, thought it necessarye both for the publique and profitable welth of thys Realme, and also for myne awne commoditye and better staye, to take part wyth the Duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thought to bee as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable wythout iniurye, as mercifull wythout crueltie, as nowe I knowe hym perfectlye to be a Dissimuler, wythout veritye, a Tyraunt wythout pittie, yea and worse then the Tyraunt *Phaleres*, destitute of all truth and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the first counsaile holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thyng that after happened, (as you my Lorde knowe well ynough) hee was made Protectour and defender, both of the Kinge and of the realme, which auctoritie once gotten, and the two children partly by my pollicie brought vnder hys gouernaunce, he beyng mooued with that gnawyng and couetous Serpent, desired to raygne & neuer ceased priuilie to exhorte and require (yea and some times with threatning termes) to perswade me and other Lords as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon hym the crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as an hable and sufficient king: Which thing when he sawe me somewhat stick at, both for the straungenesse of the example (because no such president had bene seene) and also because we remembered that men once assended to the highest type of honor and auctoritie will not gladly discende agayne, he then brought in instruments, autentike Doctors, Proctors, and notaries of the lawe, with depositions of dyuers wytnesses testifiyng king Edwardes children to be Bastardes, which depositions then I thought to be as true, as nowe I knowe them to be fayned, and testified by persons with rewardes vntrucly subornate. When the saide depositions were before vs red and diligently heard, he stood vp bare hedded saiyng: Well my Lordes, euen

as

as I and you sage and descreete counsailers woulde that my Nephew should haue no wrong: So I praye you doe me nothing but right. For these witnesses and saiyngs of famous Doctors being true. I am onely the vndoubted heyre to the Lorde Richarde Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the verie heyre to the crowne of this realme by aucthoritie of parliament, which things so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne Lorde. For well we knewe that the Duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attaynder of his father was disabled to enherite, and also the Duke himselfe was named to be a bastarde, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more times then one: so agayne by my ayde and fauour, he of a Protector was made a King, and of a subiect made a gouernour, at which time he promised me on his fidelitie, laiyng his hand in mine at Baynard Castell, that the two yong Princes should lyue, and that he would so prouide for them, and so maintaine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the whole realme, he cast away his olde conditions as the Adder doth her skinne, veryfiyng the olde prouerbe, honors chaunge maners, as the parishe priest remembreth not that euer he was parishe Clarke. For when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Erle of Harfordes landes, which his brother king Edwarde wrongfully deteyned and withheld from mee, and also required to haue the office of the high Constableship of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunceters before thys time haue had, and in long discent continued. In thys my first suyte shewing his good minde towarde me, he did not onely first delaye me, and afterwarde denay me, but gaue me such vnkinde wordes, with such tauntes and retauntes, ye in maner, check and check mate to the vttermost proofe of my pacience. As though I had put him downe and not set him vp: yet all these vngratitudes and vndeserued vnkindnesse, I bare closlye and suffered pacientlly and couertly remembred, outwardlye dissimulyng that I inwardly thought, and so with a painted countenaunce I passed the last sommer in his last company, not without many fayre promises, but without any good deedes. But when I was credibly enformed of the death of the two yong innocents, his awne naturall Nephews contrarie to his fayth and promise, to the which God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor cõdiscended. O Lord how my vaynes panted, howe my body trembled and howe my hart inwardly grudged, in so much that I so abhorred the sight and much more the company of him, that I could no lenger abide in his Court, except I should be openly reuenged. The ende whereof was doubtfull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a merie countenaunce and a dispitefull hart I tooke my leaue humbly of him (he thinking nothing lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in the iourney as I returned, whether it were by the inspiracion of the holy ghost, or by Melencolous disposition, I had diuers and sundrie imaginations howe to depriue this vnnaturall Vncle, and bloody Butcher, from his royall seate and princely dignitie. First I phantasied that if I list to take vpon me the crowne and imperiall Scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For nowe was the way made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion geuen, which now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I sawe he was disdayned of the Lordes temporall, abhorred and accursed of the Lords spirituall, detested of all Gentlemen, and despised of al the communaltie: so that I saw my chaunce as perfitely as I saw my awne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had beene greedy to attempt the enterprise) could nor should haue won the ring or got the gole before me. And on this point I rested in imagination secretly with my selfe two dayes at Tewkesburie. And from thence so iorneiyng I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then I knew that all men and especially the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenors, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, lawes, and customes of the realme: Such a power hath a Conquerour as you knowe well ynough my Lorde. But

at

at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new braunche out of my head, which surely I thought should haue brought foorth fayre flowers, but the sonne was so hote that they turned to drie weedes, for I sodainly remembred that Lord Edmond Duke of Sommerset my Grandfather was with king Henrie the sixt in the second and thirde degrees from Iohn Duke of Lancaster lawfully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest daughter to Duke Edmonde, that I was next heyre to king Henry the sixt of the house of Lancaster. This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my cousaile, but much more it encoraged my folish desire, and entent, in so much that clerely I iudged, and in mine owne minde was determinatlye resolued, that I was the vndoubted heire, of the house of Lancaster, and therevpon concluded, to make my first foundacion, and erect my new buildyng. But whether God so ordained, or by fortune it so chaunced while I was in a mase, either to conclude sodainely on this title, and to set it open amongst the common people, or to kepe it secret for a while, see the chaunce: as I rode betwene worcester and Bridgenorth, I encountered with the Lady Margaret, Countesse of Richmonde, now wife to the Lorde Stanley, which is the verye daughter and sole heyre, to Lorde Iohn Duke of Sommerset my grandfathers eldest brother. Which was as cleane out of my minde as though I had neuer sene her, so that she and her sonne the Erle of Richmonde be both bulwarcke and portcolice betwene mee, and the gate, to enter into the maiestie royall and getting of the Crowne. And when we had commoned a little concerning her sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, she to our Lady of worceter, and I towarde Shrewesberie: I then new chaunged and in maner amased, began to dispute with my selfe, litle consideryng that thus my earnest title was turned euen to a Tittill not so good as *est amen*. Eftsones I imagined whether I were best to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilitie, and commonaltie, which me thought easie to be done, the vsurpor kyng thus beyng in hatred, & abhorred of this whole realme or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chaunce, and harde to be achieued and brought to passe. Thus rumblyng and tossyng, in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone, and sacrafice, I considered first the office, duetie, and payne of a king, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can iustly, and truely obserue, except he be called, elected, and specially appointed by God, as king Dauid, and diuers other haue bene. But farther I remembred that if I once tooke on me the scepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I was dayly sure but of one trusty friende (which now a dayes begon a pilgrimage) I was neyther assured, nor credibly assertayned (such is the worlds mutation) for I manifestlye perceiued that the daughters of kyng Edwarde and their alies, and friendes, which be no small number, beyng both, for hys sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie, and manifest tirannie done to them, by the newe vsurper, much lamented, and pitied, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblable my Cosin the Erle of Richmonde, his aydes and kinsfolke, which bee not of little power, will surely attempt lyke a fierce greyhounde, either to bite or to pierce me on the other syde. So that my lyfe and rule should euer hang by a heare, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death or deposition. And if the sayde two linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue stryued for the imperiall Diademe should ioyne in one agaynst me, then were I surely mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue cleerely determined, and with my selfe concluded, vtterly to relinquishe all such phantasticall imaginations concerning the obteyning of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) might haue chaunced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of thys realme, I shall with a reredemayne so make them rebound to our common enemie that calleth himselfe King, that the best stopper that he hath at tennyce shal not well stop without a fault: for as I tolde you before, the Countesse of Richemonde in my returne from the newe named King, meeting me in the high way, prayed me first for kindred sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my Grandfather Duke Humfrey, which was sworne brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne Henry Erle of Richemond,

and

and to licence him with his fauour to returne agayne into Englande: and if it were his pleasure so to doo, shee promised that the Erle her sonne should marry one of king Edwards daughters at the appointment of the king, without any thing to be taken or demaũded for the sayde espousals, but onely the Kinges fauour, which request I sone ouer passed and gaue her fayre wṛds and so departed. But after in my lodging when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I fully adiudged that the holy ghost caused her to moue a thing (the ende whereof shee could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of her childe, and the destruction and finall confusion of the common enemy king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought I am sure, as I by her words could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desire to be so profitable to the realme as I nowe do perceyue, but such a Lorde is God, that with a little sparcle he kindeled a great fyre, and so finally to declare to you the verie conclusion to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the Erle of Richmond very heyre to the house of Lancaster (in the quarell of the which liuage, both my father and Grandfather lost their lyues in battayl) shall take to wyfe Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which mariage both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obteyned and vnite in one, to the clere establishment of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion, if the mothers of both parties and especially the Erle himselfe, and the Ladie wyll agree, I doubt not but the bragging Bore, which with his tuskes raseth euery mans skinne, shall not only be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but ẏ this Empire shall euer be certayne of an vndoubted heire, and then shal al ciuil and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of many mens crownes. & this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renowme and glory. When the Duke had said, the Bishop, which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and much reioyced to here this deuice, for now came the winde about euen as he would haue it, for al his imagination tended to this effect to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, & king Henry the sixt agayne raysed & aduaunced. But Lord how he reioysed to thinke how that by this mariage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster should be conioyned in one, to the very stedfastnesse of the publike welth of this realme. And least the Dukes courage should swage, or his minde should againe alter, as it did often before, as you may easily perceyue by his awne tale. He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entent that the ship of his pretensed purpose might come shortly to some sure port: And sayde to the Duke, my Lorde, sithe by Gods high prouision and your incomparable wisedome and pollicie, this noble coniunction is first moued, nowe is it conuenient, yea and necessary to consider, what personages and what friends we shall first make priuie of this highe deuice, and pollitique conclusion. By my truth, quod the Duke, we will begin with my Ladie of Richmond the Erles mother which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie or at large in Britaine. For I heard say that the Duke of Briteyne restored him to libertie immediately after the death of king Edward, by whose meanes he was restrained. Sithe you will begin that way (sayde the Bishop) I haue an olde friend with the Countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reignold Brey whose prudent pollicie I haue knowen to haue compassed thinges of great importaunce, for whome I shall secretly sende, if it be your pleasure, and I doubt not he will gladly come, and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reignold Brey, requiryng him to come to Brecknocke with speede for great and vrgent causes touchyng his maistresse: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Brey was with the Countesse and Lorde Thomas Stanley her husband, and deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he tooke it as a signe or token of some good fortune to come, and so with the messenger he came to the Castell of Brecknock, where the Duke and the Bishop declared what thing was deuised, both for to set the realme in a quiet stedfastnesse, as also for the highe preferment of the Erle of Richemond sonne to his Ladye and maistresse:

Willyng her first to compasse howe to obteine the good will of Queene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearyng the same name: and after secretly to send to her sonne into Briteyne to declare what high honor was prepared for him if he would sweare to marry the Ladie Elizabeth assone as he was king, and in royall possession of the Realme. Reignold Brey with a glad heart forgettyng nothing geuen to him in charge, in great hast and with good speede returned to the Countesse his Ladie and Maistresse. When Brey was departed, and this great doubtfull vessell once set abroche, the Bishop thyrstyng for nothing more then for libertie: When he sawe the Duke pleasaunt and well minded towarde him, he tolde the Duke that if he were in his Isle of Elye, he could make many friendes to further that enterprise, and if he were there, and had but foure dayes warnyng, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his Countrie was so strong. The Duke knewe well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the Bishop shoulde depart, for he knewe well that as long as the Bishop was with him, he was sure of pollitique aduise, sage counsaile, and circumspect proceding. And so he gaue the Bishop fayre wordes, saiyng that he should shortly depart, and that well accompanied for feare of his enemies. The Bishop beyng as wittie as the Duke was wilye, did not tary till the Dukes companie were assembled, but secretly disguysed in a night departed (to the Dukes great displeasure) and came to the See of Ely, where he found money and friendes, and so sayled into Flaunders, where he did the Erle of Richemond good seruice, and neuer returned againe, till the Erle of Richemond after beyng king, sent for him, and shortly promoted him to the See of Cauntorburie. Thus the Bishop wound himselfe from the Duke when he had most neede of his ayde, for if he had taried stil, the Duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsaile, nor put so much confidence in the Welshemen, nor yet so rashely set forwarde without knowlege of his friendes as he did, which thinges were his sodein ouerthrow, as they that knewe it did report.

Reignold Brey. When Reignold Brey had declared his message and priuie instruction to the Countesse of Richmond his Maistresse, no maruaile though she was ioyous and glad both of the good newes, and also for the obteyning of such a high friend in her sonnes cause as the duke was: wherfore she willing not to sleepe this matter, but to further it to the vttermost of her power and abilitie, deuised a meanes how to breake thys matter to Queene Elizabeth then beyng in Sanctuarie at Westminster. And thervpon she hauing in her familie at that time for the preseruation of her helth, a certayne Welshman called Lewys learned in phisicke, which for his grauity and experience, was well knowne & much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme: with whom she vsed sometime liberally & familiarly to talke, now hauing oportunity and occasion to breake her minde vnto him of this weighty matter, declared that the time was come that her sonne should be ioyned in mariage with Lady Elizabeth daughter and heyre to king Edward, and that king Rychard beyng taken and reputed of all men for the common enemie of the realme, shoulde out of all honour and estate be reiected, and of his rule and kingdome to be cleerely spoyled and expulsed: and required him to go to Queene Elizabeth (with whom in his facultie he was of counsayle) not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visite and consolate her, and as tyme and place shoulde require to make her priuie of this deuise, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined. This phisician dyd not long lynger to accomplish her desyre, but with good diligence repaired to the Quene being stil in the sanctuary at Westminster. And when he saw tyme conuenient for hys purpose, he saide vnto her: Madame, although my imaginacion be very simple and my deuise more folish, yet for the entier affection that I bere toward you and your children, I am so bolde to vtter vnto you a secret and priuy conceit, that I haue cast and compassed in my fantasticall brayne. When I well remember and no lesse consider the great losse and dammage that you haue sustayned by the death of your noble and louing husbande, and the great dolour, & sorowe that you haue suffered, by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do of bounden dutie, then dayly to studie, and hourely imagin, not onely how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse, but also deuise how to re-

uenge

uenge the righteous quarel of you, and your children on that bloody bloodsupper, and cruell tirant king Richarde. And first consider, what battaile, what manslaughter, what mischiefe hath risen in this realme, by the dissencion betwene the two noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye and doubt not but your line shall be agayne restored to the pristinate estate and degree, to your great ioy and comfort, and to the vtter confusion of your mortall enemie the vsurped king. You knowe verie well Madame that of the house of Lancaster, the Erle of Richmond is next of blood, which is lyuing, and a lustie yong Batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heyres; if you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong Erle of Richemond in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the Queene had hard thys friendly mocion (which was as farre from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the Mone) Lorde how her spirites reuyued, and how her hart lept in her body for ioy and gladnesse. And first geuing lawde to almightie God as the chiefe aucthour of her comfort, secondarily to Mayster Lewys as the deuiser of the good newes and tydings, instauntly besought him that as he had bene the first inuenter of so good an enterprise, that now he would not relinquishe nor desist to folowe the same: requiryng hym farther (because he was apperteyning to the Countesse of Richemond, mother to the Erle Henry) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to her, then lodging in her husbands place within the Citie of London, and to declare on the Quenees behalf to the Countesse, that all the friends and fautours of king Edwarde her husbande, should assist and take parte with the Erle of Richemond her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kingdome obteyned, to espouse, and take to wyfe the Ladie Elizabeth her daughter, or else Ladye Cecile, if the eldest daughter were not then lyuing.

Mayster Lewys wyth all diligence so sped his businesse that he made and concluded a finall ende and determination of thys enterprise betweene the two mothers, and because he was a Phisitian and out of all suspition and misdeeming, he was the common currer and daylie messenger betwene them ayding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie agaynst king Rychard. So the Lady Margaret Countesse of Richemond brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne, made Reygnold Bray her most faythfull seruaunt chiefe soliciter and priuie procurer of thys conspiracie, geuyng him in charge secretly to enuegle and attract such persons of ŷ nobility to ioyne with her and take her part as he knewe to be ingenious, faythfull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Brey within a fewe dayes brought vnto his lure (first of all taking of euery person a solempne othe to be true and secret) syr Gyles Daubenei, syr Iohn Cheiney knight, Richarde Guylforde and Thomas Raine Esquiers and diuers other. The Countesse of Richemond was not so diligent for her part, but Queene Elizabeth was as vigilaunt on the other side and made friendes and appointed Counsellers to set forward and auaunce her businesse. In the meane season the Countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Vrswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of him to be secret taken and sworne, she vttered to him all her minde and counsell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth for that he all hys lyfe had fauoured and taken part with king Henry the sixt, & as a speciall Iewell put to her seruice by syr Lewys her Phisitian. So the mother studious for the prosperitie of her sonne, appointed thys Christopher Vrswike to sayle into Britayne to the Erle of Richemond and to declare and vtter to him all pactes and agreements betwene her and the Queene agreed and concluded: But sodainely she remembring that the Duke of Buckyngham was one of the first inuenters, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to sende some personage of more estimation then her Chaplaine, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conwey Esquire and sent him into Britayne with a great somme of money to her sonne, geuing him in charge to declare to the Erle the great loue and especiall fauour that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the

louing hartes and beneuolent minds which the whole commonalty of their awne free wil frankly offred & liberally exhibited to him, wylling & aduising him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantly offred, but with al spede and diligence to addict & set his minde and full intention how to returne home againe into England where he was both wished & loked for, geuing him farther monicion and counsell to take laude and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where he should not doubt to find both aide, comfort and friends. Richard Guylford, lest Hugh Conwey might fortune to be taken or stopped at Plimmoth, where he entended to take shypping, sent out of Kent Thomas Ramme with the same instructions: & both made such diligence, and had such winde and wether, the one by lande from Caleys, & the other by water from Plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre both arriued in the Duke of Britaynes court, & spake with the Erle of Richmond, which from the death of king Edwarde went at his pleasure and lybertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassade. When the Erle had receiued this ioyfull message, which was the more pleasaunt because it was vnlooked for, he rendred to God his moste heartie thankes, hoping that such things as he with busie minde and careful intent had wyshed and desired should now come to passe, and now being put in comfort of his long longing, he brake to the Duke of Britayne all his secrets and priuie messages which were to him declared, aduertisyng him that he was entred into a sure and stedfast hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England desiryng him both of his good wyll and friendly helpe towarde the achieuyng of his offred enterprise, promysyng him when he came to hys entended purpose to render to him againe equall kindnesse and condigne recompence.

Although the Duke of Britayne before that day by Thomas Hutton Ambassador from king Richarde had both by money & praiers bene solicitted and moued to put agayne into safe custodie the Erle of Richmonde, he neuerthelesse promised faithfully to aide him, and his promise he truly performed.

1485 Wherevpon the Erle with all diligence sent into England againe Hugh Conwey and
3 Thomas Ram, which shoulde declare his commyng shortly into Englande, to the entent that all thinges which by councel might be for his purpose prouided, shoulde be spedily and diligently done, and that all thinges doubtfull should of his friendes be prudently forseen, in aduoyding all engins and snares which King Richarde hadde or might, set in disturbaunce of hys purpose, and hee in the meane season woulde make his abode still in Brytaine, till all thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in a readinesse.

In the meane season the chiefetaines of the coniuracion in England began together many enterprises: Some in conuenient fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men priuily, to the entent when they shoulde haue knowlege of the Erles landing, they woulde beginne to sturre vp the warre: Other did secretly moue and sollicite the people to rise and make an insurrection: Other (amongst whome Iohn Morton Bishop of Elye then beyng in Flaunders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked messengers, dyd sturre and moue to this new coniuracion, al such which they certainely knew to haue a rooted hatred or to beare a cankard malice towarde king Richarde in his procedings.

Although this great enterprise were neuer so priuily handled and so secretly amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of kyng Richarde, which with the sodayne chaunce was not a little moued and astonnyed. First because he had no host ready prepared: Secondarily, if he shoulde rayse an armie so sodainely, he knew not where to meete his enemies, or whether to go, or where to tary. Wherfore he determined to dissemble the matter as though he knew nothing till he had assembled his host, & in the meane season either by the rumor of the common people, or by the diligence of his espialles to search out all the counselles, determinations, ententes, and compasses of his close aduersaries, or else by pollecie to intercept and take some person of the same coniuration, consideryng that there is no more secret

nor

nor hyd espyall then that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowlege and intelligence, or is hydden in name & shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. And because he knewe the Duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aide of the cõiuration, he thought it most necessary to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Wherevpon he addressed his louyng letters to the Duke, full of gentle wordes, and most friendly speche, geuyng farther in charge to the messenger that caried the letter, to promise to the Duke on his behalfe, golden hilles, and siluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleasaunt meanes to perswade, and exhort the Duke to come to the Court. But the Duke as wilie as the king, mistrustyng the faire flatteryng wordes, and the gaye promises to him so sodainly, without any cause offered, knowyng the craftie castes of king Richardes bowe, which in diuers affaires before tyme he had sene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomacke that skant he coulde take eyther refection or rest. King Richarde not beyng content with this excuse woulde in no wise admitte the same, but incontinent directed to the Duke other letters, of a more rougher & hawtier sort, not without taunting and biting termes, & checking words, commaundyng him all excuses set apart, to repaire without any delaye to his royall presence. The Duke made to the messenger a determinate aunswere that he woulde not come to his mortall enemie, whome he neyther loued, nor fauoured: and immediatly prepared open warre against him, and perswaded all his complicies and partakers that euery man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence rayse vp the people and make a commotion. And by thys meanes almost in one moment Thomas Marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie where he sith the beginnyng of king Richardes dayes had continued, whose life by the onely helpe of Sir Thomas Louell, was preserued from all daunger and perill in this troubleous worlde, gathered together a great bande of men in Yorkeshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter his brother Bishop of Excester, raysed another armie in Deuonshire and Cornewall. In Kent, Richard Guylforde and other Gentlemen, collected a great companie of Souldiours, and openly began warre. But king Richard which in the meane time had gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall to disparse and deuide his great armie into small braunches, and perticulerly to persecute any one of the coniuration by himself, determined al other things being set aside, with his whole puyssance to set on the chiefe hed which was the Duke of Buckingham. And so remouyng from London, he tooke his iourney toward Salisbury, to the entent that in his iourney he might set on the Dukes armie, if he might know him in any place encamped or in order of battaile arrayed. The king was scarce two dayes iourney from Salisbury when the Duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wilde Welshemen, whome he beyng a man of great courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynst their willes had rather thereto inforced and compelled by Lordly and strait commaũdement then by liberal wages and gentle reteynour, which thing was the very occasion why they left him desolate, and cowardly forsooke him. The Duke with all his power marched through the Forest of Deane entendyng to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Glocester, and there to haue ioyned in armie with the Courtneys, and other Westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie, which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great ieopardie either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life or both. But see the chaunce, before he could attaine to Seuerne syde, by force of continuall raine and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the Countrie adioinyng, insomuch that men were drowned in their beddes, and houses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, children were caryed about the fieldes, swimmyng in Cradels, beastes were drowned on hilles, which rage of water lasted continually ten dayes, in so much that in the Countrie adioinyng, they call it to this day, the great water, or the Duke of Buckinghams great water. By this flood the passages were so closed that neyther the Duke could come ouer Seuerne to his Complices, nor they to him, duryng the which tyme, the Welshemen lingring ydlely and without money, vittaile, or wages, sodainly

The Duke of Buckingham conspireth agaynst King Richard.

The great water.

scattered

scattered and departed: and for all the Dukes fayre promises, threatnyngs, and enforcementes, they would in no wise neither go farther nor abide. The Duke beyng thus left almost post alone was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in his flight was with this sodaine fortune marueylously dismayed: and beyng vnpurueyed, what counsaile he should take, and what way he should folow, like a man in dispaire not knowyng what to do, of very trust and confidence conueyed himselfe into the house of Humfrey Banaster his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whom he had tenderly brought vp, and whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and trusted, nowe not doubtyng but that in his extreeme necessitie he should finde him faythfull, secret, and trusty, entendyng there couertly to lurke till either he might raise againe a newe armie, or else shortlye to sayle into Briteyne to the Erle of Richemond.

But when it was knowen to his adherentes which were ready to geue battaile, that his hoste was scattered and had left him almost alone, and was fled and could not be found, they were sodainlye amased and stricken with a sodaine feare, that euery man lyke persons desperate shifted for himselfe and fled, some went to Sanctuary and to solytary places, some fled by Sea, whereof the most part within a fewe dayes after arriued safely in the Duchie of Briteyn. Among which number were these persons, Peter Courtney Bishop of Excester, and Sir Edmond Courtney his brother, by king Henry the seuenth after created Erle of Deuonshire, Thomas Marques Dorset, Iohn Lorde Welles, Sir Iohn Burchier, Sir Edmond Wooduile, a valiaunt man in armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Iohn Cheyney and his two brethren, Sir William Barkeley, Sir William Brandon, and Thomas his brother, Sir Richard Edgecombe, all these for the most part beyng Knightes, Iohn Halwell, and Edward Poynynges, a pollitique Capitaine. At this very season Iohn Morton Bishop of Ely, and Christopher Vrswike priest, & an other companie of noble men soiourned in Flaunders, and by letters and Messengers procured many enemies agaynst King Richard, which vsyng a vigilant eie, and a quicke remembrance, beyng newly come to Salisbury, hauing perfect notice and knowlege howe the Duke was fled, and howe his complices entended to passe out of the Realme. First he sent men of warre to all the next portes and passages to keepe straitly the sea coast, so that no person should passe outwarde, nor take land within the Realme without their assent and knowlege. Secondarily, he made proclamation, that what person coulde shewe and reuele where the Duke of Buckingham was, should be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman, he should be infranchised and set at libertie, if he were of free blood, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand poundes. Furthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, which as you haue heard was newely returned out of Briteyn, that Fraunces Duke of Briteyn not onely refused to kepe the Erle of Richmond as a prisoner at his cõtemplacion, and for his sake, but also that he was redie to ayde and succor the sayde Erle with men, money, and all thinges necessary for his transportyng into Englande: Wherefore he rigged and sent out Shippes of warre well furnished and decked with men and artillary, to skoure and kepe that part of the Sea that lieth agaynst Briteyn, to the entent that if the Erle of Richemond would aduenture to sayle toward Englande, either he should be taken captiue, or be beaten & driuen from the coast of England. And moreouer, to the entent that euery coast, way, passage, and corner, should be diligently watched and kept, he set at euery doubtfull and suspected place men of warre, to seeke, searche, and enquire if any creature could tell tidings of the Duke of Buckingham, or any of his confederation, adherents, fautours, or partakers.

Humfrey Banaster seruant vnto the Duke of Buckingha betrayed his maister.

Whyle this busie serche was diligently applyed and put in execution, Humfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he bewrayed his guest and Mayster to Iohn Mitton then Shriefe of Shropshire, which sodaynely with a strong power of men in harnesse apprehended the Duke in a little groue adioyning to the Mansion of Humfrey Banaster, and

in great haste and euill speede conueyed him apparelled in a pilled black Cloke to the Citie of Shrewesburie, where Kyng Rycharde then kept hys housholde.

Whether thys Banaster bewrayed the Duke more for feare then couetous, many men doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betrayed the Duke his maister, his sonne and heyre waxed mad and so died in a Bores Stie, his eldest daughter of excellent bewtie was sodainely striken with a foule leaperie, his second sonne very maruellously deformed of hys limmes and made lame, his yonger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned, and he being of exstreme age arraigned and found guiltie of a murther, and by his clergie saued. And as for his thousand pound king Rychard gaue him not one farthing, saiyng that he which would be vntrue to so good a maister, would be false to all other, howbeit some say that he had a small office or a Farme to stop his mouth withall. The Duke beyng by certayne of the kinges Counsell diligently vpon interrogatories examined what things he knewe preiudiciall to the kings person, opened and declared frankly and freely all the coniuration without dissimuling or glosing, trusting because he had truely and playnely reueled and confessed all things that were of hym required, that he should haue lycence to speake to the king which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desyred and required. But when he had confessed the whole fact and conspiracy vpon Alsoulen day without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Salisburie in the open market place on a newe Skaffold behedded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the Duke of Buckyngham receaued at the hands of King Richard, whome he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holpen susteyned and set forward aboue all Gods forbode. The Duke of Buckingham beheded.

By thys all men may easely perceaue that he not onely loseth both hys labor, trauayle and industrie, and farther steyneth and spotteth his lyne with a perpetuall ignomonie and reproche, which in euill and mischiefe assisteth and aydeth an euill disposed person, considering for the most part that he for his friendlye fauour should receyue some great displeasure or infortunate chaunce. Beside that God of his iustice in conclusion appointeth to him a condigne payne and affliction for his merites and desertes.

Whyle these things were thus handeled and ordered in England, Henry Erle of Richemond prepared an armie of fyue thousand manly Britons, and fortie well furnished shippes. When all things were prepared in a readynesse, and the day of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelue day of the Moneth of October, the whole armie went on Shipborde and halsed vp their sayles, and with a prosperous winde tooke the Sea: But toward night, the winde chaunged and the weather turned, and so houge and terrible a tempest so sodainely rose, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the shippes were disparcled, seuered and seperate a sunder: some by force were driuen into Normandy, some were compelled to returne agayne into Britayne. The ship wherin the Erle of Richemond was, associate onely with one other Barck was all night tossed and turmoyled. In the morning after when the rage of the furious tempest was asswaged, and the yre of the blustering winde was some deale appeased, about the houre of noone the same day, the Erle approched to the south part of the realme of Englande, euen at the mouth of the hauen of Pole, in the Countie of Dorcet, where he might playnely perceyue all the sea bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and Souldiours, appointed and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landing, as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue straight charge and sore commaundement, that no person should once presume to take lande and go to the shore, vntill such time as the whole Nauie were assembled and congregate. And whyle he taryed and lyngered, he sent out a Shipbote towarde the lande side to know, whether they which stoode there in suche a number and so well furnished in apparell defensiue were hys foes and enemies, or else his friendes and comforters. They that were sent to enquire, were instantly desired of the men of warre kepyng the coast (which thereof were before instructed and admonish-

ed) to dissende and take lande, affirming that they were appoynted by the Duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arryuall and landing of the Erle of Richemond and to conduict him safely to the Campe, where the Duke not farre of laye encamped with a mightie armie and an hoste of great strength and power, to the entent that the Duke and the Erle ioyning in puyssaunces and forces together, might prosecute and chase King Rycharde beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate, and so by that meanes, and their awne laboures to obteyne the ende of their enterprise which they had before begonne.

The Erle of Richemond suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraude (as it was in deede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to appere in sight, he wayed vp his Ancors and halsed vp hys sayles, hauyng a prosperous and streynable winde and a fresh gale sent euen by God to delyuer him from that perill and ieopardy, and arryued safe and in securitie in the Duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his Souldyours and people, tooke his recreation by the space of three dayes, and clerely determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Britayne. And in the meane season he sent Ambassadors to the French King called Charles the. viij. which newly succeeded hys father king Lewys the. xj. not long before departed to God, requiring of him a safe conduite and lycence to passe thorough his Countrie of Normandie into Britayne. The yong king hauing compassion of the misfortune of the Erle of Richmond, not onely gently graunted and assigned to him a pasport, but also liberally disbursed to him a conuenient somme of money for hys conduite and expenses necessarie in hys long iourney and passage. But the Erle trustyng on the French kings humanitie, aduentured to sende his ships home into Britayne, and to set forward himselfe by lande on his iourney, making no great haste till hys messengers were returned, which beyng with the benefite so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, marched towarde Britayne with all diligence entending there to consult farther with his louers and friendes of his affayres and enterprises. When he was returned agayne into Britayne he was certefied by credible information that the Duke of Buckyngham had lost hys head, and that the Marques Dorset and a great number of Noble men of England had a lyttle before enquired and searched for him there, and were nowe returned to Vannes. When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first sorowed and lamented the first attempt, and setting forward of hys friendes, and in especiall of the nobilitie not to haue more fortunately succeded. Secondarily, he reioysed on the other part that God had sent hym so many valyaunt and prudent Captaynes to be his companions in hys martial enterprises, trusting surely and nothing doubting in his awne opinion, but that al hys busynesse should be wisely compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Wherefore be determinyng with all diligence to set forward hys newe begon businesse departed to Renes and sent certayne of his priuie seruitours to conduct and bring the Marques and the other noble men to hys presence. When they knewe that he was safely returned into Bryteyne, Lorde howe they reioysed, for before that tyme they myssed hym and knewe not in what part of the worlde to make inquirie or serche for hym.

For they doubted and no lesse feared lest he had taken lande in Englande, and fallen into the hands of King Rycharde in whose person they knew well was neyther mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all speedy maner they galoped toward hym, and hym reuerently saluted, which meeting after great ioy and solace, and no small thankes geuen and rendered on both parts, they aduisedly debated and commoned of their great businesse and weightie enterprise, in the which season the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour Christ happened, on which day all the Englishe Lordes went with great solempnitie to the chiefe Church of the Citie, and there eche gaue fayth and promise to other. The Erle himselfe first tooke a corporall othe, and on his honor promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of Englande, he would be conioyned in matrimonie with the Lady Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all

the company sware to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had bene that time the crowned king and annoynted Prince, promising faythfully and firmely assuring that they would not onely leese their worldly substaunce, but also be priuated of their lyues and worldly felicitie, rather then to suffer king Rycharde that tyraunt longer to rule and reigne ouer them. Which solempne othes made and taken, the Erle of Richemond declared and communicated all these doyngs to Fraunces Duke of Britayne, desiring and most hartily requiring hym to ayde him with a greater armie to conduct him into his Countrie, which so sore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communaltie called and desired (which with Gods aid, & the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in short time to obteine, requiring him farther to prest to him a conuenient somme of money, affirming that all such sommes of money which he had receaued of hys especiall friends, were spent and consumed in the preparation of the last iourney made towarde Englande, which sommes of money after his enterprise once achieued, he in the worde of a Prince faythfully promised to repay and restore agayne. The Duke promised him ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof he rigged his shippes, and set foorth hys Nauie well decked wyth ordynaunce, and warlikely furnished with all things necessarye, to the entent to sayle forward shortly, and to lose no time.

In the meane season, King Richarde apprehended in diuers partes of the realme certaine gentilmen of the Erle of Richmonds faction and confederation, which eyther entended to sayle into Britain toward him, or else at his landing to assist and ayde him. Amongst whome, sir George Browne, sir Roger Clyfforde and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Seutliger which had maried the Duches of Exceter the kings awne sister, and Thomas Ram and diuers other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his housholde seruaunts, whome either he suspected, or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. After this, he called a parliament, in the which he attaynted the Erle of Richmond and all other persons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or any other cause, as enemies to him, and to their naturall countrey, and all their landes goods, and possessions, were confiscate and seased to the kings vse. And yet not content with this pray, which no doubt was of no small valour, and moment, he layed on the peoples neckes a great taxe and tallage, and surely necessitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what with purging and declaryng his innocencie concernyng the murther of his Nephewes towarde the worlde, and what with cost to obtayne the loue and fauour of the communaltie (which outwardly glosed, and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many and so great rewardes, that now both he lacked, and skarce wist honestly how to borowe. In this troubleous season, nothing was more merueyled at, then that the Lorde Stanley had not beene taken and reputed as an enemie to the King, considering the working of the Ladye Margaret his wife, mother to the Erle of Richmonde, but forasmuch as the enterpryse of a woman was of him reputed of no regarde or estimacion, & that the Lord Thomas her husbande had purged himselfe sufficiently to be innocent of all doynges and attemptes by her perpetrated, and committed, it was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secret place at home, without hauyng anye seruaunt or companie, so that from thence forth she should neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne, nor any of his friendes, or confederates, by the which the king might be molested or troubled, or anye hurte or preiudice might be attempted against his realme and commonaltie. Which commaundement was a while put in execution & accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundement. Yet the wilde worme of vengeaunce wauering in hys heade, coulde not be contented with the death of diuerse Gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he must extende his bloodye furie against a poore gentleman called Collyngborne, for making a small ryme of three of his vnfortunate Counsaylers, which were the Lorde Louell, Sir Richarde Radclyffe, his mischeuous Mynion, and sir William Catesby his secret seducer, which Meeter or ryme was.

The Erle of Richemond attaynted in Parliament.

The Ratte the Cat and Louell our dogge,
Rule all Englande vnder the hogge.

Collingborne executed.

Meanyng by the Hog, the dreadfull wilde Bore, which was the kinges cognisaunce, but because the first line ended in Dog, the Metrician could not obseruyng the regiments of meeter ende the second verse in Bore, but called the Bore an Hogge. This poeticall schoolemaister corrector of Breeues and Longes, caused Collingborne to be abbreuiat shorter by the head, and to be deuided into foure quarters.

King Richarde beyng thus tormented, and tossed in his owne conceyte and imagination, called to his remembraunce that confederacions, amities, and other honest bandes and packes, made, concluded, and appointed betwen Princes, and politique gouernours, are the cause efficient and especiall introduction that their realmes & countries are fortified with a double power, that is to saye, with their owne strength and the ayde of their friendes, deuised wyth him selfe to practise a league and amitie with the king of Scots, which not long before had made diuers incursions and rodes into the realme of Englande, where although he gat little, yet surely hee lost not much, and therevpon sued to haue a true or peace concluded, which came euen as king Richarde hadde wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for both partes to meete at Nothingham the seuen daye next ensuyng, at which tyme came thether for the Kyng of Englande Iohn bishop of Lincolne chaunceller of Englande, Richarde bishop of saint Asse, Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, George Stanley, Lord Straunge, Iohn Gray, Lord Powes, Richard Lord Fitzhugh, Iohn Gunthorpe, keper of the kings priuy seale, Thomas Barow, maister of ỹ rolles, Sir Thomas Brian chiefe Iustice of the common place, Sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesby, and Richarde Salkeld esquiers. And for the king of Scottes, were deputed Colyn Erle of Ergile, Lorde Campell and Lorde Chaunceller of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Oliphant, Iohn Drummond of Stobhall, Archibalde Qwhitelater Archdeacon of Lowdene and Secretary to king Iames, Lion King at Armes and Duncane Duncas. These Councellers diuers times mette, and after long debating, demaunding, and deniyng, in the ende of September they fullye concluded a peace, the Articles whereof are to long here to reherse.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished, and sealed with all due circumstances therevnto required. Although king Richard iudged and demed himselfe somewhat the more stronger and quieter by force of this newe amitie, and concluded confederacie, yet to augment more the familiaritie begon betwene the king of Scottes and him, and to haue a double string for his Bowe, he entreated a newe aliaunce and mariage to be concluded betwene the Prince of Rothsay, eldest sonne to the king of Scottes, and Ladie Anne de la Pole, daughter to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and Ladie Anne sister to king Richard, which sister he so much fauoured, that he studiyng al the waies by the which he might aduaunce her ofspring and linage, did not onely procure and seeke meanes how to make her daughter a Princesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed Iohn Erle of Lincolne his nephewe and her sonne, heyre apparant to the Crowne of England, disenherityng king Edwardes daughters, whose brethren before as you haue heard he shamefully killed & murdered.

The king of Scottes hauyng neede of friendes, but not so much neede as king Richard, which was of necessitie compelled to seeke ayders, and to enterteyne fautors, the one for fauouryng of flatterers, and base borne personnes, and the other not onely for tyranny and vnnaturall homicide, but also for the vsurpation of the Crowne beyng of all the realme detested and disdeyned, gladly accepted, and ioyously consented to king Richardes desire and couiunction of amitie. Wherefore the sayde Princes sent their Ambassadors and Counsaylors againe to the towne of Notingham, where the saide mariage was by writynges and instrumentes, couenaunted, condiscended, and agreed, and affiaunces made and taken by Proctors, and Deputies on both partes, and she immediately called

Princes

Princes of Rothsaye, which name shee shortly lost by the short life of king Richard her louyng Vncle. Here may wel be noted the vnnaturall loue and disordered affection which this kinde kinseman shewed to hys blood: For he not remembryng the tirannie that he had executed agaynst his brothers sonnes, the wrong and manifest iniurie that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in takyng from them their dignitie, possessions, and liuyng, thought it should redound greatly to his honour and fame, if he promoted his systers childe (to whome he was nothing bound in conscience to make restitution) to the dignitie of a Queene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whome he had vntruely and by force disenherited, & of all their right depriued, to the mariage of a meane esquier: such was his brotherly kindnes, and such was his large conscience towards his brothers children.

After this league and mariage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdeinyng that the strong Castell of Dumbarre should remaine in the Englishe mennes handes and possession, wrote a gentle letter to King Richard, declaryng to him that where in the league cōcluded betwene them, it was agreed and appoynted that he should within. xl. dayes next ensuyng, expresse and declare his opinion and meanyng concernyng the Castell of Dunbarre, whether the sayde Castell should be occupied and stand still in the handes of the Englishe men, duryng the whole tyme of the truce, or else for the terme of sixe monethes onely. He nowe certified king Richard by his letters, that he was content that he and his should enioy the possession of the sayde Castell quietly and peaceably duryng the sayde truce and amitie: Neuerthelesse he required him for the loue and familiaritie that nowe both by treatie and alyaunce was sprong and knit betweene them, that he would redeliuer the saide Castell into his handes, which was vntruly possessed of the English Nacion by deliuery of the rebels and Traytors, contrary to al right, equitie, and conscience. King Richard dalied with pleasaunt letters, and fayre wordes, and so foded forth the king of Scottes, that he neuer had Dunbar deliuered while king Richard liued, after whose death, whether it were by treason or by appoyntment, the Castell was rendered to the King of Scottes, to his great contentation and reioysing. Albeit this league and amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it might manifestly seeme to all persons, that all coniurations and confederacies against king Richard were extinct and put to scilence, and in especiall consideryng, that the Duke of Buckingham and his alies were made out of his way, some by death, and some by banishment and exilyng into farre Countries and Regions. Yet king Richard more doubtyng then trustyng to his awne people and friendes, was continually vexed, tossed, and vnquieted, with feare of the returne of the Erle of Richemond and his complices and fautours, which dayly dread and hourely agonie, caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie. Wherfore he entendyng to be relieued and to haue an ende of all his doubtfull daungers, determined clerely to extirpate and pluck vp by the rootes all the matter & ground of his feare and doubtes. Wherefore after long and deliberate consultation had, nothing was for his purpose and entent thought either more necessarie or expedient then once againe with price, prayer, and rewardes, to attempt the Duke of Briteyn in whose territorie the Erle of Richemond then abode, to deliuer the sayd Erle into his handes, by which onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and minde. Wherefore incontinent he sent certain Ambassadors to the Duke of Briteyn, which tooke vpon them (beside the great and ample rewardes that they brought with them into Britein) that king Richard shoulde yerely pay and aunswere the Duke of all the reuenues, rentes, and profites of the seignories, landes, and possessions aswell belongyng and appertainyng to the Erle of Richemonde, as to any other Noble or Gentleman, which then were in the Erles companie, if he after that time would kepe them in continuall prison and restraine them from libertie.

The Ambassadors furnished with these and other instructions, arriued in Briteyne and came to the Dukes house, where with him they could haue no maner of communication

concernyng their weightie affayres, by reason that he beyng faynt and weakened by a long and dayly infirmitie, began a little to wax ydle and weake in his wit and remembraunce. For which cause Peter Landoyse his chiefe Treasorer, a man both of pregnant wit & great aucthoritie, ruled and adiudged al things at his pleasure & commaundement, for the which cause (as men set into high aucthority be not best beloued) he excited and prouoked against him the malice & euill will of the Nobility of Briteyn, which afterward for diuers great offences by him duryng his aucthoritie, perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death, and confusion. The Englishe Ambassadors moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse, and to him declared their maisters commaundement, instantly requiryng, and humbly desiryng him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Briteyne) that he would friendly assent to the request of king Rychard, offeryng to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the Duke.

Peter Landoyse.

This Peter which was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Briteyne, thought that if he did assent and satisfie king Richardes petition and desyre, he should be of power and habilitie sufficiently to wythstand and refell the malicious attemptes and disdainfull inuentions of hys enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faythfully promised to accomplishe king Richards request and desyre, so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankard malice of his secret enemyes. This act that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the Erle of Richemonde, for as you haue heard before, he deliuered him from peril of death at Saint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life and ieopardie, but as cause riseth we euer offend, and that curssed hunger of golde, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inwarde feare of losse of aucthoritie, driueth the blinde mindes of couetous men and ambicious persons to euilles and mischiefes innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites, and desertes. But fortune was so fauourable to the publique welth of the realme of Englande, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while Postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprise betwene king Richard and Peter Landoyse, Iohn Morton Bishop of Ely soiournyng then in Flaunders, was of all this craftie conueyaunce certified by his secret and sure friendes: Wherefore he sent Christopher Vrswike (which at that verye season was come out of Briteyne into Flaundes) to declare to the Erle of Richemonde howe all the deceyt and craftie working was conueyed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to counsaile and aduise the Erle in all haste possible with all his companie to retire out of Briteyne into Fraunce. When these newes were brought to the Erle he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched again Christopher Vrswike to Charles the French king, requiryng him that he and his, might safely passe into Fraunce, which desyre beyng obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his Lorde and Prince. The Erle well perceiuyng that it was expedient and necessarie with all speede and diligence, to loke to this weightie matter, callyng very fewe to counsaile, he made inquirie and searche of all secrete and by wayes, and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindenesse they should visite and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, lay on the borders and confines of Fraunce. And secretly he gaue charge to the Erle of Pembroke which was the leader and conducter of his companie, that when they approched the marches and limits of Briteyn, they should diuert and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somewhat suspicious of thinges newely imagined, without any tariyng, scouryng the wayes as fast as their horses could runne, came out of the Duchie of Briteyn, into the Duchie of Angeou in the dominion of Fraunce, where they taryed the Erles commyng, which two dayes after departed out of Vannes, onely accompanied with fiue seruitors, as though he had gone secretly to visite a familiar friend of hys in a small Village adioinyng. No man suspected that he would depart, consideryng that a great multitude of Englishe men were left and continued in the Citie, but after that he had passed directly fiue myles forwarde,

forwarde, he sodainly turned into a solitarie Wood next adioinyng, where clothing himselfe in the simple Cote of his poore seruaunt, made and appoynted his sayde minister, leader and maister of his small companie, and he as an humble Page diligently folowed and serued his counterfeit gouernour, neuer restyng nor themselues refreshing, except the baityng of their horses, till they by wayes vnknowen, nowe this way, nowe turnyng that way, came to their companie, abidyng them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the Erle of Richemonde was thus departed, that craftie marchaunt Peter Landoyse, trusting still after his pray, promised by king Richarde, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldiours which he priuily had consigned with certaine trustie capitaines for that onely purpose appointed and elected, to performe and achieue his pretensed enterprise, dissimulyng and feinyng them to be conducted and hyred by him to serue ỹ Erle of Richmonde, and hym to conduyte in his returne towarde his natiue countrey, meanyng none other thing but to apprehende him and the other Noble men in his retinue, which no such fraude suspectyng, nor yet any treason ymaginyng, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayde, and them to cast and commit sodainely into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the entent that by this wretched & naughtie act he might satisfie the charitable request, & louyng desire of good kyng Richarde, more for his owne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this craftie disembler Peter Landoyse, which was no wylier then an olde Foxe, perceaued that the Erle was departed, (thinkyng that to be true that he imagined) Lorde how currours ranne into euery coast, how light horsemen galloped to euery streyt, to folow & deteyne him, if by any possibilitie he coulde be pursued and ouertaken, and him to apprehende and bring captiue into the Citie of Vannes. The horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forwarde their iorney, that nothyng was more likely then they to haue obtayned, ye and seased their praye. For the Erle of Richmond was not entred into the realme of Fraunce, scarce one houre, but the folowers came to the limittes and confines of Briteyne, and durst aduenture no further, but vainely without their desire sorowfully returned. At which season were left at Vannes about the number of three Englishe men, which not beyng called to counsaile, and vnaware of this enterprise, but knowyng of the Erles sodeine departure were so incontinently astonyed, that in maner they were all in dispayre both of him and their awne suretie and sauegarde. But fortune turned her saile, and otherwise it happened then their feare them encombred. For the Duke of Briteyne nowe beyng somewhat recouered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented that the Erle of Richmond was in his dominion so vncurteously tracted and entreated, that he should be by fraude and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his Duchie and Countrie contrary to his honour. Wherefore he toke great displeasure with Peter Landoyse his Treasorer, to whome (although he knewe not and was ignoraunt that all the drift was driuen and deuysed by him) he laide the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he sent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Pownynges valiaunt Esquiers of England, and deliuered vnto them money sufficient for their conduite, willyng them to conuey the rest of the Englishe men, beyng in Briteyn, to the Erle of Richmondes presence. When the Erle was thus furnished and appoynted wyth his trustie companie, and was escaped all the daungers, Labirinthes, and snares that were set for him, no maruaile though he were iocond and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affayres. Wherefore, least he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diuers of hys Gentlemen to the Duke of Briteyne, the which should publishe and declare to him on the behalfe of the Erle, that he and his, were onely by his benefite and fauour conserued and deliuered from the immynent daunger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendred to him his most hartie thankes in wordes, trustyng and not doubtyng but in time to come liberally to recompence him with actes and deedes.

After thys the Erle tooke his iourney to Charles the French king, lyeng then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Leyse, to whome after great thankes geuen for manifolde pleasures by him

him to the Erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his accesse and repayre to his person. After that he required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortall benefite to him at that time shewed, he might safely returne to the nobilitie of hys realme, of whome he was greatly called to take vpon hym the crowne and Scepter of the realme, they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard, King Charles promised him ayde and comfort, and bade him be of good courage and make good cheere, for he assured him that he woulde gladly shewe to him his beneuolent minde and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leadyng with him the Erle of Richemonde, and all the Noble personages of hys retinue and faction.

Whyle the Erle was thus attendaunt in the French Court, Iohn Vere Erle of Oxforde (which as you haue heard before was by king Edwarde kept in prison wythin the Castell of Hammes) so perswaded Iames Blount Capytayne of the same fortresse, and Syr Iohn Fortescewe Porter of the Towne of Caleys, that he himselfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonyng and leauing their fruitfull offices, condiscended to go wyth him into Fraunce to the Erle of Richemonde and to take his part remayning in the Castell before hys departure, he fortefied the same both with newe municions and new Souldiours. When the Erle of Richemond sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was rauyshed with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practise in feates of warre, and so constaunt, trustie, and assured (which alwaye had studied for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision delyuered out of Captiuitie and imprisonment, and in time so necessary & conuenient come to his ayde, succour and aduancement, in whome more surer then any other he might put hys trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauayle in hys awne person. For it was not hid from hym that suche as had euer taken part with king Edwarde before thys time, came to doe him seruice eyther for malice that they bare to king Richarde, or else for feare to lyue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernaunce.

Not long after the French king returned agayne to Paris, whome the Erle of Richemonde folowed, entending there to solicite his matter to the conclusion. Wherevpon he besought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defence of him and hys cause, so that he and hys company beyng by hys meanes ayded and comforted, should confesse and saye, their welth, victorie and aduauncement to haue flowed and budded foorth of his bountyfulnesse and liberalitie, which they would God wylling shortly reacquite. In the meane season dyuers Englishe men which eyther fled out of Englande for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine, came voluntarily and submitted themselues to the Erle of Richemond, and vowed and sware to take his part. Amongst whom was Richarde Foxe a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learning, whom the Erle incontinent receaued into secret familiaritie, & in briefe tyme erected and auaunced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion he made hym Byshop of Wynchester.

In the meane season king Rychard was credibly aduertised what promises and othes the Erle and his confederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the Erles meanes all the English men were passed out of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherefore beyng sore dismayed and in a maner desperate, because hys craftie Cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Britayne, imagined and deuised how to infringe and disturbe the Erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of Ladie Elizabeth his Neece he should pretend no clayme nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the Erles chiefe combe had bene clerely cut. And because that he beyng blynded with the ambicious desyre of rule before thys time, in obteyning the kingdome, had perpetrate and done many cursssed actes and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the olde Prouerbe, let hym take the Bull that stale away the Calfe, he thought all factes by hym committed in times passed

passed to bee but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischieuous imagination, which he nowe openlye began and attempted. There came into hys vngracious minde a thing not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering minde how great a fountayne of mischiefe towarde him should spring if the Erle of Richemond should be aduaunced to the mariage of hys Nece, which thing he heard saye by the rumour of the people that no small number of wise and wittie personages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion. He cferely determined to reconcile to hys fauour his brothers wyfe Queene Elizabeth eyther by fayre wordes or liberall promises, firmely beleuing her fauor once obteined, that she would not stick to commit (and louingly credite) to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughter, & so by that meanes the Erle of Richemond of the affinitie of hys Nece should be vtterly defrauded and begüiled. And if no ingenious remedy could be otherwise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes which were euen at hande and lyke to fall, if it should happen Queene Anne hys wyfe to depart out of thys present worlde, then he hymselfe would rather take to wyfe hys Cosyn and Nece the Ladie Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinitie the whole realme should run to ruyne, as who sayde, that if he once fell from hys estate and dignitie, the ruyne of the realme must needes shortly ensue and folowe. Wherefore he sent to the Queene beyng in sanctuarie dyuers and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all thinges before against her attempted or procured, and after shoulde so largely promise promotions innumerable, and benefices, not onely to her but also to her sonne Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset, that they should bring her if it were possible into some wanhope, or as men say into a fooles paradise. The messengers beyng men both of wyt and grauitie, so perswaded the Queene with great and pregnaunt reasons, what with fayre and large promises, that shee began somewhat to relent, and to geue to them no deafe eare, in so much that she faythfully promised to submit and yeelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kings wyll and pleasure. And so shee putting in obliuion the murther of her innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king her husbande, the lyuing in auoutrie layed to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgetting also the faythfull promise and open othe made to the Countesse of Richmond mother to the Erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affection and seduced by flattering wordes, first deliuered into king Richards hands her fiue daughters, as Lambes once agayne committed to the custodie of the rauenous Woolfe. After she sent letters to the Marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the Erle of Richemond, wylling him in any wise to leaue the Erle and without delay to repaire into Englande, where for him were prouided great honors and honorable promotions, asserteyning him farther that all offences on both parties were forgotten and forgeuen, and both he and she highly incorporate in the Kings hart. Surely the inconstancie of thys woman were much to be marueyled at, if all women had bene founde constaunt, but let men speake, yet women of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kinde. After that king Richard had thus with glorious promises and flattering wordes pleased and appeased the mutable minde of Queene Elizabeth, which knewe nothing lesse then that he most entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueyed into his palace with solempne receauing, as though with his newe familier and louing entertainment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the olde committed iniurie and late executed tiannie. Nowe nothing was contrariant and obstacle to hys deuilishe purpose, but that hys mancion was not voyde of his wyfe, which thing he in any wise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and stayed hym from committing this abhominable murther, because as you haue heard before, he began to counterfeit the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afeard least the sodaine death of his wyfe once openly knowne, he shoulde leese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without desert conceaued and reported. But in conclusion cuill counsayle

A subtile and lewde practise of king Richard.

The inconstancie of Queene Elizabeth.

sayle prenayled in a wyt lately minded to mischiefe, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngracious desire ouercame his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his ymagyned enterprise, he absteyned both from the bed and compally of his wyfe. After he complayned to dyuers noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterylitie and barennesse of hys wyfe, because she brought forth no fruit and generatiō of her body. And in especial he accompted to Thomas Rotheram Archbyshop of Yorke (whom lately he had deliuered out of warde & captiuitie) these impediments of his Queene & diuers other, thinking that he would reuele & open to her al these things, trusting the sequele hereof to take his effect, that she hering this grudge of her husband, & taking therfore an inward thought, would not long lyue in this world. Of this the Bishop gathered (which well knew the complexion and vsage of the king) that the Quenes daies were short, and that he declared to certain of his secret friends. After this he procured a common rumour (but he would not haue the aucthor knowne) to be published and spred abroad among the common people that the Queene was dead, to the intent that shee taking some conceyte of thys straunge fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknesse or greeuous maladie, and to proue if afterward shee should fortune by that or any other wayes to leese her lyfe, whether the people would impute her death to the thought or sicknesse, or thereof would lay the blame to him. When the Queene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong amongst the commonaltie, she sore suspected and iudged the worlde to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorowfull agony, shee with lamentable countenaunce and sorowfull chere, repayred to the presence of the king her husbande, demaunding of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to die. The king aunswered her wyth fayre wordes, and wyth smyling and flattering leasinges comforted her, bydding her to be of good cheere, for to his knowledge shee should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer that it fortuned, eyther by inward thought and pensiuenesse of heart, or by infection of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few dayes after the Queene departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, and was with due solempnitie buried in the Church of Saint Peter at Westminster. Thys is the same Anne one of the daughters of the Erle of Warwike, which as you haue heard before at the request of Lewys the French king, was maried to Prince Edward sonne to king Henry the sixt.

A rumor spred abroade of ye Quenes death.

The Quene wife to king Richard the third sodainly dead.

The king thus (according to his long desire) losed out of the bondes of matrimonie, began to cast a folishe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his Neece, making much suit to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimonie. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe most of all, detested, and abhorred, this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnatural copulacion, he determined to prolong and deferre the matter til he were in a more quietnesse. For all that very season he was oppressed with great, weightie, and vrgent causes, and businesses on euery side, consideryng that dayly part of the nobility sailed into Fraunce to the Erle of Richmond: Other priuily fauoured and aided certaine of the coniuration, so that of his short ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And the common people for the most part were brought to such desperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enemies, then to abide the chaunce and hazarde to haue their goodes taken as a spoyle of victory by his enemies. Amongest the noble men whome he most mistrusted, these were the principall, Thomas Lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gilbert Talbot and sixe hundred other, of whose purposes although king Richarde were not ignoraunt, yet he gaue neither confidence nor credence to any one of them, and least of all to the Lorde Stanley because he was ioyned in matrimonie with y Lady Margaret, mother to the Erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye may perceiue. For when the sayde Lord Stanley would haue departed into his countrey to visit his family and to recreate and refresh his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to the entent to be in a perfite readinesse to receiue the Erle of Rychemond at his first arriuall in Englande: the king in no wise would suffer him to depart before that he had left us an hostage in the Court, George Stanley, Lord straunge his first

begotten

begotten sonne and heire. While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginacions of the troubleous time that was like to come: Loe, euen sodainly he herde newes that fyre was sprong out of the smoke, and the warre freshly begon, and that the Castell of hammes was deliuered into the hands of the Erle of Richmond, by the meanes of the Erle of Oxenforde, and that not onely he, but also Iames Blount captaine of the Castell, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Erle Henry. Wherefore he thinkyng it great pollicie to withstande the first brunt, sent the most part of ỹ garrison of Caleis, to recouer againe, by force the Castell of Hammes. They which were in the Castell perceauing their aduersaries to approch, prepared municions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Erle of Richemond, to aduertise him of their sodayne inuasion, requiring him of hasty ayde and speedy succour. The Erle slepyng not this first begon assault, sent ỹ Erle of Oxenforde with an elected company of souldiours to raise the siege, and resceiue the Castell: Which at their first arriuyng, pitched their campe not farre from their enimies. And while king Richardes men gaue vigilant eie, waityng least the Erle of Oxenforde shoulde take anye aduauntage of them that lay on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. approued men of warre, by a marish which lay on the other side, entred into the castell. The souldiours within greatly encouraged, and much comforted by this new succour and ayde, greued the enemies by shoting from the walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the forepart: the Erle of Oxenforde no lesse molested and vnquieted them on the other part, which was the occasion that king Richards men offered of their owne mere mocion, licence to all beyng within the Castell to departe in safetie with bagge and baggage nothing excepted: which condicion the Erle of Oxenforde commyng onelye for that purpose to deliuer his louyng friendes out of all perill and daunger, & chiefely of all, his olde hostesse Iane Blount wife to Iames Blount the capiteyne, would in no wise forsake or refuse. And so leauyng the Castell bare and vngarnished, both of vitaile and artilerie, came safe to the Erle of Richmond soiourning in Paris. Duryng this time, kyng Richarde, was credybly informed of his inquisitors and espyalles that the Erle of Richmond was with long suite in the court of Fraunce sore weried, & desiryng great ayde, coulde obtaine small reliefe: In so much that all thing went so farre backwarde, that such things as were with great diligence, and no lesse deliberation, purposed, and determined to be set forwarde, were now dashed and ouerthrone to the ground. King Richard either beyng to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatly reioysed as though he had obtayned the ouerhande of his enemyes, with triumph and victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so surely deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations, so that he neded nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake his golden sleepe. Wherefore he called home againe his shippes of warre, which he had appointed to kepe the narowe Seas, and dispatched all such Souldiours as he had deputed to keepe certayne garrisons, and to stoppe certayne passages as you haue hearde before. Yet least he might for lack of prouision be sodainly trapped, he straightly charged and gaue in commaundement to al noble men and in especial such as inhabited neere to the sea coast, and on the Frontiers of Wales, that according to the vsage of the Countrie, they should keepe diligent watch and strong warde, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise should haue anye place oportune, easely to take lande without defence or rebuttyng back. For the custome of the Countries adioyning neere to the sea is (especially in the time of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a Bekon with a great Lanterne in the top, which may be sene and discerned a great space of. And when the noyse is once bruted that the enemies approche nere the lande, they sodeinly put fire in the Lanternes and made showtes and outrages from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some ronne in post from place to place admonishyng the people to be redie to resist the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this pollicie the fame is soone blowen to euery Citie and towne, insomuch that aswell the

Citizens as ỹ rurall people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put backe the new arriued enemies.

Now to returne to our purpose, king Richard thus somewhat eased of his accustomed pensiuenesse, began to be somewhat more merier, and toke lesse thought and care for outward enemies then he was wont to do, as who say, that he with pollitique prouision shoulde withstande the destinie which hong ouer his heade, and was ordeyned in briefe time sodainly to fall. Such is the force and puissaunce of deuine iustice, that euery man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most neerest punishement, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crimes.

About this season, while the Erle of Richemond was desiryng ayde of the French king, certain noble men were there appoynted to rule the realme of Fraunce during the minoritie of king Charles, which amongest themselues were not of one opinion. Of which dissention, Lewys Duke of Orliaunce was the chiefe sturrer, which because he had maried Ladie Ioane sister to the French king, toke vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man onely was suffered to rule all: wherefore the Erle of Richemond was compelled to make sute to euery one of the counsaile seuerally one after another, requiryng and desiryng them of ayde and reliefe in his waightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Duryng which time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to returne again into England, partly dispairyng in the good successe of the Erle of Richemond, & partly onerate and vanquished with the fayre glosyng promises of king Richarde: secretly in the night season stale out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition tooke his iourney towarde Flaunders. When relation of his departure was made to the Erle of Richemond, and the other noble men, no maruaile though they were astonied and greatly amased. Yet that notwithstandyng they requyred of the Frenche king that it might be lefull to them in his name and by his commaundement to take and stay their Companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsaile, in what place within his realme and territorye so euer they could finde him. Which peticion once obtayned, they sent out Curriers into euery part, amongest whome Humfrey Cheiney plaiyng the part of a good blood hound, folowed the tract of the flier so euen by the sent, that he ouertoke and apprehended him not far from Compeigne and so what with reason, and what with faire promises beyng perswaded, he returned again to his Companions. The Erle of Richmond vnburdened of this misaduenture, least by lingryng of dayes, and prolongyng of time, he might leese the great oportunitie of thinges to him offered and ministred: also least he should further wound or molest the mindes of his faythfull and assured friendes, which dayly did aspect and tary for hys commyng, determined no lenger to protract and deferre the time, but with all diligence and seleritie to attempt his begon enterprice, and so obteinyng of king Charles a smal crewe of men, and borowyng certaine summes of money of him, and of diuers other his priuate friendes. For the which he left as debter, or more likelier as a pledge or hostage, Lorde Thomas Marques Dorset (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Iohn Burchier, he departed from the French Court, and came to the Citie of Roan. While he taryed there makyng prouision at Harflete in the mouth of the riuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his nauye, tidynges were brought to him that king Richard beyng without children, and nowe Widower, entended shortly to marry the Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Ladie Cicile her sister to a man found in a Clowde, and of an vnknowne linage and familie. He tooke these newes as a matter of no small moment (and so all thinges considered) it was of no lesse importance then he tooke it for. For this thing onely toke away from him and al his Companions their hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterprise. And therefore no marueile though it nipped him at the verie stomacke: when he thought that by no possibilitie hee might attaine the mariage of anye of king Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his buildyng, by reason wherof he

iudged

iudged that all his friendes in England would abandon & shrinke from him. Wherefore makyng not many of his counsaile, after diuers consultations he determined not yet to set forward, but to tary and attempt how to get more ayde, more friendes, and more stronger succors. And amongest all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinitie in his ayde as a Compagnion in armes, Sir Walter Herbert, a man of an auncient stocke, and great power amongest the Welshemen, which had with him a fayre Ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the atchieuyng of this purpose, messengers were secretly sent to Henry Erle of Northumberland (which had before maried another sister of Sir Walter Harbertes) to the entent that he should set forward all this deuice and purpose, but the wayes were so narowly watched and so manye spyes laide, that the Messenger proceded not in his iourney and businesse. But in the meane season, there came to the Erle a more ioyfuller message from Morgā Kidwelly learned in the temporall lawe, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiauntnesse then actiuitie, and Iohn Sauage an approued Capitaine, would with all their power be partakers of his quarell. And that Reignold Brey had collected and gotten together no small summe of money for the payment of the wages to the Souldiours and men of warre: admonishing him also to make quicke expedicion, and to take his course directlye into Wales. The Erle of Richemond because he woulde no longer lynger and werye his friends, liuyng continually betwene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to set forward, and caried to his shippes armour, weapons, vitaile, and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre.

After that all thing was in a readynesse, the Erle being accompanied onely with two thousand men and a small number of shippes, weyed vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles, in the Moneth of August, and sayled from Harflet with so prosperous a winde that the seuenth daye after hys departure he arryued in Wales in the euening, at a port called Milforde Hauen, and incontinent tooke lande and came to a place called Dalle, Mylford Hauen. where he heard say that a certain company of his aduersaries were layed in garrison, to defende his arriuall all the last winter. And the Erle at the sonne risyng remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from Dalle not fully ten mile, where he was ioyfully receaued of the people, and he arryued there so sodainely that he was come and entered the towne at the same time when the Citizens had but knowlege of his comming. Here he heard newes which were as vntrue, as they truely were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and Iohn Sauage with bodye and goodes were determined to ayde king Richard. * While he and his companie were somewhat astonied of these newe tidinges, there came such message from the inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembrooke that refreshed, and reuiued their frosen hearts and daunted courages. For Arnold Buttler a valiaunt captaine, which first askyng perdon for his offences before time committed against the Erle of Richemonde, and that obtayned, declared to him that the Penbrochians were redy to serue and geue their attendaunce on their naturall and immediate Lorde Iaspe Erle of Penbrooke. The Erle of Richmond hauyng his armie thus increased, departed from Herforde west to the towne of Cardigan beyng fiue mile distant from thence. While the souldiours were refreshing and trimming themselues in their campe, straunge tidinges sprong among them wythout any certaine authour, that sir Walter Herberd which lay with a great crewe of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie ready to approch and bid them battaile. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and enerye man assaied his armure and proued his weapon, & were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this fearefull doubt, certaine horsemen which the Erle had sent to make inquirie and search, retourned and reported al the countrey to be quiet and no let nor impediment to be laide or cast in their iourney. And euen at the same time the whole armie was greatly recomforted by reason that the commyng of Richarde Griffyth, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding ỳ he was confederate with Sir Walter Herbert, and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that very instant he came to the Erle of Rychmonde with

all his company, which were of no great number. After hym the same day came Iohn Morgan with his men. Then the Erle aduaunced forward in good hast, making no repose or abode in any one place. And to the entent to passe forward with sure and short expedicion, he assaulted euerie place where his enemies had set any men of warre, which with small force, and lesse difficultie he briefely did ouercome and vanquishe. And so deinly he was by his espialles assertayned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him redie to encounter with his armie and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a valiaunt Capitein he first determined to set on them, and eyther to destroy or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puyssance to geue battaile to his mortall enemie king Richard. But to the intent his friendes shoulde knowe in what redinesse he was, and howe he proceded forwarde, he sent of his most secret and faythfull seruauntes with letters and instructions to the Ladie Margaret his mother, to the Lorde Stanley his brother, to Sir George Talbot, and to other his trustie friendes, declaryng to them, that he beyng succoured and holpen with the ayde & reliefe of his friends, entended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewsburie, and so to passe directly to the Citie of London, requiryng them as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the entent that he and they at time and place conuenient might communicate together the depenesse of all his doubtfull and waightie businesse. When the Messengers were dispatched with these commaundementes and admonicions, he marched forward toward Shrewsburie, and in his passyng there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bande of Welshemen, which making an othe and promise to the Erle, submitted himselfe wholy to his order and commaundement. For the Erle of Richemond two dayes before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales, which part as he faythfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the realme and Diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane time, the Messengers that were sent, diligently executed the things geuen to them in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome they were sent, returned to him the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relation to him that his friendes were redie in all poyntes to do all thinges for him which eyther they ought or might do. The Erle Henry brought in good hope with this pleasaunt message, continued forth his entended iourney, and came to a little towne called Newport and pitching his campe on a little hil adioinitig, reposed himselfe there that night. In the Euening the same daye came to him Sir George Talbot, with the whole power of the yong Erle of Shrewsburie then beyng in warde, which were accompted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power encreasyng, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, & there pawsed. To whom came Sir William Stanley accompanied with a fewe persons, and after that the Erle and he had commoned no long time together, he reuerted to his Souldiors which he had congregate together to serue the Erle, which from thence departed to Lichefielde, and lay without the Walles in his campe all the night. The next Morning he entred into the towne, and was with all honour like a Prince receyued. A day or two before, the Lorde Stanley hauing in his band almost fiue thousand men, lodged in ỹ same towne, but hearyng that the Erle of Richemond was marching thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodging him and his, and repayred to a towne called Adrestone, there abidyng the comming of the Erle, and this wylie foxe did this act to aduoyde all suspicion, beyng afrayd least if he should be seene openly to be a fautor or ayder to the Erle his sonne in lawe before the day of the battaile, that king Richard which yet did not vtterly put in him diffidence and mistrust, woulde put to some cruell death his sonne & heyre apparant George Lord Straunge whome king Richard as you haue heard before, kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the entent that the Lorde Stanley his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him.

King

King Rycharde at thys season keepyng his house in the Castell of Notyngham was informed that the Erle of Richemonde with such banished men as fled out of Englande to him were now arryued in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterprise were vnprouided, vnpurueyed and verie weake, nothing meete to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to resist him. Thys rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdayning to here speake of so poore a company, determined at the first to take little or no regarde to this so small a sparcle, declaryng the Erle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashely attempted suche a great enterprise with so small and thinne a number of warlike persons, and therefore he geue a definitiue sentence, that when he came to that poynt that he should be compelled to fight agaynst hys wyll, he eyther should be apprehended a lyue, or else by all likelyhood he shoulde of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortly done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with egall power and lyke auctoritie. But yet he reuoluyng and casting in his minde that a small warre begon and wynked at and not regarded, may turne to a great broyle and trouble, and that it was prudent pollicie not to contempne and disdeyne the little small power and weakenesse of the enemie, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarie to prouide for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Northumberland, Thomas Erle of Surrey, and to other of his especiall and trustie friends of the Nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and esteeme hys welth and honor then their awne ryches and priuate commoditie, wylling them to muster and viewe all their seruaunts and tenantes, and to elect and choose the most couragious and actiue persons of the whole number, and with them to repayre to hys presence with all speede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, commaunding him with his power to come to his armie and to bring with him as felowes in armes, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerforde, and dyuers other Knightes and Esquiers in whome he cast no small suspicion. Whyle he was thus ordering hys affayres, tydinges came that the Erle of Richemonde was passed Seuerne & come to Shrewsburie without any detryment or encombraunce. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancoly and dolour, and cryed out, asking vengeaunce of them that contrarie to their othe and promise had so deceaued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, in so much that he determined himselfe out of hande the same day to meete with, and resist his aduersaries. And in all hast sent out Espials to view and espie what way his enemies kept and passed. They diligently doyng their duetie, shortly after returned, declaring to the king that the Erle was encamped at the towne of Lichfield. When he had perfite knowledge where the Erle wyth his armie was soiourning, he hauing continuall repaire of his subiectes to him, began incontinently without delay to marshall and put in order his battayles (like a valyaunt Capitaine and polletique leader) and first he made his battayles to set forwarde fiue and fiue in a ranke, marchyng toward that way where his enemies as was to him reported entended to passe. In the middle part of the armie he appointed the traffick and cariage apperteyning to the armie. Then he (enuironed with his garde) with a frowning countenaunce and cruell visage mounted on a great whyte courser and folowed with his footemen, the wings of horsemen coastyng and rangyng on euery side: And keeping thys aray, he with great pompe entred the towne of Leycester after the sonne set. The Erle of Richemond raysed hys campe and departed from Lychefield to the towne of Tomwoorth thereto nere adioyning, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him Sir Walter Hungerford, and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes, and dyuers other which yeelded and submitted them to his pleasure. For they beyng aduertised that king Rycharde had them in suspition and gealosie, a little beyonde stony Stratford left and forsooke priuily their Captayne Robert Brakenbury, and by wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne pathes and vncertayne wayes searchyng, at the last came to the Erle Henry. Dyuers other noble personages, which inwardly hated king Richarde worse then

a Toade

A straunge chaunce that happened to the Erle of Richemond.

a Toade or a Serpent, did likewise resorte to hym wyth all their power & strength. There happened in this progression to the Erle of Richmonde a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunt courage, and that his army encreased, and daylie more and more he waxed mightier and stronger, yet he was not a little afeard, because he in no wise coulde be assured of hys father in lawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, which for feare of the destruction of the Lorde Straunge his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For if he had gone to the Erle, and that notefied to king Richard, his sonne had shortly bene executed. Wherefore he accompanyed with twentie lyght horsemen lyngered in his iourney, as a man musing and ymagyning what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his pensiuenesse, it was shewed him that king Richarde was at hande with a strong power and a great armie. Whyle he thus heauily dragged behinde his hoste, the whole armie came before the towne of Tomworth, and when he for the deepe darknesse coulde not perceaue the steppes of them that passed on before, and had wandered hether and thether, seeking after his companie, and yet not once heering any noise or whispering of them, he turned to a verie little Village, beyng about three myles from hys armie, taking great thought and much fearyng least he should be espied, and so trapped by king Rychards skoute watch. There he taryed all night, not once aduenturyng to aske or demaunde a question of any creature, he being no more amased with the ieopardie and perill that was passed, then with thys present chaunce, sore feared that it should be a pronostication or signe of some infortunate plague afterwarde to succeede. As he was not very beyng absent from his armie lykewise his armie muche maruayled and no lesse mourned for his sodayne absence.

The nexte morning earely in the dawning of the daye he returned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espyed and came to his armie, excusing himselfe, not to haue gone oute of the waye by ignoraunce, but for a pollecie deuysed for the nonce he went from hys Campe to receyue some glad message from certayne of his priuie friendes and secrete alyes. Thys excuse made, he priuilie departed agayne from hys hoste to the towne of Aderstone, where the Lorde Stanley and Syr Wylliam hys brother with their bandes were abidyng. There the Erle came first to his fatherinlaw, in a litle close, where he saluted him, and Sir William his brother, and after diuers and many friendly embracings, ech reioyced of the state of other, and sodainly were surprised with great ioy, comfort, & hope of fortunate successe in al their affaires, and doyngs. Afterwarde they consulted together how to geue battayle to king Richarde if he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be farre off with an houge army. In the euening of the same day, sir Iohn Sauage, Sir Brian Sanforde, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, leuyng king Richarde, turned and came to the part of the Erle of Richmonde, with an elect company of men. Which refusall of king Richardes parte, by men of such experience, did augment and encrease both the good hope and the puissaunce of the Erle of Richmonde.

The dreame of king Richard the thirde.

In the meane season, Kyng Richarde (which was appointed nowe to finishe hys labour by the verie deuine iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punishment for his mischeuous desertes) marched to a place meete for two battayles to encounter by a Village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched hys fielde, refreshed hys souldyours and toke his rest. The fame went that he had the same night a dreadfull and a terrible dreame, for it seemed to him beyng a sleepe that he sawe dyuers ymages like terrible Deuils which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take any quiet or rest. The which straunge vision not so sodainly strake his hart with a sodaine feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his minde with many dreadfull and busie imaginations. For incontinent after, his hart being almost damped, he pronosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vsing the cheerefulnesse and mirth of minde, and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to doe before he came towarde the battayle. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemies, and for that cause looked so pitteously, he recyted and declared to

his familier friends in the morning his wonderfull vision and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and prick of hys sinnefull conscience, for the conscience is so much more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater and more heynous in degree.

Now to returne agayne to our purpose, the next day after king Richard beyng furnished with men and all abiliments of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the playne ordered hys forewarde in a marueilous length, in which he appointed both horsemen and footemen to the entent to imprint in the hartes of them that looked a farre off, a sodayne terror and deadly feare, for the great multitude of the armed Souldiours: and in the fore front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or Bulwarke: ouer thys battayle was Capytaine Iohn Duke of Norfolke with whome was Thomas Erle of Surrey hys sonne. After this long vantgard folowed King Rycharde hymselfe, wyth a strong company of chosen and approoued men of warre, hauing horsemen for winges on both the sides of hys battaile.

After the Erle of Richemond was departed from the communication of hys friendes as you haue heard before, he began to be of a better stomack and of a more valyaunt courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betime he caused his men to put on their armure and apparell themselues readie to fight and geue battayl, and sent to the Lord Stanley (which was now come with his band into a place indifferently betwene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approche nere to his armie and to help to set the Souldiours in arraye, he aunswered that the Erle should set his awne men in a good order of battail while he would array his company, and come to him in time conuenient. Which answere was made otherwise then the Erle thought or would haue iudged, considering the oportunitie of the tyme, and the wayght of the businesse, and although he was therewithall a little vexed, & began somwhat to hang the lip, yet he without any time delaiyng compelled by necessitie, after thys maner instructed and ordred hys men. He made hys forewarde somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the Fronnt he placed the archers, of whome he made Capitayne Iohn Erle of Oxforde: to the right wyng of the battayle he appointed Sir Gylbert Talbot to be the leader: to the left wing he assigned Sir Iohn Sauage, and he with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley accompanied with the Erle of Penbroke hauing a good companie of horsemen, and a small number of fotemen: For al his whole number exceded not fiue thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleys, whereof three thousand were in the field vnder the Standard of Sir Wylliam Stanley: The kings number was double as much and more. When both these armies were thus ordered, and al men redie to set forward, king Richard called his Chiefetaines together and to them sayde.

The oration of King Rychard the thirde.

Most faythfull and assured felowes and friends, although in the adoption and obteyning of the Garlande, I being seduced and prouoked by sinister counsayle dyd commit a naughty and detestable act. Yet I haue with straite penaunce and salt teares (as I trust) clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of friendship as clcerely to forget, as I daylie doe remember to lament the same. If you will nowe diligently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we stande, and in what doubtfull perill we be in: Then, I with you, and you with me, must needes this day take labor & pain to kepe and defend with force, that preheminence and possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you knowe, how the Deuill, continuall enemie to humaine nature, disturber of concorde and sower of sedition, hath entred into the hart of an vnknowne Welshman, (whose father I neuer knewe nor him personally saw) excityng him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignity, and thereof clerely to deprive and spoyle vs and our posteritie: ye see farther how a companie of traytors, theeues, outlawes, and runnagates of our awne nation be ayders and partakers of his fact and enterprise, redie at hande to ouercome and oppresse vs: You see

also

also what a number of beggerly Britons and faynt harted Frenchmen be with him arriued to destroy vs, our wyfes and children. Which imminent mischiefes and apparaunt inconueniences, if we will withstande and refell, we must liue together like brethren, fight together lyke Lyons, and feare not to die together lyke men. And if you consider and wisely ponder all things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifest causes, and apparaunt tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begin with the Erle of Richmond Capitayne of thys rebellion, he is a Welshe milksop, a man of small courage and of lesse experience in martiall actes and feates of warre, brought vp by my brothers meanes and mine lyke a Captiue in a close cage in the Court of Fraunces Duke of Britayne, and neuer sawe armie, nor was exercised in marciall affaires, by reason whereof he neyther can nor is able of hys awne wyt or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollecie of the Capitayne, consisteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie and ouerthrowe of the enemies? wherfore aduaunce forth your standards, and euery one geue but one sure stroke, and surely the iourney is oures. And as for me, I assure you, this day I will triumph by victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame.

This exhortacion encouraged al such as fauoured him, but such as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed them openly, whome they inwardelye hated, other sware outwardely to take part with such, whose death they secretlye compassed, and inwardely imagined, other promised to inuade the kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king: other stoode still and loked on, entendyng to take parte wyth the victors, and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnsure and vnfaythfull at his ende, as he was to his Nephewes vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning.

When the Erle of Richmond knew by his forerideres that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his army, from ranke to ranke, from wing to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finished (beyng armed at at all peces sauyng his helmet) mounted on a litle hill so that all his people might see and beholde him perfitly, to there great reioysing. For he was a man of no great stature, his countenaunce was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow, like the burnished golde, his eies gray, shinyng, and quicke, prompte and readie in aunswering, but of such sobriety, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull then quicke in speaking (such was his tẽperaunce.) And when he had ouer loked his armie ouer euery side, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce, and bolde spirit spake to his companions, these or like wordes folowyng.

The oration of king Henry the seuenth.

If euer God gaue victory to men fighting in a iust quarrel? or if he euer ayded such as made warre for the welth, and tuition of there owne naturall countrey? or if he euer succoured them which aduentured their lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, suppressing of malefactors, and apparaunt offenders? No doubt my felowes, and friendes, but he of his bountyfull goodnesse wyll this day send vs triumphaunt victory, and a luckey iorney ouer our prowde enemies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember, and consider the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparauntly perceiue the same to be true, godly, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not but God wil rather aide vs (ye and fight for vs) then see vs vanquished and ouercome, by such as neither feare him, nor his lawes, nor yet regarde iustice or honestie. Our cause is so iust that no enterprise can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarell then to fight against a Captayne, beyng an homicide, and a murderer of his owne blood, and progenie? an extreme destroyer of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrey, and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadlye malle, a fyre brande, and a burden vntollerable? beside him, consider who be of his bande and company such as by murther and vntruth committed against there owne kinne and lynage, ye against their Prince and soueraigne Lorde haue disherited mee, and you, and wrongfully deteyne and vsurpe our lawfull patrimony, and lineal inheritaunce: For he that calleth himselfe kyng, keepeth from me the Crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrey, contrary to all iustice

and

and equitie. Moreouer I assure you, that there be yonder in that great battayle, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled, & not with good will assembled: persons which desire rather the destruction, then saluacion of their maister and Capitayne: And finally a multitude whereof the most part will be our friendes, and the least part our enemyes. For truely I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiours towarde there captaine, or the feare of him conceiued of his people: for surely this rule is infallible, that as yll men dayly couet to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confounde the ill, and of all worldly goods the greatest is, to suppresse tirauntes and relieue innocents, whereof the one is euer as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clarkes preache) who will spare yonder tirant, Richard Duke of Glocester vntruly calling himselfe king, considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God and man, what vertue is in him, which was the confusion of his brother, and murtherer of his Nephewes? what mercey is in him that sleyeth his trustie friendes, aswell as his extreme enemies? Who can haue confidence in him, which putteth diffidence in all men? Yf you haue not red, I haue heard clerkes saye, that Tarquine the prowde for the vice of the body lost the kingdom of Rome, & the name of Tarquine bannished the Citie for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Nero, which slew hys owne mother, & opened her entrayles to beholde the place of his conception. Beholde younder Richard which is both Tarquine and Nero: Ye a tyrant more then Nero, for he hath not onely murdered his nephew being his king & souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertcous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent how to deflowre, and carnally to knowe his owne Neece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimonye, which Ladye I haue sworne, and promised to take to my make and wife, as you all knowe and beleue. If this cause be not iust, and this quarell Godly, let God the geuer of victory iudge & determine. Therefore let all feare be set a side, and like sworne brethren let vs ioyne in one, for this daye shall be the ende of our trauaile and the gayne of our labor eyther by honorable death, or famous victory: And as I trust, the battayle shall not be so sowre, as the profit shall be sweete. Remember the victory is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes & valiantnesse of mindes. The smaller that our number is, the more glory is to vs if we vanquish, if we be ouer come, yet no laude is to be attributed to the victors, consideryng that tenne men fought against one. And this one thing I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you shall fynde me this day, rather a dead carion vppon the colde grounde, then a free prisoner on a carpet in a Ladies chamber. Let vs therefore fight like men. And now auaunce forward true men against traitors, pitifull persons against murtherers, true inheritors against vsurpers, the skorges of God against tirauntes, display my banner with a good courage, march forth, and begin the battaile like hardye conquerers, the battaile is at hande, and the victory approcheth, and if we shamefully recule or cowardlye flie, we, and all oure sequele be destroyed, and dishonored for euer. This is the day of gayne, & this is the time of losse, get this day victory, and be conquerers, and lese this daies battaile, and be villaines, and therefore in the name of God and saint George let euery man couragiously auaunce forth his standard.

These cherefull wordes he set forth with such gesture of his bodye and smyling countenaunce, as though all readie he had vanquished his enemyes, and gotten the spoyle.

The battaile betwene king Richard and king Henrie the seuenth.

He had scantly finished his saiyng, but the one armie espied the other, Lorde howe hastily the Souldiours buckeled their Helmes, howe quicklye the Archers bent their Bowes, and frushed their feathers, howe redily the Byllmen shooke their Billes, and proued their staues, redie to approch and ioyne when the terrible Trompet should sound the bloodie blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies there was a great marresse which the Erle of Richemond left on his right hande, for this entent that it should be on that side a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the Sunne at his back and in the faces of his

enemies. When king Richard sawe the Erles companie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with all hast to set vpon them, then the Trompettes blewe, and the Souldiours showted, and the kinges Archers couragiously let flie their arrowes, the Erles Bowmen stood not still, but payed them home againe. The terrible shotte once passed, the armies ioyned, and came to hande strokes, where neither Swordе nor Bill was spared, at which encounter the Lordе Stanley ioyned with the Erle. The Erle of Oxforde in the meane season fearyng least while his companie was fightyng, they shoulde be compassed and circumuented with the multitude of his enemyes, gaue commaundement in euerie ranke that no man shoulde be so hardy as go aboue ten foote from the Standard, which cōmaundement once knowen, they knit themselues together, & ceesed a little from fighting: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter, and mistrustyng some fraude or decoyt, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not agaynst the willes of many which had liefer haue had the king destroyed then saued, and therefore they fought very faintly or stoode still. The Erle of Oxforde bringyng all his bend together on the one part, set on his enemies freshely againe, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed their men slender and thin before, and thicke and brode behinde, beginnyng againe, hardly the battaile. While the two forewardes thus mortally fought, eche entendyng to vanquishe and conuince the other, king Richarde was admonished by his espialles, that the Erle of Richemond accompanied with a small number of men of Armes was not farre of, and as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectly knewe his personage by certaine demonstrations and tokens which he had learned and knowen of other. And beyng inflamed with yre, and vexed with outragious malice, he put his Spurres to his horse and rode out of the syde of the range of his battaile, leauyng the auauntgardes fightyng, and like a hungrie Lyon ranne with speare in rest towarde hym. The Erle of Richemonde perceaued well the king furiously comming towarde hym, and because the whole hope of hys welth and purpose was to be determined by battayle, he gladly profered to encounter wyth hym bodye to bodye, and man to man. King Richarde set on so sharpely at the first brunt, that he ouerthrew the Erles standard bearer, & slue sir William Brandon his standard bearer, (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henry the eight created Duke of Suffolke) and matched hande to hande with Sir Iohn Cheiney, a man of great force and strength which would haue resisted him, but the said Iohn was by him manfully ouerthrowne, and so he makyng open passage by dent of Sworde as he went forwarde, the Erle of Richmond withstoode his violence & kept him at the swordes point without aduantage longer then his companions eyther thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victory, were sodeinly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, which came to succors with three. M. tall men, at which very instant king Richardes men were driuen back & fled, and he himself manfully fighting in the middle of his enemies was slaine and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

Sir William Brandon father to Charles Duke of Suffolke.

In the meane season, the Erle of Oxforde with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, after no long fight discōfited the foreward of king Richard, wherof a great number were slaine in the chase and flight, but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, & not of their mere voluntary mocion) came to the field, gaue neuer a stroke, & hauyng no harme nor domage, safely departed, which came not thether in hope to see the king prosper & preuail, but to here that he should be shamefully confounded & brought to ruyne.

In this battaile dyed fewe aboue the number of a thousande persons: And of the Nobilitie were slaine Iohn Duke of Norffolke, which was warned by diuers to refraine from the fielde, insomuch that the night before he should set forward toward the king, one wrote on his gate.

Iacke of Norffolke be not to bolde,
For Dickon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandyng he regarded more his othe, his honor, and promise made

to

to king Richard, like a Gentleman, and a faythfull subiect to his Prince, absented not himselfe from his maister, but as he faythfully liued vnder him, so he manfully died with him to his great fame and lawde. There were slaine beside him, Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and not manye Gentlemen mo. Sir William Catesby learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the late king, with diuers other were two dayes after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ranne away, were Sir Fraunces Vicount Louel, and Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother which tooke Sanctuary in Saint Iohns at Gloucester. Of captiues and prisoners there was a great number, for after the death of king Richard was knowen and published, euery man in maner vnarmyng himselfe, and castyng away his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted themselues to the obeysaunce and rule of the Erle of Richemond: of the which the more part had gladly so done in the beginnyng if they might haue conueniently escaped from king Richardes espialles, which hauyng as cleere eyes as Lynx, and as open eares as Midas ranged and searched in euery quarter. Amongest these was Henrie the fourth Erle of Northumberland, which whether it was by the commaundement of king Richard puttyng diffidence in him, or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the Erle, stoode still with a great companie and intermitted not in the battaile, whiche was incontinently receyued into fauour and made of the Counsaile. But Thomas Haward Erle of Surrey which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace, because his father was chiefe Counsaylour, and hee greatly familar with King Richarde, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remayned, and in conclusion deliuered, and for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices, and dignities. On the Erle of Richemondes part were slaine scarce one hundreth persons, amongest whome the principall was Sir William Brandon his Standard bearer.

This battaile was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the. xxij. day of August, the whole conflict endured little aboue two houres. King Richard as the fame went, might haue scaped and gotten sauegarde by fliyng: For when they which were next about his person sawe and perceyued at the first ioyning of the battaile the Souldiours faintly and nothyng couragiously to set on their enemies, and not onely that, but also that some withdrewe themselues priuily out of the prease and departed. They began to suspect fraude, and to smell treason, and not onely exhorted but determinately aduised him to saue himselfe by flight: and when the losse of the battaile was imminent and apparaunt, they brought to him a swift and a light horse to conuey him away. He which was not ignoraunt of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare towarde him, castyng away all hope of fortunate successe and happy chaunce to come, aunswered (as men say) that on that day he would make an ende of all battayles, or else there finishe his life. Such a great audacity, and such a stoute stomacke reigned in his bodie, for surely he knewe that to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined, whether he should peaceably obteyne and enioy his kingdome during his life, or else vtterly forgo and be depriued of the same. And so this miser at the same verie poynt had like chaunce and fortune, as happeneth to suche which in place of ryght iustice, and honestie, folowyng their sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischiefe, tirannie, and vnthriftinesse. Surely these be examples of more vehemencie, then mans tongue can expresse, to feare and astonne such euill persons as will not liue one houre vacant from doyng and exercisyng crueltie, mischiefe, or outragious liuyng. Bosworth fielde.

When the Erle had thus obteyned victory, and slaine his mortal enemy, he kneeled downe & rendred to almighty God his heartie thanks. And afterward beyng replenished with incomparable gladnesse, ascended vp to the top of a little Mountaine, where he not onely praised & lauded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto them his hartie thankes, with promise of recompence for their fidelitie and valiaunt factes, willyng and commaundyng all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be

deliuered to the sepulture. Then the people reioysed & clapped their hands cryng vp to heauen, king Henry, king Henry. When the lord Stanley saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he toke the Crowne of king Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the field, and set it on the Erles heade, as though he had bene elected king by the voyce of the people, as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath bene accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of hys good luck and felicity. I must put you here in remembraunce howe that king Richard puttyng some diffidence in the Lord Stanley, which had with hym as an hostage the Lorde Straunge his eldest sonne which Lord Stanley as you haue heard before, ioyned not at the first wyth his sonne in lawes armie, for feare that king Richard would haue slaine the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a Purseuant to the Lorde Stanley, commaundyng him to aduaunce forward with his companie, and to come to his presence, which thing if he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he would strike off his sonnes hed before he dyned. The Lorde Stanley aunswered the Pursiuant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue, and as to come to him he was not then so determined: When king Richard heard this aunswere he commaunded the Lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, which was at that very same season when both the armies had sight eche of other. The Counsaylors of king Richard ponderyng the tyme and cause, knowyng also the Lorde Straunge to be innocent of his fathers offence, perswaded the king that it was nowe tyme to fight and not tyme to execution, aduisyng him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battaile were ended, and then at leysure his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God would king Richarde brake his holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kings Tentes to be kept as a prisoner, which when the fielde was done and theyr maister slaine, and proclamation made to knowe where the childe was, they submitted themselues as prisoners to the Lorde Straunge, & he gently receiued them and brought them to the newe proclaymed king, where of him and of his father he was receyued with great ioy and gladnesse. After this, the whole campe remoued with bagge and baggage, and the same night in the Euening king Henrye with great pompe came to the Towne of Leycester. Where aswell for the refreshyng of his people and souldiours, as for preparyng all thinges necessary for his iourney toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two dayes. In the meane season, the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefully caryed to the towne of Leycester, as he gorgeously the day before with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and dyspoyled to the skinne, and nothing left about him not so much as a clowte to couer his priuie members, and was trussed behinde a Pursyuant of armes called *Blaunche Senglier* or white Bore, like a Hogge or a Calfe, the head and armes hangyng on the one syde of the horse, and the legs on the other syde, and all by sprinckled with mire and blood, was brought to the gray Friers Church within the towne, and there lay like a miserable spectacle: but surely considerying his mischieuous actes and vngracious doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a captiue, and in the sayde Church he was with no lesse funerall pompe, and solemnitie enterred, then he would to be done at the buriyng of his innocent Nephewes, whom he caused cruelly to be murthered, and vnnaturally to be quelled.

King Henry the seuenth crowned in the field.

The shamefull caryyng of the dead corps of kiñg Richard.

When his death was knowen, fewe lamented, and many reioysed, the prowde braggyng whyte Bore (which was his badge) was violently rased and plucked downe from euery signe and place where it might be espyed, so yll was his lyfe, that men wished the memorie of him to be buryed with hys carren corps: He reigned two yeres, two monethes, and one day.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life with infamye and dishonour, which neuer preferred fame or honestie, before ambicion, tirannie, and mischiefe. And if he had continued still Protector, and suffered his nephewes to haue liued and reigned, no doubt but the Realme had prospered, and he much praysed and beloued, as he is now abhorred and despysed,

despysed, but to God which knewe his inwarde thoughtes at the houre of hys death, I remit the punishment of his offences committed in his life.

HENRY THE SEUENTH.

ASsone as the Erle of Richemond returned from the field aforesayde, and was entred into the towne of Leycester, he was there by sounde of Trumpets proclaymed King of thys realme, by the name of King Henry the seuenth, which was the. xxij. day of August. 1485.

Now after that king Henry had not onlye obteyned the triumphant battayle aforesayde agaynst hys malicious enemie Kyng Rycharde, but also by that glorious victorie he gatte the Diademe and possession of the state royall and princely preheminence of this famous Empire and renowmed kingdome as aforesayde. He hauing both the ingenious forecast of the subtill Serpent, and also fearing the burning fyre lyke an infant that is a little singed with a small flame: did first before his departure from Leycester send Sir Robert Wylloughby knight to the maner of Sheryhutton in the Countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George Duke of Clarence then being of the age of. xv. yeres, whom king Richarde had kept there as a prisoner during the tyme of his vsurped reigne, and surely the king was not afeard without a cause, for he muche mistrusted least by this yong man, some euill disposed and enuious persons of hys glorie and aduauncement, might inuent some newe occasion of renuyng of battayle agaynst him, which beyng euen from his infancie with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered, desired nothing more hartily then nowe to lyue in peace and quietnesse. Sir Robert Willoughby according to his commission receaued of the Constable of the Castell, the Erle Edwarde, and hym conueyed to London, where the yongling borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the Tower of London put vnder safe and sure custodie. There was beside him in the same Castell of Sheryhutton the Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, whome King Rycharde foolishly phantasiyng and deuilishly dotyng did entende to marry as you before haue heard, but the Damosell did not only disagree and refuse that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desire. At the which most importunate and detestable concupiscence, the common people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not onely attribute the fault and cryme to the king, but much more cryed out and blamed hys priuie Counsaylors which did not dissent, but consent to so peraitious a counsayle, and so shamefull a conclusion: But God of his onely goodnesse preserued the christian minde of that vertuous and good Virgyn, and from that shamefull and filthie act, did graciously protect and defend her: The which Lady not long after accompanied with a great number as well of noble men as honorable Matrons, was with good spede conueyed to London and brought to her mother.

Edwarde Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, sonne and heyre to George Duke of Clarence committed to the Tower of London.

In the meane season, the king remoued forward by iorneys towarde London, and euen as he passed, the common people on euerye side of the wayes assembled in great numbers, and with great ioy clapped their hands and showted, criyng king Henry, king Henry. But when

King Henry entreth into London.

when he approched nere the Citie, the Maior, the Senate, and the Magistrates of the same beyng all clothed in Violet, met him at Shordiche, and not onely saluted and welcomed hym with one voyce in generall, but euery person particularly preased and aduaunced himselfe, gladly to touch and kisse that victorious handes which had ouercome so monstruous and cruell a tyraunt, geuing laudes and praysings to almyghtie God, and rendering immortall thankes to hym, by whose meane & industrie the cõmon welth of the realme was preserued from finall destruction & perpetuall calamitie, & the authors of the mischiefe rooted vp and plucked away. And with great pompe and triumph he road thorough the Citie to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, where he offred hys three Standardes. In the one was the ymage of Saint George, in the second was a red firie Dragon beaten vpon whyte and grene Sarcenet, the thirde was of yelowe Tarterne, in the which was paynted a dunne Cowe. After hys prayers sayde and *Te deum* song, he departed to the Byshops Palace and there soiourned a season, during which time, playes, pastymes and pleasures, were shewed in euery part of the Citie.

When these solempnities and geuing of thanks were done and passed: according as other kings had bene accustomed, he congregated together the sage Counsaylors of hys realme: in which counsayle lyke a Prince of iust fayth and true of promise, detestyng all intestine and ciuill hostilitie, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimonye the Ladye Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to the lyne of Lancaster: which thing not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour and good myndes of all the common people, much extolling and praysing the kings constaunt fidelitie, and his pollitique deuise, thinking surely that the daye was now come that the seede of seditious factions, and the fountayne of ciuill dissention should be stopped, bannished, and cleerely extinguished.

King Henry the seuenth crowned king.

After thys, he wyth great pompe was conueyed to Westminster, and there the thirtie daye of October was wyth all ceremonies accustomed, annoynted and crowned Kyng by the whole assent as well of the commons as of the Nobilitie, and was named king Henry the seuenth of that name, Frederike the thirde then beyng Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian hys sonne then beyng newely elected king of Romaynes, Charles the eyght reygning ouer the French nation, and Iames the thirde rulyng the realme of Scotlande. Which kingdome he obteyned and enioyed as a thing by God elected and prouided, & by hys especiall fauour and gracious aspect compassed and acheeued. In so much that men commonly reported that. 797. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reuealed to Cadwalader last king of Brytons that his stock and progeny should reigne in thys land and beare dominyon agayne: Wherevpon most men were perswaded in their awne opinion that by this heauenly voyce he was prouided and ordeyned long before to enioy and obteyne this kingdome, which thing king Henry the sixt did also shew before, as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and iust tytle of temporall inheritaunce, and by the prouision of deuine purueyaunce thus crowned and proclaymed king: First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenians, which is to pardon and put out of memorie all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or hys lawes perpetrated or committed, he called hys high court of Parliament at Westmynster the seuenth day of Nouember for the stablyshing of all things as well concerning the preseruation and mayntenaunce of hys royall person, as the admynistration of iustice and preferment of the common welth of thys realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaymed that all men were pardoned acquyted and cleerely discharged of all offences, paynes of deathe and executions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes, which would submit themselues to his clemencie & by othe be bound truely to serue and obey him as their soueraigne Lord, & who so would be obstinate and refuse to returne to hys part, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to him and his Countrey. By reason of which proclamation, a great number that came out of dyuers Sanctuaries and priuileged places

Charles the eyght french King.

Iames the thirde king of Scottes.

A parliament holden at Westminster and a general pardõ graunted.

obteyned

obteyned grace, forgettyng clerely the diuersitie of factions and voyce of partaking. After this he began to remember his especiall friends and fautors, of whom some he aduaunced to honour and dignity, and some he enriched with possessions and goodes, euery man according to his desert and merite. And to begin, Iasper his Vncle Erle of Penbrooke, he created Duke of Bedforde, Thomas Lorde Stanley he promoted to the Erle of Darby, and the Lorde Chandew of Britayne his especiall friend he made Erle of Bathe, Syr Gyles Dawbeny was made Lorde Dawbeny, syr Robert Wylloughby was made Lorde Brooke which be in their degree Barons and Peeres of the realme. And Edwarde Stafford eldest sonne to Henry late Duke of Buckyngham, he restored to his name, dignitie and possessions, which king Richard did confiscate and attainted. Beside thys, in this Parliament was this notable act assented to and concluded as foloweth.

An act of Parliament for the stablishment of the inheritaunce of the crowne.

To the pleasure of Almightie God, welth, prosperitie and suretie of this Realme of Englande, and to the singuler comfort of all the kings subiectes of the same, in aduoyding all ambiguyties and questions: Be it ordeyned, establyshed and enacted by this present Parlyament, that the inheritaunce of the Crowne of thys realme of Englande, and also of Fraunce, with all the preheminence and dignity royall to the same appertayning, and all other seigniories to the king belongyng beyond the sea, wyth the appurtenaunces thereto in any wise due or ppertayning, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the most royall person of our nowe souereigne Lorde king Henry the seuenth, and in the heyres of hys body lawfully commyng, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.

And beside this act, all attaynders of this king, enacted by king Edward and king Richarde were adnichilated, and the recorde of the same adiudged to be defaced and put out of memory, and all persons attaynted for his cause, and occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes, and possessions. And in conclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the time of king Edwarde, and Kyng Richarde were adnulled and reuoked and other more expedient for the vtilitie of the common wealth were made and concluded. When all things necessary were discretly ordered and the parliament for the time dissolued, the king thought it not necessarye to put in obliuion his friendes and hostages beyng beyonde the sea: wherefore with al diligence he redemed the Marques Dorcet, and Sir Iohn Bourchier whome he hadde left as pledges at Paris for money there before borowed. And sent also into Flaunders for Iohn Morton Bishop of Elye.

These actes perfourmed, he stablished in his house a graue counsayle of wyse and pollitique men, by whose iudgement, order, and determination, the people might be gouerned according to iustice and equitie, and that all causes might be finished and ended there, without great bearing or expence in long suit. And for hearing and decidyng these causes iustly and spedilye, he sware of his counsaile diuers noble and discrete persons, which for their pollicy, wit, and singuler grauitie, were highly estemed and renoumed, whose names folowe, Iaspar Duke of Bedforde, Iohn Erle of Oxenforde, Thomas Stanley, Erle of Darby, Iohn Bishop of Ely, Sir William Stanley, Lord chamberleyn of his housholde, Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, Lord Stuarde of his housholde, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney, Iohn Lorde Dynham after made Tresorer of Englande, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir Iohn Cheiney, Sir Richarde Guildforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richarde Edgecomb, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edmond Pownyngs, Sir Iohn Risley, with diuerse other wise men, which as the time required he called to his counsaile and seruice nowe one, and nowe another.

Counsaylors to king Henry ye seuenth.

Although by this election of wise and graue counceilers al things semed to be brought to a good and perfect conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe, to set all the stringes in a monacorde and tune, which was the matrymoney to be finished betwene the king, and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to kyng Edwarde, which like a good Prince according to his othe and promise, he did both solempnise and consummat in briefe time after, that is to saye, on the. xviij. day of Ianuary. By reason of which mariage peace was thought

The maryage of king Henry with the Ladie Elizabeth daughter of king Edward the fourth.

to discende out of heauen into Englande, considering that the lynes of Lancaster and Yorke, beyng both noble families equiuolent in riches, fame, and honour, were nowe brought into one knot and connexed together, of whose two bodies one heyre might succede, which after their time shoulde peaceably rule and enioye the whole monarchy and realme of Englande.

These things thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all things semed to be reduced to a good poynt and set in a sure stay. Kyng Henry beyng made wise and expert with troubles and mischiefes before past, remembred that it was wisedome to feare and prouide for the crafty wyles and lurkyng traps of hys secret enemies, remembryng all men for the most part embrued and exercised in planting of diuision and sowyng dissencion, can not lightly leaue their pestiferous appetite, and sedicious occupation: Wherefore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his owne body, he constituted and ordayned a certayne number aswell of good archers as of diuers other persons beyng hardye, strong and of agilitie to geue dayly attendaunce on his body, whome he named Yomen of the crowne, which president men thought that he learned of ỹ french kyng when he was in Fraunce: For men remembre not anye king of Englande before that tyme which vsed such a furniture of daylye souldiours. Yet forasmuch as to auoyde and eschew all doubtfull daungers and perilles vnloked for, lytle auayleth outwarde warre, except there be a sure stay, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegarde and securitie, as for the good gouernaunce of such as be left behynde. He therefore sommoned againe hys great court of parliament, whereto he woulde that there shoulde bee elected the most prudent and grauous persons of euery countie, Citie, port, and Borough, and in especiall such as he in al his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumulteous affaires, vsed, trusted, and fauoured, as partakers, councelers, and companions both of his wo, and aduersitie, and also of his triumph and glorious victory, whose mindes and studies he perfitly knewe to bee fixed and set in the politique regiment, and prudent gouernaunce of the publique welth of his realme and dominion. Not forgetting, but hauing in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desired, and instantlye called of the English nacion his naturall countrimen. Estemyng it as a chiefe and principall part of hys duetie to see his realme, both adourned and beautified wyth good and profitable lawes, and statutes, and also to florish in vertuous exercises, and good and ciuyll maners, which shoulde be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thing would continually amend, from euil to good, from good to better, and from better to the best. Thys sure foundacion king Henry layde at the beginning of his raygne, entending theron continually to builde.

The first Yomen of the crowne now called Yomen of the Garde.

A parliament.

In this same yere a new kynde of sicknesse came sodainely through the whole region, euen after the first entring of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so paynefull and sharp, that the like was neuer hearde of, to any mans remembraunce before that tyme. For sodainely a deadly and bourning sweate inuaded their bodies and vexed their bloud, & wyth a most ardent heat infested the stomacke, and the head greeuously: by the tormenting and vexacion of which sicknesse, men were so sore handled, and so painefully pangued, that if they were layed in their bedde, beyng not able to suffer the importunate heate, they cast away the sheetes and all the clothes lyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they woulde put of all their garments euen to their shirtes. Other were so dryé that they dranke the colde water to quench their importunate heat & insatiable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abide the heate and stinteh (for in deede the sweate had a great and strong sauour) caused clothes to be layde vpon them asmuch as they coulde beare, to driue out the sweate, if it might be. All in maner assone as the sweate tooke them, or within a shorte space after yelded vp theyr ghost. So that of all them that sickned, there was not one amongest an hundreth that escaped: Insomuch, that beside the great number which deceased within the Citie of London, two Maiors, successiuelye dyed of the same dysease within eyght dayes and sixe Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat. xxiiij. houres (for so long did the strength of thys

The sweating sicknesse.

thys plague holde them) he should be then cleerely delyuered of his disease: Yet not so cleane rid of it, but that he might shortly relaps and fal agayne into the same euill pit, yea againe and twise againe, as many a one in deede did, which after the thirde tyme dyed of the same. At the length by studie of Phisitions and experience of the people driuen therevnto by dreadfull necessitie, there was a remedie inuented: For they that suruyued, considering the extremitie of the paine in them that deseased, deuised by things mere contrariaunt, to resist and wythstand the furious rage of that burnyng furnesse, by luke warme drinke, temperate heat, and measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed agayne into the flame after the first delyueraunce, obserued diligently and marked such things as did them ease and comfort at their first vexation, and vsyng the same for a remedie and Medicine of their payne, adding euer somewhat thereto that was comfortable and wholesome. So that if anye person euer after fell sick agayne, he obseruing the regiment that amongest the people was deuysed could shortly helpe himselfe, and easily temper and auoyde the strength and malice of the sweat. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present and a speedie remedie for the same disease and malady, the which is thys: If a man on the day time were plagued with the sweate: then he should straight lye downe with all his clothes and garments, and lye still the whole. xxiiij. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not rise out of his bed for the space of. xxiiij. houres, and so cast the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water might distill out softly of the owne accorde, and to abstayne from all meate if he might so long sustayne and suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neyther hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quench and delay his thirstie appetite. And in this his amending, one point diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put hys hand or foote out of the bed to refreshe or coole himselfe, the which to doe is no lesse payne then short death. So you may playnely see what remedy was by the daylie experience deuised and inuented for thys straunge and vnknowne disease, the which at that time vexed and greeued onely the realme of England in euery towne and Village as it did dyuers tymes after. But lv. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders, and after into Germany, where it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowlege of the English experience.

An order andre medie for such as haue the sweteyng sickenesse.

And this yere the great Conduyt in Chepe in London, at the charges and expences of Thomas Ilam Alderman of London, was newlye edified and made. And also this yere the Crosse in Chepe was newly buylded, and towardes the charges thereof, one Thomas Fisher Mercer gaue fiue hundreth Markes. *1486*

When all thinges by the king were appeased at London, and that he had set and appointed all his affayres in good order and sure state, as he with him selfe coniectured, he thought it best to make his progresse into the other quarters of his realme, that he might weede, rote out and purge the mindes of men spotted and defiled with the contagious smoke of dissention, and priuie factions, and especially the Countie of Yorke, which were priuie fautors and comforters of the contrary part, and not without a cause. For king Rychard more loued and regarded the Northrenmen, then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thing to king Henry was not vnknowen: Wherfore he the more studyed to kepe them in due obeysaunce and faythfull obsequie, whome he knewe of long custome to haue borne their heartes and fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: therefore in the prime time of the yere he tooke his iourney towardes Yorke, and because the feast of Easter approched, he turned to the Citie of Lincolne, where he taryed duryng the solemnitie of that feast: and makyng there his abode, he was certified that the lord Louell, and Humfrey Stafford were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchester: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the king little regardyng the tale, went forth his appoynted iourney to Yorke: And assone as he was there receyued and setled, it was bruted, and openly shewed to the king himselfe, that Fraunces Lord Louell, was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and woulde with all diligence inuade

Fraunces Lord Louell.

Humfrey Stafford. Thomas Stafford.

inuade the City: also that the forenamed Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother were in Worcester shire, and there had raysed a great bande of rude and rusticall people, and had cast lottes what part shoulde assault the Gates, what men should scale the walles of the Citie of Worcester, and who should kepe the passages for lettyng of rescues and ayders.

Rebellion.

At the first heeryng of this, the king estemed it for vaine and vncertain, and therefore was with it but little moued: but after that he was certified by the letters of credence sent from his friendes, that all was true that was by the common voyce spoken & published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause, for he wisely considered that he had neyther a competent armie redie prepared, nor harnesse, nor weapons, for them that were present. And also he was nowe in such a doubtfull place, where he neither could nor might conueniently gather an hoste together, considerying that in the same Citie, the memorie of king Richard his mortall enemie was yet recent and liuely, and not all forgotten of hys friendes, but because the matter required diligent speede, least that by long tariyng the power of hys aduersaries by dayly aydes might be encreased and multiplied, he commaunded the Duke of Bedford with three thousand men not strongly armed, to do a great enterprise (for their breast plates for the most part were made of tanned leather) to encounter and set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him priuie what he himselfe entended to do. After this the king gathered together an hoste in euery place where he might retain them. The Duke settyng forward after the fashion of an eger and fierce Capitaine, came nigh to the Tentes and campe of his enemyes, where he consulted and communicated his minde with certaine Capitaines and sage souldiours of his companie, by what way he might traine and allure them to peace, without battaile or bloodsheddyng. After which deliberation and aduicement had, it was decreed that the Heraultes shoulde proclaime openly, that all such should haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harnesse, and as faythfull Subiectes submit themselues to their naturall souereigne Lorde. The which proclamation auayled and much profited: For the Lord Louell: either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and souldiours, or fearyng himselfe on his awne behalfe, fled priuily in a night from his companie and left them without a head, as a flocke of sheepe without a shepheard, which departure when it was to his armie disclosed, they put off their armure and came directly to the Duke, euery man humbly submittyng himselfe and desiryng pardon for their offences, wholy trustyng in the kings mercie and fauourable goodnesse. So by this pollitique wisedome and wise meanes of the good Duke, this great rage & fierce route of sturdie and valiant traytors which was prepared agaynst the king & were like to haue bene the slaughter of many a man, were pacified and repressed & brought to good conformitie and obedient subiection. And the Lorde Louell Chiefteine and chiefe leader of this tumult and rebellion, fearyng more perill and daunger, then renoume or fame of chiualrie, neuer tariyng the doubtfull chaunce of battaile, fled in all post haste into Lancashire, and there for a certaine space loytered and lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in those quarters bare great swynge, and was there in great auctoritie. Humfrey Stafford also heeryng of this mischaunce happened to the Lorde Louell, in a great dolor and agonie: and for feare, in like maner fled and tooke Sanctuary in a village called Culnaham, two miles from Abingdon. But because the Sanctuary was not a sufficient defence (as it was proued before the iustices of the kings bench) for traytors, he was taken by force from that place, and brought to the Tower, and from thence conueyed to Tyborne and there put to execution: But his yonger brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned and remitted, because he was thought not to haue done it of hys awne will and malicious minde, but thorow the euill counsaile and mischieuous perswasion of his elder brother.

Humfrey Stafforde taken out of the sanctuarie and executed.

Thomas Stafford pardoned.

After that the king had thus by pollicie of his Counsaile appeased and repressed this tumulteous sedicion which greatly vexed and vnquieted hys spirites, and had reduced (to

reason and conformitie the rude and bablyng people of the North parties, and in especiall the inhabitaunts of the Countie of Yorke, he returned to London, and shortly after that to Winchester, where Quene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered in the moneth of September, of a fayre Prince named Arthure at his baptisme. Of which name Englishe men no more reioysed then outward nacions and foreyne Princes trembled and quaked, so much was that name to all nacions terrible and feareful: And from Winchester he returned backe againe to London. The birth of Prince Arthur.

In this meane tyme, of a small matter and the same altogether beyng false and fayned, there was an open pathe, and an apparant high way made for a greater inconuenience to ensue. The which matter for the subtile iuglyng and craftie conueyaunce of the same, no lesse deceytfull, then lidger de meyne in the hand of a Iuggler, was to be estemed amongst all wise men at the first a very bolde and ouer presumptuous an act to be attempted: But the tyme well weyed, and considered, it was not so monstruous that it were worthie great wonderyng and admiration, considerying that many persons of late, eyther borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke, or suckyng the pappes of ciuill sedicion, could not liue well in rest, and lesse forbeare their vsuall custome of mouyng strife and dayly debate. Among the which vngracious flocke, there was one sir Richarde Simond priest, a man of a base and obscure familie, which from his birth delited in fraude and craftie conueiyng, and yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as vngracious. Which Sir Richarde Symond had allected a scholer called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature, and pregnaunt wit, to be the organe and conduyte by whome he would conuey his false feyned enterprise and attempt. The Deuil chiefe maister of mischiefe, put in the wicked minde and venemous brayne of thys most pernicious, disloyall, and trayterous person, to commence, and deuyse howe he might make his childe and Scholer Lambert to bee the right enherytour to the Crowne of Englande, and so thereof to make him King, and to promote himselfe to the chiefe Archebishopricke, or some highe potestate within the realme. The chiefe foundation of his occasion was (by the which he was the more bolde) that the fame went, and manye men surely supposed King Edwardes children not to be dead, but to be fledde secretlye into some straunge place, and there to be liuyng, and that Edward Erle of Warwicke sonne and heyre to the Duke of Clarence, eyther was or shoulde be put to death shortly. These rumours althoughe they were false and vaine, and without all likelihoode of veritie or truth, encouraged this Priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to bee come that thys Lambert might assume and take vppon him the personne and name of one of King Edwarde the fourthes Children, and to clayme and make tytle both to the Realme, and Kingdome, hauyng sure knowledge that neither friendship shoulde want, nor ayde should lacke: and considering that cancard hatred rooted and founded vpon mischieuous factions and sedicious deuisions be so perdurable and in maner euerlasting, that they can neuer be clerely extirpate or digged out of their rotten hartes, but that they will with hande and foote, tooth and nayle further if they can their pretensed enterprise. And thys poore priest brought into this foolishe paradise, thorough his awne phantasticall imagination, enformed and taught the childe diligently at Oxenforde where he went to Schole, both instructing hym wyth princely behauior, cyuile maner and fruitefull litterature, declaryng to hym of what high parentage, and of what noble progeny he was lineally dissended, thus perswadyng and teachyng hym his lesson clarkely and craftily for hys purpose, that the people hearing the chylde thus rehearsyng hys stock so sagely, myght the rather geue credite to hys deceytfull pretence and false couloured inuention: Sone after the rumor was blowen abroad that Edward the yong Erle of Warwike was broken out of prison. And when Syr Symond heard of thys, he now intending thereby to bring his inuented purpose to a conclusion, chaunged the childes name of baptisme, and called him Edward after the name of the yong Erle of Warwike, the which were both of one yeres and of one stature, and then he with his pupille sayled into Irelande, there opening his minde, and declaring his matter to certaine of Sir Richard Symond a Priest. Lambert Symenell.

1487

3

the Irishe nobilitie, whom he knewe by true fame and report to beare but little fauour to king Henry nor his partakers, and hauing othe and promise of ayde to hym sworne and made, he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the Duke of Clarence conne from death, and had for verie good wyll brought him into that Countrie and region where he knew that both king Edward and al his stock were fauoured and loued aboue all other. This matter was beleued straight of the nobilitie which so shewed and published this feyned fable and ymagined iuggelyng from one to another, tyll at the last it was accompted to be as true as the Gospell without any controuersie. In so much that the Lorde Thomas Gerardyne Chauncelor of all the Countrey defrauded by this illusion vnder the colour of playne truth, receaued him into his Castell, and wyth honor and reuerence him enterteyned as one that descended from the high progeny of the blood royall, and began much to aide and helpe him. First calling together all his friends and louers and such other as were of band or affinity, declaring first to them the comming of thys childe, and after affirming that the crowne and scepter of the realme of right apperteyned to this yong Prince as sole heyre male left of the line of Richard Duke of Yorke: Exhortyng and desiring them both for the childes sake and his awne, as he was true inheritour to the crowne, to helpe and assist hym to obteyne the Garland and possession of the same by hys Grandfather to hym lyneally descended. And so after communicatyng the same matter with other of the nobilitie, euery man promised according to hys power, ayde of money, men and munitions. By thys meanes the same was shortly bruted throughout all Ireland, and euery man was wylling to take his part and submit themselues to him, calling him of all handes king. So that nowe they of thys sect thus compassed and sorted, thought to haue in other places their companions and fortherers of their malicious purpose, and straight forth they sent into England certayne priuie messengers to desire them, whome they knewe to haue bene true and faythfull friendes to king Rychard, now to continue in their accustomed loue and faythfull friendship toward hys Nephewe and to helpe the chylde wyth treasure and substaunce as farre as they conueniently might. And that hys power might be the stronger to ouercome hys enemies and to obteyne hys pretensed purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret syster to king Edward, and late wife to Charles the Duke of Burgoyne, to further hys purpose wyth all her power and helpe. Thys Duke Charles hauyng no children by thys Lady Margaret, left one sole daughter named Mary behinde hym, begotten of hys first wyfe daughter to the Duke of Burbone, which was maryed to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the Emperour, on which wyfe he had engendered two children, the one Phylip, and the other Margaret. The which two children after the death of the Ladie Marie their mother, this Ladie Margaret late wyfe to Duke Charles so entirely beloued, & so motherly nourished, that she both for her motherly loue toward the yong children, & also for the good administration of iustice in their Countries was highly reputed and esteemed, and bare great authority and swynge through all Flaunders and the lowe Countries thereto adiacent. Thys Ladie Margaret although she knewe the familie and stock of the house of Yorke to be in maner destroyed and vtterly defaced by her brother king Richard, yet not beyng saciate nor content with the long hatred and continuall malice of her parents which subuerted and ouerthrew almost the progenie and linage of king Henry the sixt, and the house of Lancaster, nor yet remembring the newe affinitie and strong alyaunce that was lately concluded, by the which the heyres of both the houses and progenies were vnited and conioyned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forgettyng both God and charitie, inflamed wyth malice, inuented and practised all mischiefes, displeasures and dammages that shee could deuise agaynst King Henry the seuenth. And farther in her furie and frantike moode (according to the saiyng of the wise man, there is no malice equiualent nor aboue the malice of a woman) she wrought all the wayes possible how to compasse his destruction as the principall head of her aduerse part and contrary faction. Therefore this Ladye knowyng of this tumulteous sect and conspiracie, prepared and sodainly deuised against king Henry (although she knew it to be but a feyned and paynted matter

Thomas Gerardine lord Chaūcelor of Ireland.

Margaret Duchesse of Burgoyne & sister to king Edward the fourth.

and not woorth two strawes) yet (hauing such an occasion to worke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to the messengers not onely to maintaine, ayde, further and succour their purposed entent with money and substaunce, but with all the labour and payne that she might, to encourage, stomack and entise many other to be ayders, assisters and partakers of the same conspiracie, and shortly to ioyne with the Chieuetaines of the sayde enterprise.

When king Henry was certefyed of these doyngs by messengers sent into England, no maruayle although he was none otherwise then he had occasion, sore vexed and mooued, considering that by the disceyte and fraude of such a dunghill knaue, and vile borne villeyne, so great a sedition should be excited and sturred against him: Neuerthelesse, he lyke a circumspect and prudent Prince, well considering and forseyng, that if this enterprise came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bloodie and mortall warre, in the which for the most part, the large campe of all mischiefe is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent men on both partes should perishe and come to ruine and confusion without desert or offence. For which reason before all things he determined to attempt and proue, if that he might without any battail or stroke stryken (the end wherof is euer doubtfull) to pacifie and reduce these rebels to reason and due subiection, before that this euil newly planted weede should stray and wander ouer the good herbes of hys owne realme. Therefore he called his whole counsayle together at the Charterhouse beside his royall manner called Richemond, and there consulted how to pacifie this sodayne rage secretly begon, without any more disturbaunce or open trouble: which mocion of all men was thought meete to be assayed and prosecuted with effect. And that before any other thing were attempted and begon, that a generall pardon should be published to all offendors that were content to receaue the same, and after would be true, louing and obedient to the king their souereigne Lorde according to their bounden duetie and allegeaunce: Thinking that if that pardon were any lenger space delayed or prolonged, that in the meane season (as the prouerbe sayeth, tariyng draweth perill) Sir Thomas Broughton knight which had hid and kept the Lorde Louell from the king a great season, and was at hande with dyuers of hys friendes, in so troubleous and perillous a time, vtterly dispairing of pardon and remission, and as men without hope of any grace, setting all on sixe and seuen, should sodainely moue a newe insurrection against hym, and vnquiet him in some place, where he had least resistaunce: Whervpon the king gaue a generall pardon throughout al England (without exception of any offence) yea euen to them that had committed high treason agaynst hys maiestie and royall person. Furthermore, after long consultation had and all things well considered, it was thought by the whole senate for the time then present most necessarie and conuenient to auoyde that erroneous rumour, rumbling and blasting abroade, that the sonne of the Duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally should be shewed abroad in the Citie and other publique places, whereby the vntrue opinion falsely affirming that he was in Irelande might be amongst the commonalty repressed, and accompted as a vayne and imagined fable.

Richemond the kinges lodging.

A generall pardon.

Sir Thomas Broughton knight.

In thys solempne counsayle dyuers and many thinges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and amongst other, it was determined that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to king Edward the fourth, shoulde lose and forfeyt all her landes and possessions, because she had voluntarily submitted her selfe and her daughters wholy to the handes of King Rychard, contrary to the promise made to the Lordes and nobles of thys realme in the beginning of the conspiracie imagined agaynst king Richarde, which at her desire and request left all that they had in Englande, and fled to King Henry into Briteyne, and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, which offer shee abode not by, but made it frustrate and voyde. through whose double doyngs it had like to haue succeded, that neyther the mariage could take place, nor yet the Noble men which at her request tooke king Henryes part, might not returne agayne without ieopardie of lyfe, but liue still in perpetuall banishment and miserable exile. This was a greeuous offence and a heynous

The Ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth condempned to forfeyt & lose all her landes because she had submitted herselfe to king Richard.

heynous cryme: howbeit the sequele thereof well digested, it was thought by some men that she deserued not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and so great a punishment: For surely she did not so great hurt or hinderaunce to king Henry and his confederates by her reconciliation to king Richard, but ten times more she profited and aduaunced their cause. For by her submission made to hym, he neglecting Gods lawes, honest order and christian religion, presuming to heape mischiefe vpon mischief, desyred of her the mariage of her daughter his natural nece, which thing he would not haue thought lykely to haue obteined: The Queene & her daughters still for feare of him continuyng in Sanctuarie. Which vnlawfull desire (considering for that entent he had rid his wyfe out of the worlde) prouoked the yre of God and the sworde of vengeaunce agaynst him, whereby his fynall ruyne and destruction shortly after ensued to his miserable confusion, and to the exaltation of king Henry and auauncement of his whole company.

The death of the Lady Elizabeth wife of king Edwarde the fourth.

By this foly and inconstancie of the Queene, shee incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, & for that cause liued after in ỹ Abbey of Barmandsey besyde Southwarke, a wretched and a miserable life, where not many yeres after she deceased, and is buryed with her husband at Windsore. Such are all worldly chaunces, nowe in prosperitie and aboundaunce, mutable and chaungeable, and full of inconstancie: And in aduersitie often chaunge from euill to good and so to better, to the entent that they that be in welth and flowe in the abundaunce of all thinges, shall not thinke themselues in suretie to tary still in that degree and state: and that they that be in miserie and calamitie shall not dispayre and mistrust God, but liue in hope, that a better day of comfort and gaine will once appere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many things at her will and pleasure, yet one worke that this Queene hath made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tyme that king Edwarde her husband reigned she founded and erected a notable College in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the findyng of scholers desirous of good lyterature and learnyng, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenaunce of the same, which at this day is called the Queenes College, a name surely meete for such a place, wherein scholers diligently studiyng in all doctrine and sciences, proue excellent Clerkes, and come to great honoures.

The queenes college in Cambridge.

When all thinges in this counsaile were seriously concluded and agreed to the kings minde, he returned to the Citie of London, geuyng in commaundement that the next Sunday ensuyng, Edward the yong Erle of Warwike should be brought from the Tower through the streetes of London, to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule. This yong Gentleman (as he was commaunded) shewyng himselfe openly to euery bodie in the Procession time taryed there the highe masse, hauyng communication openly with many noble men, and with them in especially that were suspected, and thought to haue bene partakers of the commocion against the king, to this purpose and effect, that they might perceyue the fonde Irishemen, for a vaine shadowe and vntrue fiction vnaduisedly to procure and moue warre agaynst him and hys realme, without any iust cause or lawfull occasion. Howbeit to euill disposed persones or brainelesse men, this medicine nothing auayled nor profited. For the Erle of Lyncolne sonne to Iohn de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thinkyng it not meete to neglect and omit so open an occasion of newe trouble and mischiefe offered, determined to vpholde, fortefie, and bolster the entent and purpose of the Irishe men, least that they might be seduced, and caused to desist and leaue off their begon enterprise: And doubtlesse the man beyng of great wit and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected with the venemous skab of the late ciuile battaile, could not with a quiet mynde suffer king Henrie beyng principall head of the contrary faction to reigne in quiet, but consultyng with Sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his trustie friendes, purposed to saile into Flaunders to his Aunt the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Burgoin, late wife to Duke Charles, trustyng by her helpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the Companions of the new raysed sedicion. Therfore, after that the king had dissolued ỹ Parliament, which

Edward Erle of Warwicke shewed openly thorough the streetes of London.

The Erle of Lyncolne son to Iohn de la Poole Duke of Suffolke.

Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth.

then

then was holden: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret, where Fraunces Lorde Louell landed certaine dayes before. And there they beyng altogether, euery man according to his minde reasoned, and debated what was best to do. After long communication had, this finall conclusion was agreed vpon, that the Erle of Lyncolne and the Lorde Louell shoulde go to Ireland, and there attende vpon her counterfeyt nephewe, and to honour him as a king, and with power of the Irishemen to bring him into England, and sending for all theyr friendes, should without delay geue battaile vnto king Henry: So if their doynges had good and prosperous successe, then the foresayde Lambert (misnamed the Erle) should by the consent of the Counsayle be deposed, and Edward the true Erle of Warwicke to be deliuered out of prison, and after by the aucthority and ayde of his friendes of the Nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and annoynted king.

Fraunces lord Louell.

But king Henry thinking his nobles to be well appeased with the sight of Edward the very sonne of the Duke of Clarence, nothing mistrustyng any man to be so foolishe to inuent, feigne, or counterfeit any thing more of him, or any so mad or vndiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was verye Edwarde, onelye myndyng the suppressyng of the wretched Irishe men, studyed how to subdue and represse there bolde enterprise. And heeryng sodeinely that the Erle of Lincolne with other were fled, and gone to his aduersaryes, beyng therewith sodeinly moued: thought euen wyth strong hand and marciall power to ouercome his enemies and euill willers, whose maliciousnesse he could by no counsaile nor pollicie eschew nor auoide. And beyng thus determined, he commaunded certeine of his Capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men out of euery part of his Realme, and them to bryng and conduite into one place assigned, that when his aduersaryes should come forwarde, he might with his populous multitude and great power sodainly set on them, and so ouercome and vanquishe them altogether. And mistrustyng that other would folowe the Erle of Lyncolne into Flaunders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders thereaboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or geue them succour. And commyng to the towne of Saint Edmondes bury, he was certified that the Lorde Thomas Marques Dorcet was commyng to excuse and purge himselfe before him, for certeine thinges that he was suspected to haue done lightly when he was in Fraunce. To whome the king did send the Erle of Oxforde to apprehend him ridyng on his iourney, and to conuey him to the Tower of London, to trie his truth, and proue his pacience: For if he were his friend, as he was in dede, he should not be miscontented to suffer so little a reproch, and rebuke for his Princes pleasure: If he were not his friend, there to tary in safetie that he might do no dammage nor hurt to him. And from thence the king went forth to Norwiche, and so to Walsyngham, and shortly after he returned to London.

Thomas Marques Dorcet taken and sent to the Tower.

In this meane tyme the Erle of Lincolne and the Lorde Louell, had gotten by the ayde of the Lady Margaret, about two thousande Almaines, wyth Martyne Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes very expert, to be their cheueteyne, and so sayled into Irelande. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, they caused yong Lambert to be proclaymed and named Kyng of England, after the most solempne fashion, as though he were there of the very heyre of blood royall lyneally borne and discended. And so wyth a great multitude of beggerly Irishmen, all most all naked and vnarmed sauyng skaynes and mantelles, of whome the Lorde Thomas Gerardine was capitayne and conductor, they sayled into Englande with this newe founde king, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of Lancaster, trustyng there to be ayded with money by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe companyons of this vnhappy conspiracy.

Martyn Swarde a Capitaine of the Germaines.

Lambert landeth in Englande with a great power of me.

The kyng not slepyng his matters, but mistrustyng and smellyng the storme that folowed, before the enemies arriued, dispatched certayne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chiefely to attende the cōmyng and arryuall of his enimies: secondarely to wayte for such espialles as came out of Irelande, and them to apprehend and compell to shewe and declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his host together, ouer the which, the Duke of Bedforde, and the Erle of Oxenforde, were chiefe

captaynes,

captaynes, he went to Couentry, where he being, his light horsemen according to their duety returned & certefied hym that the Erle of Lyncoln was landed at Lancaster with his new king. The which when the kyng vnderstoode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and councellers to knowe if it were for the best to encounter with them out of hande, or to let them dragge a while, for this matter both required counsaile and also spede. After they had layed their heades together, and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they shoulde set vpon them without any further delay, least that their powre by long sufferaunce, and delaiyng of tyme, myght bee augmented and greatly multiplied. And so after such aduisement taken, he remoued to Nottyngham, & there by a lytle wood called Bowres, he pitched his fielde: to whome shortly after came the Lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewsbury, the Lord Straunge, sir Iohn Cheynie, valyaunt capitaines, with many other noble, and expert men of warre. For the kyng hadde commaunded, and geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioynyng that were able and of strength to cary weapon, shoulde be readie in an houres warning, in case that any neede shoulde require. Therefore pycked felowes, and hardy personages, and such as were lyke men, were chosen in all the hast, and of this sort a great armie was assembled and gathered together: So the kinges armie was wonderfully encreased, and from tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the Erle of Lyncoln beyng entred into Yorkeshire, passed softly on his iourney without the spoyling, or hurtyng of any man, trustyng thereby to haue some company of people resort vnto him: but after that he perceaued fewe or none to folowe him, and that it was to no purpose to returne backe, considerynge his enemies were all ready to set vpon him, he determined firmely to trie the fortune of battaile, remembring that the chaunce of warre doth stande euer vpon. vj. or. vij. & that king Henry not two yeres before with a small powre of men, vanquished kyng Richarde and all his mightie armie. And herevpon putting a sure confidence vpon his companie, directed his way from Yorke to Newarke vpon Trent, to the entent that there he (as he trusted) augmenting his company myght set vpon the king, whome he knewe to be but two dayes iourney from him. Albeit, before he came there, king Henry was in his bosome and knewe euery houre what the Erle did, and came the night before that hee fought, to Newarke, and there approched neere his enemyes, sooner then they loked for him, and there tariyng a litle, went three myles farther and pitched his fielde & lodged there that night. The Erle of Lincoln certefyed of his comming was nothing aferde, but kept still on his iourney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nigh to the kyng and his army planted his campe. The next day folowyng, the king deuided his whole number into three battayles, and after in good array approched nigh to the towne of Stoke, where was an equal and plain place for both the parties to darraine the battaile.

When the place was appoynted and ordeyned to trie the vttermost by stroke of battaile, the Erle set foorth his armie, and geuyng a token to his companie, set vpon his aduersaries with a manly courage, desiryng his souldiors that day to remember his honour, and their awne lyues. And so both the armies ioyned and fought earnestly and sharpely, insomuch that the Almanes beyng tryed and expert men of warres and martiall feates, were in all things, aswell in strength as pollicie equall and equiuolent with the Englishe men: but as for Martin Sward theyr chiefe Capitaine and leader, not many of the Englishe men, both for valiaunt courage of a stoute stomacke and strength, and nymblenesse of bodie was to be compared or resembled with his manhoode. Of the other syde, the Irishe men, although they fought hardily, and stoute to it valiauntly, yet because they were after the maner of theyr Countrie almost naked, without harnesse or armure, they were striken downe and slain lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and distructions was a great discouragyng and abashement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so sore and so egerly of both partes, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorye was like to enclyne: but at length the kinges forewarde beyng full of people and well

The battaile of Stoke.

well fortifyed with winges, which onely both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaryes with such a force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such Capitaynes one by one as resisted their might and puyssaunce, and after that put all the other to fearefull flight, the which were eyther apprehended as captiues and prisoners in their flight runnyng away, or else slain and brought to confusion in a small moment. But when this battaile was finished, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appered what highe prowesse, and manly stomackes was in the kinges aduersaries. For there their chiefe Capitaines, the Erle of Lyncolne, and the Lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martyn Swarde, and the Lord Gerardine Capitaine of the Irish men were slaine and found dead. Howbeit, some affirme that the Lorde Louell toke his horse and would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not able to recouer the further syde for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battaile with their fiue capitaynes before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand: Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the foreward, and gaue the onset, slaine or hurt: Then was Lambert the yonglyng which was falsely reported to be the Dukes sonne of Clarence, and his maister Sir Richard Simond priest, both taken, but neyther of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocent poore soule, a very childe, and was not of age to do any such enterprice of his awne deuice, and the other was a priest, which yet to the entent he might remember that the stone oftentymes falleth on the head of him that casteth it into the ayre, and that many a man maketh a rod for his awne taile when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was committed to perpetuall prison and miserable captiuitie. But this Lambert in conclusion was made the kinges faulkener, after that he had beene a turne broche, and executed such vile offices in the kinges Kitchyn and Scullarie for a space. And thus was all the highe enterprice that Ladie Margaret had deuised and set foorth at thys tyme, turned to naught and brought to none effect, and to an euill conclusion. Of which chaunce, when shee was aduertised and enformed in the Countrie of Flaunders, she was very sorie at the heart & much lamented and bewayled, that her imagined purpose sorted to such an infortunate ende and effect, incontinently deuisyng, practisyng, and imaginyng some great and more difficile enterprise, by the which she might vexe and vnquiet yet once again the king of England & his whole region: Which purpose, euen as she inuented it, so she set it forward, as shall be shewed hereafter plainly.

The Erle of Lincolne and Lord Louell slayne.

Martyn Swarde slaine.

Lambert and sir Symond his maister taken.

After that king Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters beyng of so great a moment and weight, with no great motion, tumult, or trouble, he commaunded that no man should kyl or sley the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to him alyue, to the entent that he might shewe and bewray both the fountayne and originall beginning of thys seditious conspiracie. But the fame is, that the souldiours would not so doe, fearing least paraduenture the sauyng of his onely life (as it should haue beene in deede) the lyfe of many other should haue bene lost, or at the least in ieopardie. This battayle was fought on a Saturday being the. xvj. day of Iune. In the which yere also Thomas Burchier Archebyshop of Cauntorbury dyed, into whose rome Iohn Moorton late Byshop of Elye, a man of equall learning, vertue and pollecie with his predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the sixt Byshop of Rome created Cardinall, and the king preferred him to the office of the high Chauncelour of Englande: Nowe to returne to my purpose.

Iohn Morton Bishop of Ely.

After this victorie, then the king did execution of such rebels and traytours as were taken in the field, eyther at the battayle, or in the chace. And shortly after, he went into Yorkeshire, and there costed the Countrie, ouerthwart, searching by his espialles and priuie enquyries, whether his aduersaries gathered any other army against him, entending earnestly to weede out, and purge his lande of all seditious seede, and double harted fruyte, if it were possible, and suche as were founde culpable in any one point, were committed to prison, and eyther punished by fine or extinct by death.

In the midst of August he by iorneiyng arryued at Newcastell vpon Tyne a verie pro per towne, situate on the hether part of Northumberland, where he taried the remnaunt of the Sommer, and being there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to king Iames the thirde, Richarde Foxe which not long before was made Byshop of Exceter, and with hym Syr Richard Edgecombe knight Comptroller of his house. The summarie of their commission was to conclude a truce for a time, or a long league and amitie. For king Henry estemed it both honorable & profitable if he might haue perfite peace and assured amitie with Princes adioyning and his next neighbours. And before all other, king Iames of Scotlande, to the intent that his subiectes hauing knowledge of the amitie and despairyng vtterly to haue anye refuge, comfort or succour of the Scottes, or other their neighbours adioyning, contrarie to their olde vsage, might the better be continued in the fayth duetie and loyaltie towardes their Prince and souereigne Lord. The Ambassadours when they were come into Scotlande to the king, were of him both gently entertayned, and after the most louing fashion receaued and fully harde. To whome at the first he shewed the good hart and minde, that he hymselfe continually bare, and yet did intend to shewe towards king Henry, although hys subiectes were of a contrarie minde and opinion, playnely protestyng and declaryng to them his Vassals to be both by nature & wylfull disposition, dyuers and contrarie euer to the Englishe nation: thinking surely that they for the most part would neuer consent and long agree with the Englishe men, according to their olde subtile dealing: wherefore least that he should offende or minister cause of occasion to them (as in deede all men were not his friendes in Scotland at that time) he desired the Ambassadors to be content with a truce and abstinence of warre for seuen yeres not onely in open audience, but on his honor promised firmely in secret communication, that he for hys part would kepe continuall peace with the king of Englande during their lyues, but apparauntly he promised that or these seuen yeres should be passed and fully fynished, that he woulde renue agayne the truce for other seuen yeres, so that king Henry and he should lyue in peace, and most assured amitie, during their naturall liues. And this did king Iames conclude with king Henry, because that he knewe himselfe, hys actes, yea and hys name to be had in such dispite and hatred of the more part of hys disloyall people, that nothing (whatsoeuer he did) was esteemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in any price: Such was the malicious hart burning of the Scottes against their naturall Lorde. The Ambassadors perceauing the hartie minde and faythfull beneuolence of thys king towardes their maister king Henry, accepted and assented to his offer, and ratefyed the same: And returning home shewed the king all the matter in order as it was proponed and concluded. Wyth which tydings, he perceauyng the king of Scots good minde towardes hym, and apparauntly perceauing that as that tempestious and stormie season requyred, it was not to hys small commoditie and profite, reioysed maruellously that his Ambassade came to so good an effect: & shortly reculed back agayne from Newcastell to Yorke, and so towarde hys Citie of London. And in the way beyng at Leycester, diuers Ambassadors sent from Charles the Frenche King came to hys presence, which declared and shewed to hym that their King Charles had recouered many townes, Cityes and garrisons which before that time were possessed and holden of Maximilian king of Romaines and Archeduke of Austryce, and that he nowe moued battayle agaynst Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, because he kept, ayded and succoured in his territorie and dominion dyuers noble princes and high personages of the realme of Fraunce, which were Traytors and rebels agaynst him, hys realme and seigniorie, of the which the chiefe leader was Lewys Duke of Orlyaunce: And therefore he desired hym for the olde friendshyp and familiaritie practised betweene them, that he would eyther ayde, assyst, and helpe hym, or else stande neuter betweene both parties, neyther helping nor hurting any of both partes.

Richard Fox Bishop of Excester.

A truce take with Scotland for seuen yeres.

Ambassadors sent frō Charles the Frenche king.

Lewys duke of Orliance.

King Henry well remembring that although he had found much friendship at the French kinges hande in his necesitie, and that by him partly and his he obteyned his kingdome,

yet for as much as he espied vpon what vnsure grounde thys quarell was begonne agaynst the Brytones, with thys message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he which sawe as farre in the Frenche kings brest as his Phisition did in hys vryne, knewe perfectly that he had neyther occasion by any iust tytle to inuade the Duchye of Briteyne, nor yet anye displeasure ministred to hym, by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadow to make a quarrell to the Duke of Briteyne, but onely to delate, amplifie and spreade forth his aucthorie, dominion, and possession. For the Frenche king and his counsaile knewe well that Duke Fraunces was an impotent man, sore diseased and well striken in age, and had neuer any heyre male to inherite and possede his Duchie, wherefore they determined by some meanes easily to compasse that the Duchie of Briteyne should shortly come vnder their rule and subiection, and so without grounde or good cause made open warre agaynst the Duke and his Nacion. King Henry perceiuyng that this new attempted enterprice nothing sounded to his profite, callyng to mynde and consideryng, that if the Duchie of Briteyn and the people of the same which had bene euer friendly and louing to the Englishe Nacion, and was alwayes for their entercourse to his realme both necessary and profitable, should come vnder the thraldome and subiection of the French king, that dammage more then profite were like to ensue and folow, determined with himselfe to ayde and take part with the Duke, perceiuyng well that all his affayres was nowe in perill and set in a broyle and hasard. The occasion that moued him therevnto was, the kindlyng of the fatherly loue and tender affection which the Duke euer shewed him, sith his first arriuall and entryng into Briteyne, and his fidelitie to him alway apparauntly shewed during the tyme of his there abidyng and residence. On the other part when he remembred the great benefite that he had taken and receiued at the Frenche kinges hande by his bountifull and princely liberalitie, thought it both necessary, honest, and consonant to reason, to forget the vnthankefull offence agaynst the Duke of Briteyn committed, and to perswade and aduise the Frenche king to desist from vexyng and inuadyng the Duke of Briteyne, least any scruple or sparke of ingratitude might growe or kyndle betweene them two. Thys matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambiguities, that the king in long consultation lefte no question nor doubt vnasked nor vndiscussed, and yet no aunswere nor no conclusion could satisfie or please his doubtfull minde and gentle hart, loth to offende any of them, of whom he had receyued either benefite or friendship: But in conclusion, he fell to this full determination, that if battail should nedes succede and folow, then he of very dutie was specially bound not to denie nor forsake the Duke of Briteyne, to whome he was so much beholdyng, but to ayde, assist, and comfort him with all his power, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and iniuries, and to defend and resist all his aduersaryes and enemyes. Yet in the meane season, least he should of the other part make his highe friend his extreme enemie, his aunswere was to the Ambassadors that he would take trauayle and study both to his great paine and cost, that betwene the Frenche king theyr souereigne Lorde, and the Duke of Briteine, both beyng his indifferent friendes some gentle pacification, or friendly accorde might be concluded and taken. And so assone as the kinges Ambassadors were dismissed, he sent on message Christopher Vrswike to Charles the Frenche king: First to declare in hys behalfe howe ioyous he was of the victorie that he had obteyned vppon Maximilian king of Romaines. Secondarily, what tumult and insurrection was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had vanquished and repressed the rebelles and traytors, & either destroyed or brought to subiection the whole rablement and number. Thirdely, offeryng himselfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amitie betwene the Frenche King Charles and the Duke of Briteyne: geuyng him farther in charge, that if he should perceyue the Frenche king to geue open eare to his request, and to encline to his desyre, that then he should without delay resort to the Duke of Briteyn, and desyre him to be content at his desyre to endeuour himselfe to an honourable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and doubtfull dissention, which peace with Gods grace he

Christopher Vrswike.

little doubted, the Duke beyng willyng, shortly to compasse and bring to conclusion. While Christopher Vrswike was trauailyng in this commission, king Henrie returned with great triumph to his Citie and Chamber of London, hauing the victory and ouerhande of his enemyes, and rebellious aduersaries, whereof the Citizens were very glad, & greatly reioysed. And sone after this, the king bountifully and liberally rewarded all such persons, which not onely did hazarde their goods, their possessions, liuyngs, & substance, but also their liues & bodyes in his defence and quarell. And not long after, he deliuered Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Tower of London, acceptyng him to his high fauor & olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had bene tryed and proued by sundry and diuers arguments and assayes. Duryng this time, the king for the perfite loue and syncere affection that he bare to his Queene and wife Lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned & anoynted Queene on saint Katherines day in Nouember with all solemnitie to such a high estate and degree apperteinyng. In the meane season Christopher Vrswike was come to the french king liyng at Tholouse, and of him after the most louyng & friendly fashion that could be, receyued and enterteyned. And assoone as he had shewed and declared his message, the French king shewed himselfe outwardly, although inwardly he otherwise entended, to be therwith contented and that very well pleased that the king of England should be the meane of peace, and Arbitrer indifferent betwene the Duke and him. Thys aunswere made, the Englishe Ambassadour toke his iourney streyght thence as he was commaunded into Briteyne, and shewed the Duke vpon his maisters behalfe all things geuen him in charge and commission: But the Duke (because himselfe had beene long sicke, and thereby his memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appointed to heare the message with other of his Counsellers, Lewys Duke of Orleaunce which was fled thether out of Fraunce. When this Duke had heard the Ambassadors declare their message, perceauing that it touched a peace which he thought sounded neyther to hys profite nor pleasure, wherefore he beyng somewhat tickled with the message answered and sayde, that it was more meete and conuenient that king Henry (considering and remembring the great kindnesse and humanitie that he had receyued at the Dukes hande) should withall the power and strength he might, helpe the Duke of Briteyne beyng by the Frenchmen inuaded with yron, fyre, and bloud, then to attempt or procure any fryuelous or vaine composition or concorde. Yea and although he had neyther receaued nor remembred any benefite done to hym by the Duke, yet should he consider that the Countrie of Britayne was in maner a Bulwarke and a strong wall for the Englishe men in defence of the French men, the which if it should come into the hands of the French nation, then were his continuall enemies next to the gate of his realme, which thing he would not suffer if he remembred the prouerbe that sayth, when thy neyghbors house is a fyre, thy staffe standeth next the dore. After that Christopher Vrswike had receaued thys aunswere then he returned agayne into Fraunce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaring to king Charles what aunswere was made to hym by the Briteyns, and shortly after returned into Englande agayne.

Thomas lord Marques Dorcet deliuered out of the Tower.

The coronatiō of Quene Elizabeth.

1488

4

Whyle these things were thus in doing, the French king besieged with a great puissaunce the strong Citie of Nauntes in Briteyne. And the more greedier that he was of his purpose, and the more hast he made for gayning his praye, so much the more did he exhort the king of England with letters, wrytings and fayre wordes, by sundrie and diuers messengers for to treate and conclude a peace, betwixt the Duke of Briteyne and him, fearing least when he had almost runne his race, King Henry would put him beside hys sadell, whome he did halfe suspect to be a back friend of hys, and prone and readie to take the Britons part.

Wherefore he sent in Ambassade Barnarde a Scot borne, called the Lorde Daubeny, in all haste to King Henry, to desire him in anye wise to make some ende whatsoeuer it were of this warre and controuersie. And therevpon the king beyng desirous of the same, which had rather all things might be ended by peace then by dint of sworde, least that he

he should be driuen to take part with the Brytons agaynst the French nation, elected among all other three Ambassadors. The first was Iohn Saint, Abbot of Abyndon, Iohn Lilye borne in Luke, the Byshop of Romes Collector, and Doctor of lawe, and Richarde Edgecombe knight, a fatherly, wise and a graue personage, which for the renuing of the olde amitie, were commaunded first to repaire to the French king, and after that to the Duke of Briteyne, to whom he gaue a long commission with sufficient instructions. But or euer these Ambassadors proceeded on their iorney, Iohn Lilie fell sick on the gowte, so that he was not able to trauayle in so long a iorney, and so weightie a businesse, for whome was elected and chosen Christopher Vrswike, and so they three sayled into Fraunce (as they were commaunded) and when they had commoned a space with the French king, concerning the forme of the peace and concord to be concluded, Rycharde Edgecombe, and Christopher Vrswike, departed streight to the Duke of Briteyne, thinking, ye and nothing doubting, but they should knit vp the knot, and finall conclusion of their Ambassade, according to their awne request and desire, but all their hope was vayne, and turned to a vanitie. For the Duke vpon great deliberation, constaunly denyed and refused euery condition by them offered or demaunded. Which things, when they succeeded not according to their expectation, the Ambassadors returned back to the French king agayne, and there to him declared what was their aunswere and finall resolution, and yet making there abode in Fraunce, they declared to the king of England by their letters all their actes and exployt. But or their letters came to the kings handes, Sir Edward Lorde Wooduile Vncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a Champion, eyther abhorring ease and ydlenesse, or inflamed with ardent loue and affection towarde the Duke of Briteyne, desyred very earnestly of king Henry, that if it were his will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of warre might transport himselfe into Briteyne for the aide & defence of Duke Fraunces, the kings assured and proued friend. And lest it should sow or kindle any dissention or ingratitude betwene the French king & him, he saide that he would steale priuily ouer, without any licence or pasport, as though no man should thinke or doubt but he were fled ỳ realme. But the Kyng which had a firme confidence, that peace shoulde be made by the pollitique prouision & wyse inuencion of his elected Ambassadors, would in no wyse geue the bridle to his hasty desire, but straightly forbade hym to attempt any such enterprise, thinkyng that it stode not with his honor to offende the French kyng, to whome he would shew as much amitie and humanity as he might. Yet this Lord Wooduile hauing playne repulse and deniall of the kyng, could not thus rest, but determined to worke his businesse secretly without any knowlege of the king, & went straight into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and captayne, and there gathered a crewe of tall and hardy personages, to the number of foure hundred, and with prosperous wynde and wether, arryued in Britayne, and ioyned himselfe with the Brytons against the French power and nacion. The rumor of thys doyng was soone blowen into the court of Fraunce, which made the Ambassadours of Englande not smally abashed, who knowyng perfectly the Frenche heartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and doe out rage to such as displeased them, were sodainelye afrayde least the common people coulde not withholde their handes from quarelyng or fraiyng. Albeit the law of armes and the truth it selfe did defende and preserue them from iniury. But whiles the Ambassadors were in this perplexity, and feare of daunger, and whyles the Frenchmen suspected this fact to be done by a cautel of king Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to purge himselfe to his friend of the suspected ingratitude, certifiyng him that the lord Wooduile without his knowledge or consent, was sayled ouer in to Brytaine with so small a number of men, which small handefull, neither becommed a prince to sende or set forwarde, neyther yet coulde doe to the Britaynes, anye great ayde or succour: To the which message and excuse, albeit the French Kyng gaue but small credence, yet he somewhat mitigate of his anger, dissimuled the matter (according to the French nature) with a flatteryng countenaunce. So

Ambassadors sent first to the French king, & then to the Duke of Briteyn.

Edward lord Wooduile.

the Ambassadours renuyng a league and amitie betweene their Kyng and him for. xij. monethes, returned into Englande agayne, and shewed the kyng all such thinges as they had eyther hearde or sene there. The kyng of Englande well perceyued by the report of hys newlye returned Ambassadors, that the French kyng wrought all his feates by subtill craft and cloked collusion, treating and mocioning peace and concorde, when he desired nothing so much as discorde, and warre, and that purpose he auaunced and set forwarde with sayle and ower, to the vttermust point of his habilitie. Wherfore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kinges actes and doynges, determined now with all speede to set forth out of hande all such thinges as here before he had concluded, concerning the warre of Britayne, as you haue hearde. Wherefore he called his high court of Parliament, and there first consulted with the peres and communalty of his realme, for the aidyng of the Duke of Briteyn. Then for the maintenance of the warres, diuers summes of money were graunted and geuen, beside certayne decrees and actes made for the profite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was ended, he caused musters to be had in certayne places of his realme, & souldiours meete for the warre to be put in a readinesse. Yet least peraduenture he might seeme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene ỹ french king & him, he sent diuers notable Ambassadors into Fraunce, to certifie the French kyng, that of late he had kept a solempne Parliament, in the which it was condiscended and agreed by the Lords temporal and spiritual, & knights of counties, and magistrates of Cities, and boroughes of his realme, not onelye considering the reliefe, comfort, and ayde that he hadde receyued at the Dukes hande, both for the sauegarde of his life, and for the recouering of his enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembring that Britayne of auncient tyme was subiect and vassall to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath bene friendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, both with foreyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to ayde, comfort, and assist the British nacion with all their strength, might, and habilitie against all their enemies, friendly admonishing him that he should eyther cease from his war in Britaine newly begon, or else not to be grieued if he did agree (as reason woulde) to the iudgement and determination of the Lordes and Prelates of his realme, assuryng him in the worde of a king that his armie shoulde onely discende in the Duchie of Britayne, not to inuade or make war in the French kynges realme or territories, but onely to defende the Duchie of Britaine.

With these commaundementes the English Ambassadours departed, and declared to the french kyng all the minde and wil of their king and souereigne Lorde. Which message he dissimuled as little to regard as the bityng of a flee, as though the Englishmen in the battayle, which he knewe to be at hande, coulde doe no enterprise (as it happened in deede) eyther necessary to be feared, or worthy to be remembred. The cause of his so saiyng was thys he knowyng that his army was puissaunt and strong in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a fewe English men with the Lorde Wooduile, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englande had not yet sent anye armie thether for the Dukes succour, iudged surely that his army woulde doe some great exployt (as they did in deede) before eyther the Duke shoulde be purueyed or any aide ministred. And as he imagined, so it folowed, for ỹ french men so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne, and brent and destroyed Cities, and besieged the towne of Fongeres, so that the Duke of Britaine was encouraged by the Duke of Orliaunce, and other rebels of the French king manfully to fight and geue battaile to the French army. And so the. xxv. day of Iuly they set forwarde, and came to a towne which the Frenchmen hadde gotten called sainct Aulbyne.

The battaile of Fongiers in Britayne.

The Frenchmen were not ignoraunt of their cōming, but put themselues in a readinesse. Of which army was Capitaines, the Lord Lewys of Treuoyle, viscount of Thonars a Gascoin, Adryan Lord of Mountfalcoysse. On the Britons part were chiefeteynes, Lewys, Duke of Orliaunce, and the Prince of Orenge, which because they and other of the Frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Britones, least they woulde at their most neede flye.

Wherefore they discended on foote, and the Duke and the Prince put themselues in the battaile

battaile of the Almaines: the Marshal of Rieux was appoynted to the vauntgard. The middle warde was deliuered to the Lorde Dalebret, and the reregard to the Lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchemen beleue that they had a great number of Englishe men (notwithstandyng there were but foure hundreth with the Lorde Wooduile) they appareyled a thousand and seuen hundreth Britons in Cotes with red crosses, after the Englishe fashion, when both the armies were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred both the parties. When the shot was finished, both the vauntgardes ioyned together with such a force, that it was maruaile to beholde. The Englishemen shot so fast, that the Frenche men in the foreward, were faine to recule to the battayle where their horsemen were. The rerewarde of the French men, seyng this first discomfiture began to flie, but the Capitaynes retired their men together againe, & the horsemen set fiercely on the Briteynes, and slewe the most part of the footemen. When the forewarde of the Briteynes perceyued that their horsmen nor the Almaynes came not forwarde, they prouided for themselues and fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succor. So that in conclusion the Frenche men obteyned the victorie, and slue all such as ware red Crosses, supposyng them all to be Englishe men. In this conflict were slaine almost all the Englishe men, and sixe thousand Briteynes. Amongest whom were found dead the Lorde Wooduile, and the Lorde Iames Galeas borne in Naples. And of the Briteynes there were slaine the Lorde of Leon, the Lorde Mountfort, the Lorde Pontlabbe and many noble and notable persons of the British nacion. Of the French nacion were slain. xij. hundred persons. The Prince of Orenge, and the Duke of Orliaunce were taken prisoners, which Duke (although he were next heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Fraunce) should haue lost his head, if Ladie Iane his wife which was sister to Charles the French king, had not obteyned perdon and remission of his trespasse and offence. Howbeit, he was long after kept prisoner in the great Tower at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaunced to the Briteynes on a Monday, beyng the. xxvij. day of Iuly, in the yere of our redemption. 1488. and in the fourth yere of king Henry the seuenth.

An army sent by the king of Englande to ayde the Duke of Briteyne.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the king foreseeyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to hasten and set forward the matter before concluded, wherfore with al spede he sent Robert Lord Broke, Sir Iohn Cheyney, Sir Iohn Middleton, Sir Raufe Hilton, Sir Rychard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Laton, and Sir Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and couragious Capitaynes with viij. thousande men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Briteynes agaynst the Frenche men. These ioly men of warre had such prosperous wind that they arriued in Briteyn euen as they would wishe or desire. But when the French men knewe of their landyng, whome they knewe by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lustie) to be of great courage: Wherefore at the beginnyng they were all blanke, and for feare kept themselues craftily and pollitikely within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a small companye of light horsemen, the which to werie and abate the stout stomackes of the Englishe men, made in diuers places of the armie, skirmishes, outcryes, and alaromes. So for a certaine space they vsed this kinde of daliyng with the Englishe men, but euer the losse turned to the Frenche men. But beholde, while this warre was thus set forwarde, Fraunces Duke of Briteyn departed out of this life, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull Labcrinth, and in a great ambiguitie. For the chiefe rulers of the Briteynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desire of deuision and controuersie, fell into deuision among themselues, so that they seemed not to regarde the defence of their naturall Countrie, but rather minded the destruction and vtter confusion of the same. Which diuision the Englishe men perceiuyng, and also considerying that it was in the middest of Winter, in the which tyme it was not wholesome for men to lie in the frostie and moyst fieldes, they were compelled in

Fraunces Duke of Briteyne deceased.

maner by necessitie, within fiue monethes that they went forwarde, to returne backe againe into England.

After this Charles the Frenche king hauing thus the vpper hand of the Briteynes, perceiuyng that Maximilian King of Romaines laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heyre to Fraunces Duke of Briteyne, for her yonger sister was late deade, which he thought was neyther for his profite, nor aduauntage, concluded a peace with the Briteynes. By which treatie he had the Lady deliuered into his possession, and after her deliueraunce, he refusyng the mariage of the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the foresayde king of Romaines, espoused the Ladie Anne Duchesse of Briteyn, by which meanes the Duchy of Britein was annexed to the Crowne of Fraunce, as hereafter shall appere when it tooke effect, which was not two yeres after.

1489 5

Now to the money layde out, as concerning the charge of thys battaile. It was decreed by the three estates (as you haue heard) before that any souldiours were sent into Briteyne, that for the expence of that warre, euerye man should be taxed and assessed at the summe of his substaunce, & should pay the tenth peny of his goodes, for the maintenaunce of the warre in Briteyn. Which money the most part of them that dwelt in the Bishoprike of Durham and Yorkeshire, refused vtterly to pay, eyther thinking themselues ouercharged with the greatnesse of the same, and therewith greeued, or excited and procured through the euill counsaile and seditious perswasion of certaine persons, which priuily conspired agaynst the king, to put him to newe trouble and businesse. Therefore such as were by the kings commaundement made Collectors and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they could not get the money according to the extractes to them by the Comissioners deliuered, made their complaint priuily to Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberlande, chiefe ruler of the North parties. And he immediatly vpon the knowlege thereof, signified to the kings grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, making open proclamation that they haue beene charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, wythout any defaut or desert, and that nowe there was a houge some required of them, which neyther they were able to satisfie so great a demaunde, nor yet would once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe required. The king commaunded the Erle in any wise by distresse or otherwise according to his discretion, to exact the money of the people, and by compulsion to enforce such to payment as whyned most at it, lest that it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by hym and hys highe Court of Parliament, should by hys rude and rusticall people be contemned and despised. The rude, rashe, and vnaduised people, hearing thys aunswere of the king, by and by, violently set vpon the Erle, by the procurement of a simple felowe called Iohn of Chambre, whome the Erle intreated wyth fayre wordes to come to reason, but they laiyng to hys charge that he was the chiefe author and principall causer of thys taxe and tribute paiyng, both hym and dyuers of hys housholde seruaunts, furiously and shamefully murthered & killed. Diuers affirme that the Northren men bare against this Erle continuall grudge, sithe the death of king Richard, whom they entirely loued and highly fauored, which secret Serpent caused their furie to wade farther then reason could retract or restrayne. Although thys offence were great and heynous, yet there succeeded after a more mischiefe and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northren men to cloke this murther and manslaughter, by a vyolence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to them a Capitane called Sir Iohn Egremonde knight, a person no lesse seditious then factious, and desirous of trouble, and ordred themselues lyke men of warre, and passyng by the Countryes, they publyshed and declared that they would byd battayle to the king, onely for the defence of their common libertie and freedome, which he would pluck, and by hys extreme power take from them. But when their cause should be decided with blowes and handstrokes, their furie was asswaged and cooled, their hartes were in their heeles, and their stomackes as colde as any stone, and euerye one wyshed that thys tumult were quenched, which

Rebellion for the payment of a Taxe.

Iohn of Chambre murdered Henry the fourth Erle of Northumberlande.

Sir Iohn Egremond knight, rebelleth.

which was nowe alreadie not smoking but enflamed: And in conclusion euery man ranne away, some this way, and some that way, as men amased when they lack counsayle. When euery man was returned, the matter was ended as they imagined, but while they diligently laboured to saue their lynes by flight, they sought their awne destruction. For the most part of them were punished by death or by imprisonment for the same offence. For the king heeryng of thys tumulteous busynesse, sent foorth Thomas Erle of Surrey, whome not long afore he had delyuered out of the Tower, and receaued to his grace and speciall fauour (as he was both for hys wyt and fidelitie well worthy) with a competent crewe of men into the North partes, which skirmished with a certayne companye and discomfited them, and tooke a lyue Iohn a Chambre the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe roade after the Erle into Yorkeshire, of whose comming the slaues and sturdie rebels were so abashed and afrayde, that they fled more and lesse, which afterward were apprehended and greeuously punished, according to their demerites and deseruing. Yet the king of his magnificent minde, pardoned the innocent and rurall people, and plagued and executed the inuenters of the mischiefe, and the furtherers of the same. For Iohn a Chamber was hanged at Yorke vpon a gibbet, set vpon a square payre of Gallowes, lyke an Archetraytour, and his complices and lewde disciples were hanged on the lower Gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of all other. But Sir Iohn Egremond, whome these seditious persons preferred to be their Capitayne, fled into Flaunders to the Ladie Margaret Duches of Burgoyne, which euer enuied the prosperitie of king Henry.

Iohn a Chambre taken and beheaded.

Sir Iohn Egremond fled into Flaunders.

When thys foolishe enterprise was thus quenched, the king gaue commission and charge to Sir Rychard Tunstall knight, a man of great wit, pollicie and discretion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to him due of the people, and he himselfe returned shortly to London, leauyng the Erle of Surrey to rule the North partes, perceauyng well the Englishe men, not so much to grudge at the payment of the taxe or trybute, as they did grone at the excessiue and importable summe vpon them assessed, remembring the olde prouerbe, loue me little and loue me long.

Before this time, Maximilian king of Romaines, which as you haue heard in the time of king Edward the fourth, had contrarie to the minde and will of the French king espoused Ladye Marie, daughter and heyre to Lewys the French king, and by her had issue a son called Philip and Margaret which was affied to Charles the seuenth French king & by him repudiate & forsaken was so sore offended & greatly grieued with the Flemings, but most of all with the Gauntoys & Brugians, for kepyng from him perforce his son & heyre duke Philip, which neither by gētle request nor cruel manace would deliuer the son to his naturall father and lawfull parent. Wherfore the king Maximilian assembled a cōpany of Almaines & Ouerlanders (for he did not greatly put his cōfidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) & made sharpe war on the Flemings, in the which he little preuayled. For the Flemings sent to the French king for aid & succor, which being glad of ỹ request, sent Philip de Creuecure Lord Desquerdes, cōmonly called the Lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great armie of men, to ayde and succor the Flemings trusting by that meanes, to obtein both the possession of the yong infant Duke Philip & the whole coūtry of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entendyng to allure the Flemings from the French men, began first to practise with them of Bruges, of which towne the grauest men, sone cōdiscended and agreed to reason, requiring him to come to their towne, and sent to him with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with dyuers other, to aduertise him that at his comming thether, he should find them conformable to his will & request. Vpon trust whereof he entred into ỹ towne small accompanyed, thinking that the lords & Senate would ioyously haue receaued and welcommed him. But the matter turned cleane contrarie, for the light witted persons, to whome peace was treason, taking this occasion to them offered, cryed to harnesse. When they which had brought the king into the towne, saw the tumult of the people, & that no man came

Maximilian king of Romanes.

came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, & fled into corners. The warden of the Smithes was the chiefe of the route, which bade the king to take patience a whyle, & he should haue a gentle imprisonment, & so conueied him to the house of Iohn Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaines were al banished the towne, & the lords of Gaunt were sent for, which taried not long. When they had the pray ỳ they expected, first dyuers Citizens which they thought fauourable to Maximilian they behedded. Mathew Spert, one of his chiefe cousailors & trusty friends, was sent to Gaunt, & there put to death. Then Iohn Capenoll a busie Marchant, would in all hast haue ridden to induct the French king as their souereigne lord, to whom the most part would in no wise agree nor cõsent, nor yet intended to disinherit ỳ yong Duke Phylip of his grandfathers inheritance.

Maximilian taken prisoner in the towne of Bruges.

Mathew Spert.

When execution was done of the wise and sad consaylers, the newe made rulers caused their Prince king Maximilian to be brought to ỳ towne house, and there they layde to his charge, that he had not obserued the treatie, which they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded wyth the French king. Secondarily, they alleged that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authoritie, which without their assent would haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their great preiudice and detriment. Many other fond and foolishe articles they layde to him, which the eares of euery honest creature knowyng the duetie of the subiect to his prince, would abhorre and detest, to the which he so wisely and boldely answered, that in part he asswaged their malice and mitigated their rage. Insomuch that he was more gentler intreated then he was before. For if his aunswere had bene to them displeasaunt, or if he had manaced them but one worde, I thinke in their furie they would haue dispatched him out of his lyfe and lande. The Gauntoys woulde haue delyuered him to the Frenche king, but the Brugians woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desired to haue him in their custodie in Gaunt, but the Citizens of Bruges vtterly denied his deliuerye. Wherefore the Gauntoys in great displeasure departed. After whose departure the Brugians were content to set him at libertie, so that he and diuers of his nobilitye should sweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and forgeue all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but also should sweare and promise, neyther to remember nor reuenge the same. Thys othe he sware in the great Church of Bruges, and the Lorde of Raueston called Philip Mounseur, and the Lorde of Beuers and diuers other sware the same, adding thereunto, that if he did attempt any thing contrary to his othe and promise, then they sware to take part with the good townes of Flaunders against him and his adherents. And vpon this promise he was deliuered, and frankly set at libertie.

Note howe yᵗ the subiectes charge their Prince.

But Fredericke the Emperour coulde not forget the reproch and despite that was shewed to him in his sonne, & the great iniury and wrong that was done to his sonne, partlye to his dishonour, scourged Flaunders wyth sharpe warre and mortall afflictions (Maximilian lyng in quiet, and nothing attemptyng) but Philip Mounseur, Lord of Raueston, the which toke his othe with kyng Maximilian, to shew that the warre was renouate without his knowlege and assent, forsooke Maximilian his Lorde, and tooke the townes of Yper & Scleuse with both the Castles of the same Hauen, which he manned, and victeyled, & kept two yeres against the power of Maximilian till he rendred them to Sir Edward Pownynges, sent thether by the Kynge of Englande, as you shall hereafter well perceyue. Beside this, the foresayd Philip not only exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians, & other townes of Flaunders, to rebell against their soueraigne Lorde, but also sente to the Lorde Cordes to ayde him to conquere such townes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy. This Lorde Cordes, which vntruelye reuolted from Duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng his bringer vp and chiefe preferrer to Lewys the French kyng (as you haue hearde before) was glad of this, and so sent to the ayde of the Flemings eight thousande Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquer such townes, as were in the way betwene Fraunce and Burges, or Calice and Burges. The Captaynes folowyng his deuyse, be-

Frederick the Emperor.

siegad

sieged a litle walled towne, called Dipenew, to whome came foure thousande Flemynges with vittayle and artillery, sent from Philippe Mounseur. They layde siege on the Northside of the towne in a Maryshe grounde, then beyng drie, and so deepely ditched their campe, and so highlye trenched it, on which trench they layde their Ordinaunce, that it was in maner impossible to enter into their campe, or to doe them anye displeasure or dammage. The kyng of Englande was dayly aduertised of these doynges, which nothing lesse desired then to haue the Englishe pale and territory enuironed with French fortresses. For he pereeaued well that if the Frenchemen gat Dipenewe, they woulde afterwarde assayle Newport and Graueleyng, and consequentlye, what with force, and what with corrupcion of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of Duke Philippe and all Flaunders, which should not be to the profit of him nor his subiectes. Wherfore sodainely with great expedicion he sent ouer to the Lorde Dawbeney to Calice, the Lord Morley with a Crew of valiaunt archers and souldiours to the number of a thousand men, wyth priuy instructions, what they should do.

When they were landed, they pupblished and saide that they came to defende the English pale, if the Frenchmen or Fleminges woulde attempt any maistryes there. But their enterprise was all otherwise. For on a Tuesday at the shuttyng of the gates at night, the Lorde Dawbeney Chiefetayne of the army, the Lorde Morley, Sir Iames Tirrell, Capitayne of Guysnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gylbert Talbot, Sir Humfrey Talbot, Marshall of Calice, and diuers other Knightes, and Esquiers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Guysnes and Calice, to the number of two thousande men, or thereabout, issued priuily out of Calice, and passed the water of Graueleyng in the morning betymes, and left there for a stale and to kepe the passage, sir Humfrey Talbot, with sixe score Archers, and came to Neweport, where they found the soueraigne of Flaunders, with sixe hundred Almaines, and there they commoned and paused that night.

On the next day as they came secretly toward Depinew (see the chaũce) at a place of execucion, neere the high way, was a Gauntoys (which was come out of the army for a spie, and apprehended by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng which amongst the English men knewe sir Iames Tyrrell, and called to hym for comfort and succour, promising him that if he would saue hys lyfe, he would guyde them where they should enter on the Gauntoys, to their honour and aduaunta_e, and he would be the first assayfaunt of all the companye. When his promise was r_arded, after request made to the Borough maisters and Capitaynes of the towne, he was pardoned but not deliuered. The next day in the morning, after they had ordered their armie, their guyde conueyed them out at the Southgate of the towne by a high banke set with Wyllowes, so that the Gauntoyes could not well espie them, and so secretly came to the ende of the Campe of their enemies, and there pawsed. The Lorde Dawbeny commaunded all men to sende their horses and Wagons back, but the Lorde Morley sayde he would ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceyued) so they passed on till they came to a lowe banck and no depe diche, where their Ordinaunce laye, and there the Archers shot altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to the grounde, their enemies discharged their Ordinaunce all at once, and ouershot them, the Archers rose and shot agayne, and bet them from their ordinaunce. The Almaynes lept ouer the diche with their morish pikes, the Englishe men in the forefront waded the diche, and were holpen vp by the Almaynes, and set on their enemies, and slue and tooke many prisoners. The other Englishe men hasted by the cawsey to enter in at the North gate of the Campe, where the Lorde Morley beyng on horseback in a riche Coate was slayne with a Gonne. When hys death was knowne, euery man kylled hys prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them to the number of eight thousand men, insomuch that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemishe Chronicle reporteth), there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayde place two chiefe Capitaynes, George Peccanet, and Anthony Nyewnhome. On the Englishe part was slayne the Lorde Morley, and not an hundred mo. The Englishe men tooke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with all their spoyle and great horses. And by the waye hearing cer-

The Lorde Morley slain.

This was called Dixmew field.

tayne Frenchmen to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the French men fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the Lorde Dawbeny left all the Englishe men, that were hurt or wounded, and caryed with him the dead Corpes of the Lord Morley and buried it honorably at Calice. This field was profitable to the Englishe men, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in sylke, and they that went out on foote, came home on great horses, such is the chaunce of victory.

The Englishe men had a great victorye.

The Lorde Cordes beyng at Yper with, xx. thousande men was sore discontent with this ouerthrow: wherfore he thinking to be reuenged, came and besieged the towne of Newport strongly (the which Capitaine Monseur De Marwede, before Capitaine of Dipenew, and all the Gentlemen of Westflaunders, and the three principal Cities of Flaunders, and vittayled the French hoste so well, that all thinges was to good cheepe) they without shot at the walles, and brake them in many places, and they within sore grieued them without with their artillary. But the Englishe men that were hurt at Dixmewe fielde before, and might either stand or drawe Bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a Tower, and perforce entered it, and set vp the Banner of the Lorde Cordes: But as God would, during the time of the assault there arryued from Calice a Bark with. lxxx. fresh English Archers, which came straight to the Tower. The women of the towne, perceiuyng the English men come, cryed with lamentable and lowde voyces, help Englishmen, help Englishmen, shoote English men, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurt men, and of the couragious hartes of the new come Archers, and the stout stomackes and diligencie of the women, which as fast as the Englishe men strake downe the enemies, the women were redie to cut their throtes, they wanne againe the Tower, and slue the Frenche men and rent the Banner of the Lord Cordes, and set vp the Penon of saint George. Then the Frenchmen, supposyng a great ayde of Englishmen, to haue beene come to the towne by sea, left the assault. And the night folowyng the couetous Lorde Cordes (which so sore longed for Calice, that he would commonly say, that he would gladly lye seuen yeres in hell, so that Calice were in the possession of the French men) brake vp his siege and shamefully returned to Hesding. And the English men glad of this victory, returned again to Calice.

Iames king of Scottes in great hatred of hys subiectes.

This yere also, the realme of Scotland suffered an infectious and mortall plague, because the name of Iames the thirde, king of Scottes was so odious, so hated and disdeyned of the whole Nobilitie of the realme of Scotland, chiefely because they perceyued that he set more by vile borne villaines and light persons, then by the Princes and Nobles of his realme, as I haue declared to you in the historie of king Edwarde the fourth, which mischiefe, and vngrate discommoditie, after they had tollerated and paciently suffred no small tyme to their great grudge and displeasure. They now thought it most expedient for their purpose and welfare, euen by force of armes to recouer their former libertie, and auncient freedome. Therefore makyng priuily a conspiracie together against their Prince and souereigne Lorde, compassed his death and destruction. Yet that it might not be thought that they did entend the destruction of their natiue Countrie, they made the kinges sonne named after his father Iames, Prince of Rothsay (a childe borne to goodnesse and vertue) their Capitaine, in maner agaynst his will, openly protestyng, that they purposed the confusion and deposyng of an euile king, and wretched Prince, and not the subuersion and destruction of their Countrie: by which craftie imagined inuention, they might eyther cloke or put away from them all suspicion, of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie: Whereof the king beyng credibly informed, was vexed and sore tormented in his minde for this cause in especiall, that he should haue ciuile dissention with his awne subiectes and natiue Countrimen, yea, and agaynst his awne sonne beyng made Capitaine of that vntrue and peruerse company, whome next to himselfe he loued, fauored, and honored, imaginyng with himselfe that this commocion sounded to none other effect, but that the head should fight and striue with the other members and partes of the naturall bodie: and yet on the other syde, not to resist shortly their newe begon enterprise,

might easily encourage and enflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemyes, with more boldnesse to attempt farther mischiefe and inconuenience. Therefore to the intent to make a plaister for both these sores to be healed: First to appease and asswage the fury and rumor of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an armie of men. After that he sent Ambassadours to his sonne and the Nobilitie assembled with him, for a loue, peace, concord, and vnitie to be concluded amongest them. Also he sent letters to the king of Englande and the French king, requiryng them that they would vouchsafe with their good and Godlye counsaile to helpe and assay to mittigate and asswage this furious enormitie of his rude and sauage people, which was practised and begon through the perswasion and procurement of certein pernicious and sedicious persons. And besides this, he wrote to the Bishop of Rome Innocent for the same matter, in the which he earnestly desired and prayed him that he would of his goodnesse sende some one Legate to these rebelles of his Nobilitie, to charge and commaund them, that they settyng asyde all warre and hostilitie, to embrace quietnesse, rest, and vnitie.

The miserable estate of Iames king of Scottes.

This miserable decrepite and aged king, thinkyng that both delaiyng and continuance of time, and also the entreatyng and hartie prayers of hys friendes and alyes would quenche their inordinate wildenesse and furious rage, and perswade them to sobrietie and good conformitie, had rather with these, and other semblable medicines remedie this yong springyng sore, then he would haue it experimented, & tryed with ciuill battaile, which he thought to be a thing both vngodly and vnnaturall. For all this, no medicine, no coũsaile, no wholesome precepts could appease or pacifie the angrie mindes and ragyng wittes of the Scottishe Nobilitie, so much were they addicted and bent to this folly and vnreasonable madnesse. Insomuch, as to the messengers sent from him to them beyng their souereigne Lorde they made thys vnreasonable and vnhonest aunswere, that is: if he woulde resigne the title of his Crowne and Realme, and depose himselfe of his royall dignitie, then they woulde common with him of a peace, or else their eares were stopped from beeryng of any entreatie or perswasion. The same aunswere brought the Ambassadour of England and Fraunce to theyr Princes, which sore lamented the peruerse fortune and mischaunce of their friend the Scottishe king, as though they had bene partakers of his affliction: But Adrian the Bishop of Romes Legate, of whom we will speake more hereafter came to late, and as who should say, a day after the faire.

Iames the third king of Scottes shamefully slayne and murdered.

When nothing could moue or pierce the stony harts or frostie mynds of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they met together in a pitched field, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore siely king fledde into a Myll for succour, whether he was folowed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murdered, and vnreuerently, (not like a Prince, or a crowned king) left starke naked like a stinkyng carion. Then the Princes of Scotland being saciat and filled with the blood and slaunghter of their souereigne Lorde and king (thinkyng that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to them done and committed by king Iames the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the Prince his sonne, & named him Iames the fourth of that name.

Iames the fourth king of Scottes consented to the murther of his awne father.

Before this time, as you haue heard, Innocent Bishop of Rome had sent in Legacie Adrian of Castella, a man of Heturia, borne in the towne of Cornete, called in the old time Newcastell, which should haue gone to Scotland, to haue pacified by his auctoritie and commaundement this troublesome businesse, moued and stirred betwene the king and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iourneyes, when he came to England, was informed of the king, (to whom he had certaine commaundements and messages to say from the Romishe Bishop) that he came to late to accomplishe the commission of his Legacie, assertainyng him that the Scottish king was dead, gently aduisyng him, that he should not moue one foote farther but tary still in England, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was plainly certified by the Bishops of Scotland of the kinges death. This Adrian taried certaine monethes after this in England, and was made much off, and highly commended and lawded to the king by Iohn Morton Bishop

of

of Cauntorbury, which for the good learnyng, vertue, and humanitie, that he saw and perceyued to be in him, shewed to him all poyntes of humanitie and friendship, that a friend might do to a friend. And vpon his commendation, the king thinking this man worthie to be loked vpon, and mete to do the king pleasure, much phantasied and more fauoured this Legate Adryan, insomuch that he was Oratour and solicited his cause, both to Innocent, and also to Alexander the sixt, Bishops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent seruice, he so loued and fauored him, that he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortly after that resigned and geuen ouer, he promoted him to the Bishoprike of Welles and Bathe. And not long after this Adryan was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successiuely by al the degrees of spirituall dignities, into the College and societie of Cardinalles. For Innocent first made him his Collector in England, and also one of the seuen Prothonotaries. After this Alexander the sixt had him as one of his priuie counsaile, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinall: But who is that I pray you that will maruaile at this, which aswell may be geuen to fooles and dizerdes, as to wise and learned men? There is another praise of this Adrian, and the same in maner eternall: The man was of profound learnyng, and knowlege, not vulgare, but straunge, newe, and difficile, and in especiall he was a man of a ripe iudgement, in electyng and choosyng fine termes, and apt and eloquent wordes, which first of our tyme, after that golden worlde of Tullie, moued men with his writyng to immitate and followe the most approbate, and allowed aucthours that were of eloquencie, and taught the trade and phrase to speake fine, pure, freshe, and cleane latyne, so that by his example and document, eloquence flourisheth at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherefore after my iudgement, sayth Hall, he is not worthie to be put in obliuion: but nowe to my purpose.

Adrian a Cardinall of Rome.

The Britishe affayres in the meane season, because that all discord was not appeased, began again now to flow out and to trouble, and set all things in a newe broyle and busiesse. For Maximilian king of Romaines beyng without a wife, before this tyme, made suyte to Fraunces Duke of Briteyn, to haue in mariage the Ladie Anne his daughter, to the which request the Duke gently condiscended. And one, which by proxie wooed for him: to the entent that the Ladie should performe that she promised on her fayth and honour, he vsed a newe inuention and tricke, after this maner. When the Ladie did take her Chamber, the night after the affiaunce, she was layde naked in the Bride bed, in the presence of diuers noble Matrones and Princes, called thether as witnesses. The Procurator or Deputie for the husband which represented his person, was layde in the place of her husband, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the hard knee, in the sight and companie of many noble personages, as who sayde that the virgin had bene carnally knowne and so the matrimonie perfite and consummate, and they two as man and wife. But this fonde newe found cerimonie was little regarded, and lesse esteemed, of him that onely studied and watched howe to surrept and steale this Turtle out of her newe and lodgyng. For Charles the French king (as no man can blame him) was desyrous and greedy to be coupled in mariage, with so great an inheritor, and reputing the maryage made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busily and incessantly he made sharpe warre, and scourged the Briteynes, to the entent he might both haue the Ladie and her Dominions also at his will and pleasure. But he imagined that the king of England would cast a trumpe in his way, and be an impediment to his purpose, by sendyng into Briteyn a newe armie of Englishe men, for he had intelligence by his priuie fautours.

A fond ceremonie in the accomplishement of matrimonie.

King Henry, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, were fully decreed to ayde, assist, and defend the Duchesse and Duchie of Briteyn, in all ieopardies and aduentures, to the entent that they agaynst theyr wil and affection should not be by force compelled to submit themselues to the subiection & grieuous yoke of the French king, for the which cause, these two Princes were ioyned in a league and confederacie, to resist, and to remoue this manifest

manifest wrong and apparant iniurye. Wherefore he sent in all post hast the Lorde Fraunces of Luxenborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagine, minister of the *bone homes* of the Trinity, to king Henry for a peace to be confirmed and had, which when they came before the kinges presence, were accepted and enterteyned after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of the effect of their message, their request was that king Charles, as chiefe and supreme Lorde ouer the seignorie and Duchie of Briteyn, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceyued by king Henry, lawfully order and depose at his will and pleasure, the mariage of Ladie Anne of Briteyne, as his ward and Orphan, without any let and disturbance of the king of Englande, or any of his alyes and confederates. King Henry thereto would not condiscend, but still harped on this string, that the virgin, which was lawfully knit in matrimonie with Maximilian king of Romaynes, shoulde not be compelled agaynst her will and promise (beyng contrarie to all lawe, right and equitie) to take any other person then him to her spouse and husband, for that it was cleerely repugnant to all veritie and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had lyngred the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vaine argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of theyr requestes obteyned: after long debating and consultation, they were resolued on this point, least it should be thought that all their Legation had bene in vaine, & brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amitie shoulde be drawne with condicions, clauses and couenauntes. And for the farther furtheraunce of that purpose, it was thought necessary and expedient that the king of England should send Ambassadors to the Frenche king, which in his name, and by his auctoritie might briefely conclude and finishe the league and treatie that was in communication framed and begon. Wherevpon king Henrye dismissed the French Ambassadors laden with great and large rewardes into their Countrie, and dispatched and sent straight after them by his commission and auctority, Thomas Erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldston Prior of Christes Church in Cauntorbury his Ambassadours to Charles the Frenche king, instructyng them fully of all thinges that he would haue eyther moued or determined.

Alexander Bishop of Rome.

In thys meane space, Alexander Byshop of Rome the sixt of that name which succeeded after Innocent, a man full of diligence, and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonell Byshop of Concorde Legate, to the French king for certayne matters, among other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwene king Charles and king Henry. When he had declared hys message to the French king fully, and had easily obteyned all thinges that he required, then he began to moue vnto the French king and his nobles, with a long and prolixe exhortation to make and conclude a perpetuall peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the French men to make no great deniall of hys request, he determined to attempt and moue King Henry to consent and agree to the same desire and peticion: and tooke his iourney towardes England, and at Calice he encountered the Ambassadours both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receyued him into the towne of Calice, with many ceremonies and great reuerence. Where after they had communed the matter a certayne space, as concerning their affayres and busines, they departed toward the French king, and the Byshop was transported into England. The king honorably and gently entertayned this Legate Lyonell, and gaue good eare to his pleasaunt and eloquent oration, wherein he perswaded hym with many flattering and glosing wordes, to enter into a league and amitie with king Charles of Fraunce, and the French Nation. To the which request, the king made aunswere that he woulde be glade and ioyous, if it might be compassed and brought about (after long trouble and pernitious dissention) to liue in peace and mutuall amitie with all christen men. Byshop Lyonell, perceyuing the kings minde and intent went back agayne to Fraunce with all speede and diligence (and as it was meete and decent for the Bishop of Concorde) he determined to extirpate and driue out of the kings memorie all olde reconynges and iniuries

done

done to him heretofore, and plant if it myght be, in hys hart and minde, the verie goodly and gracious grayne of concorde and vnitie.

The Englishe Ambassadors then beyng with the french king purposed and set foorth articles and conclusions of peace. The french men prudently made aunswere, so that on both parties the matter was pollitiquely and artificially proponed and aunswered. The Englishe Ambassadors, to the entent that they might assent and obtayne a fewe things, which they much desired, required and demaunded many great and diuers things. The french men on the other side, minding to assent to no one demaund, at the ende, did denie and refuse all the Englishe mens desires, and conditions, and were sore angrie and mooued with their great requestes and highe demaundes. And in the meane season, trustyng more to their Coffers then to their chiualrie, as the maner of their Countrey is, for to obteyne their purpose, they spared not to disburse and launche out treasure, giftes, and rewardes innumerable, which is the very cause that they conquere more with crownes of Golde, then with speare and shielde, or dynt of sworde in battayle. So that shortly after the french king sent to the noble men of Briteyne great and many rewardes, solicityng and praiyng them all to become hys subiects and vassals. And in especiall he allured and entised the Ladie Anne by such honorable Matrones and Ladyes, as had the gouernaunce and education of her, to confirme her selfe true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeyne to be coupled in such a noble mariage, with so high and mightie a Prince, as king Charles was. And least peraduenture the Damosell fearing the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes would not consent to him for offending her conscience and breaking of her promise: To aduoyde that scruple, he caused dyuers to perswade and put in her head and tyttle in her eare, that the mariage made with Maximilian was of no strength and lesse efficacie, considering that it was concluded and made without the consent and wyll of hym, which is the chiefe Lordeand ought to haue the gouernaunce ouer her as his warde, and the whole Duchie of Briteyn, assuring her that she was deluded, and that the mariage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor perfite. And thys was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded and agreed betwene these two Princes. And where as the french king had long kept with him the Ladie Margaret, daughter to Maximilian & her solemply espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that mariage might be lawfully dissolued agayne, because the Lady was of that age, that she coulde neyther be gotten nor yet taken in mariage, for the which cause he might lawfully forsake and honestly put her from him.

By this craft and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspecting none euill, and brought her to this poynt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaymed by diuers, Princes of Briteyne, subornate and corrupted with meede contrary to their duetie and allegeaunce, was content to condissende and agree to that the French men demaunded, and not onely to submit her selfe to the French king, but also to take him to her make and husbande, by the reason whereof warre might cease, which with violencie and impression of the same, had troubled and afflicted all her whole Countrie. To this mariage agreed all the Nobilitie of Briteyne, which helde of the Frenche part, thinking it verily for the auauncement of the common weale and their ease, because to trust to the power of Maximilian, which was of no puyssaunce, they thought it vayne and of no efficacie. And when the French king had compassed and ordered his matters of thys fashion, priuily with the Ladye Anne, he hastened the mariage with all the expedition and diligence that was possible: So that the Englishe Ambassadors returned agayne to their Countrie, and nothing done or agreed vpon their matter.

King Henry, still paciently forbearyng and sufferyng till such tyme that he perceaued more plainly what way the worlde went: and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadors, that the Frenchmen meaned none other but playne guyle, and deceipt, determined no more with peaseable messages, but with open warre to finish and determine all controuersies and dyspleasures betwene him and the French kyng. Wherefore

he

he sommoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first the cause why hee was iustlye prouoked to make warre against the French kyng: And after desired them of their beneuolent aide of men and money for the maintenaunce of the same. The cause of this battail, euery man did allow, and to the setting forth of the same promised all that they could make. The king cõmending them for their true and louyng hartes, to the entent hee might not aggrauate the common people, with paiyng of great taxes, and summes of money, whome hys minde was euer to kepe in fauour, woulde first exact money by a litle and a litle of the beneuolent minde of the richer sorte, and this kinde of exaction was first practised by king Edward the fourth, as it apereth before in his story. Therfore he consulted with his friendes, to inuent how to gather together a great summe of money, and published abrode that by their open giftes, hee woulde measure and search their beneuolent harts and louing minds toward him, so that he that gaue most should be iudged to be his most louing friende, and he that gaue litle, to be esteemed according to his gift. So by this meanes the king gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuerse places. A beneuolence.

You haue hearde before howe Philip Mounsure, Lorde of Rauestone by the ayde of Bruges and Gaunt had taken the towne, and two Castels of Scluce and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the three chiefe Cities of Flaunders: Nowe ye shall vnderstande that he did not onelye so fortifie as well with municions as men, both the towne and the two Castels, but also gat into the Hauen diuerse shippes and Barkes, and by this meanes he spoyled and toke prisoners all nations, passing eyther by sea or by lande to the mart at Andwarp, or into Brabant, Zealande, or Frislande, and was euer plentifully viteyled out of Fraunce and Pycardy to the great dammage of the Englishe men, which were spoyled dayly, and taken prisoners: Which thing Maximilian king of Romaines could not well remedy, nor the kyng of Englande without great cost and losse of men. For to it behoued an armie, both by sea and lande, for when hee was set for by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chased on the sea, he sought refuge in his two stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt. Nowe was a litle towne two myle from Bruges, and a hed spring to Scluce. The king of Romanes did oftentymes attempt the apprehending of this towne, to the entent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the Hauen of Scluce, nor the Sluysians shoulde haue no succour out of the towne of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no signe of defence, till all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and destroyed them. There was a great Duke in Almayne, called Duke Albert of the vpper Saxony, a great friend to the king of Romaynes, which made himselfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flaunders, a man of no lesse pollecy, then valiaunt hardinesse. This Duke required of the Lordes of Bruges, that he might enter peaceablye into their towne, according to his estate, with a certayne number of men of armes to communicate with them diuers matters of great weyght, and of no smal importaunce, and sent before his cariages and herbingers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges little doubted to admit so small a nũber into so populous a company, ye though the number were double, and especially, because they hearde saye that he woulde lodge in the towne all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie pollicie that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the Citie in good order, and he folowed, they that went before enquired after Innes and lodgings, as though they woulde repose themselues there all night, and so went foorth still in order asking for lodgyng, till they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde the foresayde towne of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the Bulwarke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitantes of the towne of Dam suspectyng no harme to come out of Bruges, thinkyng that their friendes knowyng some sodayne chaunce comming, to haue sent to them aide and succours, and so nothing mistrusting, did let them enter, and toke the towne of Damme, and so that towne, which coulde not be wonne by force of armes, was by a Philip Mounsure.

slight and pollicy attrapped and surprised, to the great detriment, and displeasure of the towne of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the Sea, which stopped, so continuyng, no doubt, but the towne of Bruges muste nedes fall in ruyne and vtter decay.

When Duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certified the kyng of Englande that he woulde besiege Sluyse by lande, if it pleased his maiestie to minister any ayde by the sea. King Henry which was wise, and forecastyng in all his affaires, remembring that Sluyse was the denne of theues to them that trauerse the seas towarde the East parties, incontinent dispatched sir Edwarde Pownynges, (a valiaunt Knight and hardie Captayne) wyth twelue shippes well furnished with bolde souldiours, and strong artillerye. Which sir Edwarde sayled into the hauen, and kept Philip Mounsure from stertyng by the sea. The Duke of Saxon besieged the one Castell, liyng in a church ouer against it, and the English men assaulted the lesse Castell dayly, and issued out of the shippes at the ebbe, and although they stoode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one day to rest or play by the space of. xx. dayes, and euery day slue some of their aduersaries, and on the Englishe part were slaine, Verre brother to the Erle of Oxford and fiftie mo.

The Lord Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of Boates betwene both the Castelles, by the which one might succor the other. Which Bridge the English men in a night set on fyre. Then he perceiuyng that he must nedes leese his Castelles by force, and that the Flemynges couide not ayde him, yelded the Castels to Sir Edward Pownyngs, and the towne to the Duke of Saxony, vpon certaine conditions. When the Duke and the English Capitaine met in the towne, there was betwene them great salutations and sir Edward kept the Castelles a while, of whome the Almanes demaunded stipend and salary, because that the Duke had nothing to pay. Then these two Capitaines so handled them of Bruges, that they were content not onely to submit themselues to the Lorde Maximilian, but also to pay and dispatche the Almaynes. And so sir Edward Pownynges taryed there a long space, and returned to the king before Boleyn. And so they which by reasonable order, would not be gouerned: by vnreasonable conditions were brought to conformitie and order.

The recouerie of the Citie of Granado from the Turkes.

The.vi. day of Aprill this present yere, the king commaunded all the nobilitie of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule in London, where after *Te deum* solempnly song, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury standyng on the steppes before the Queere dore, declared to the people, howe the famous Citie of Granado, which many yeres had beene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nation, beyng infidels & vnchristined people, and nowe of late besieged by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elizabeth his wife, King and Queene of Spaine, Aragon and Castell. And the sayde infidels, by reason of this siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittaile and necessary viand, perceiuyng that all succours were clerely stopped and kept away from them, and so brought into vtter dispaire of aide, or comfort: after long consultation had amongst them, rendred themselues and their Citie, to the sayd king.

About this season, Maximilian king of Romaynes hauing the vpper hande of the Fleminges, by the ayde of the king of Englande (as you haue heard before) entended to reuenge himselfe of the french king, for that he had forsaken and put away his daughter Lady Margaret, and sent her home to him, entending as he thought to take to his wife the Lady Anne of Briteyn. But because he was not of sufficient habilitie of himselfe to susteyne and furnishe the warre, he determined to desire king Henry to take part with hym. Wherevpon he sent Iames Cantibald Ambassador, a man of great grauitie, to exhort and require the king of England, to enter his companie and societie in armes, faythfully promising on his honour that he would in semblable matters of his, take his part with ten thousand men at the least, for the space of two yeres whensoeuer he should require him. And because it is his chaunce to trie the fortune of battayle and to moue the warre, he promised to certifie King Henry sixe Moneths before that he would inuade or occupie the territorie of his enemies. And by thys message Maximilian greatly enflamed and set a fyre King Henryes

Henryes hart to beare with hym. And as he was mynded before thys time as you haue heard to ayde and assist the Britones in the extremitie of their perill, he nowe reconed the time to be come, that he must collect an armie to helpe them nowe at a pinche in their most perill and daunger, to the entent to restore agayne the Britishe nation to their auncient libertie, and to expulse the French nation, which thirsted for the blood and destruction of the poore Brytons, and he was the more ardently therevnto encouraged, because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterprise, and therefore he made hys aunswere to Iames the Ambassadour, that he would be ashamed to be found slack or vnprouided at any time of Maximilian hys felow and companion in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the King dismissed the Ambassadour from his presence.

Creplegate.

Thys yere the gate in London called Creplegate, was new buylded at the cost and charges of Sir Edmond Shaw Knight late Maior of London.

Gracious streete Conduyte.

And the sayde yere was the bewtifull Conduyt in Gracious strete, builded by the Executors of Syr Thomas Hill knight and Grocer of London, and late Maior of the sayde Citie, as doth appere by certayne Verses written vpon the same Conduyt.

And this yere in Iulie was Henry the kinges seconde sonne borne at Grenewiche beside London, which succeeded his father in the kingdome of Englande by the name of king Henry the eyght.

1491

In this very season Charles the french king receaued Ladie Anne as his pupille into his handes, and with great solempnitie her espoused, hauing with her for her dower the whole countrey of Briteyn: and so by thys meane the Britons became subiect to the french king. Maximilian being certefied of thys, fell into a great rage and agonye, for that he was not content with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter Lady Margaret, but also had taken and rauished awaye from hym his assured wyfe Ladie Anne Duches of Briteyne. And calling vpon God for vengeaunce and punishment for suche an heynous and execrable fact, cryed out and rayled on him, wyshing him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pacified, and came to hymselfe agayne, & had gathered his wyts together, he thought it was most expedient to reuenge his honor and dignitie so manifestly touched with dint of sworde. And being in this minde, sent certaine Ambassadors to King Henry with his letters, desiring him with all diligence to prepare an armie, and he himselfe would doe lykewise, to inuade the French kings realmes with fyre, sworde and blood.

7 Charles the French king espouseth Ladie Anne Duchesse of Briteyne.

King Henry hearing of this, and putting no diffidence in the promise of Maximilian, whome he knewe to haue a deadly hatred and long grudge agaynst the French king, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a readynesse armed and weaponed, according to their feates: beside thys he rygged, manned and vitayled his Nauie readie to set forward euery houre, and sent Curryers into euery shire to hasten the souldiours to the sea side.

After the message was declared, there came without any delay an houge armie of men, as well of the low sort & commonalty, as other noble men, harnessed and armed to battail, partly glad to helpe their prince & do him seruice, and partly to buckle with the French men, with whom the English men very wyllingly desyre to cope & fight in open battail. And immediatly, as monition was geuen, euery man with his bande of Souldiours repayred to London.

An armie prouided for the ayde of Maximilian agaynst the French king.

After that all this armie was arrayed, and euen readie to set forwarde, whereof were chiefetaines and leaders, Iasper Duke of Bedford, & Iohn Erle of Oxforde beside other, the king sent Christopher Vrswike his Aulmoner, and syr Iohn Ryseley knight to Maximilian, to certefie him that the king was all in a redynesse, and would shortly arryue in the continent lande, assone as he were aduertised that Maximilian and his men, were readie and prepared to ioyne with him. The Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and after their message done, they sent two letters in all hast to king Henry, the which not onely sore vnquieted and vexed him, but also caused him to take more thought, care and

studie on hym then he did before: for they declared that no Prince could be more vnprouided or more destitute of men & armure, nor no more lacking all things, appertayning to warre, then was Maximilian, and that he lay lurking in a corner, sore sick of the fluxe of the pursse, so that he had neyther men, horses, munitions, armure nor money, neuerthelesse his minde and wyll was good, if his power and habilitie had beene correspondent, and therefore there was no trust to be put in his ayde or puyssaunce. Their lettres both dismayed and made sorowfull the king of England, which lyke a prudent Prince did well consider, that it were both ieopardous and costly, for him alone to enterprise so great a warre. And on the other part, if he should desist and leaue of his pretensed purpose, all men might call him coward and recreant Prince. Beside thys, he thought that his awne nation would not take hys tariyng at home in good nor fauourable part, considering that sithe they had geuen so large money for the preparation of all things necessarie and conuenient for the same, they might conceaue in their heades and imagine, that vnder colour and pretence of a dissimuled warre, he had exacted of them notable summes of money, and now the treasure was once payed, then the warre was done, and his cofers well enriched, and the commons enpouerished. So that at thys time he doubted and cast perilles on euery side and part, and beside thys, he was not a little sorie that Maximilian author of this warre did absent himselfe, and defraude him of his societie and assistance. And while he studied and mused what counsayle he should best take in such a doubtfull case, he lyke a graue Prince, remembring the saiyng of the wiseman, worke by counsayle, and thou shalt not repent thee, assembled together al his Lords and other of his priuate counsayle, by whose mindes it was concluded and determined, that he should manfully and courageously perceauer and proceede in this broched and begonne enterprise, recording well with themselues, and affirming plainely that all chiualrie and martiall prowesse, the more difficile and heard it is to attayne to, the more renoumed is the glorie, and the fame more immortall of the vanquisher and obteyner. Therefore by thys counsayle of his friends and Senate, he made proclamation that euery man should set forward into Fraunce, and yet openyng how Iudasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they knowyng the whole fact, should not be so courageous to go towarde that battayle and proceede forwarde on their iourney. And therefore to prouide and foresee all perils and daungers that might ensue, he so strengthened and augmented his armie in suche number before he tooke ship, that he with his awne power might discourage and ouercome the whole puyssaunce of his aduersaries.

Maximilian vnable to make any prouision for the warre, vtterly against his promes made to king Henrie.

King Henry brought into great perplexitie.

The noble & valiant courage of king Henrie the seuenth.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Calice the sixt day of October, and there encamped himselfe, tariyng there a certeyn space to see his men harnessed and apparelled, that neyther weapon nor any engine necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadors, which were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not know of it before) that Maximilian could make no preparation for lacke of money, and therefore there was no succor to be loked for at his hand. At the which report, the Englishe men were nothing abashed nor dismayed, trustyng to their awne puyssaunce & companie.

In the meane season, although the French king was as well with courage replenished, as with men furnished meete to trie a battaile, yet all thys notwithstandyng he made semblaunce, as though he desyred nothing more then peace, beyng not ignoraunt that peace to be obteyned was of no small valure and price, and yet he determined to make more expence in gettyng of peace, then in settyng forth of warre, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure to be dispensed for the aequiryng of vnitie and concorde, forasmuch as he was afrayde that he beyng diligent to resist the inuasion of the Englishe men, that the Britons whereof the most part bare the yoke of his subiection contrary to their hartes and mindes, would sodeinly rebell and set themselues at libertie, and plucke their heades out of his Coller, and set vp another Duke & gouernour. And at the same very time he was inuited and desired of Lewys Sforcia Duke of Millain, to warre against Ferdinand king

of

of Naples, at whose desyre he was prest & ioyous, thinkyng that he had that occasion sent to him from God, for the which he long before thristed & sore wished. The which kingdome he pretended to be due to him by succession, and entended long before to acquire and conquer it by force of armes, as his very right and enheritaunce. For when Reyne Duke of Angeou last king of Scicile, departed without any heyre male of his wife lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heyre of all his realmes and Dominions, Lewys the. xj. father to the thirde king Charles, to the entent that he should deliuer Queene Margaret his daughter out of the handes of king Edward the fourth, as you haue well before perceyued, wrongfully and without cause disenheritynge his Cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene Duke of Lorayne, and Barre. For the which cause he did the more busily procure and labour for the amitie, fauour, and friendship of his neighbours round about him, that when all thinges were appeased and set in good stay at home, he might the better employ his whole force and puyssaunce on his warre in Italy. Wherefore beyng much desyrous to haue all thinges pacified and set in a perfite concorde and securitie, he sent Philip Creueceur Lorde Cordes his chiefe Counsaylor and diligent officer to entreate and perswade the king of Englande to be reconciled and made againe as a newe friend to the french king. He not forgettyng his message, sent letters to king Henry before he passed the sea, and arriued in the firme lande, by the which he notified to him, that he of his bounden dutie and obseruaunce, which he ought to the King his maister, and to the profite of his realme, would take pain to inuent some meane and way, that his highnesse and king Charles his mayster beyng disseuered in amitie, and made exstreme enemyes, onely for the cause of Maximilian newely elected king of Romaynes, should be reducted and brought againe into their pristine estate and accustomed familiaritie, doubting not to bring his ship to the port desyred, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his counsaylors to the confines and borders of the Englishe pale, adioyning to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offers should be declared and proffered: which condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample, that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie backe againe into his awne seignory and dominion.

The French king entreateth the king of England for peace.

The king of Englande grauely consideryng that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beyng nowe adioyned to the Crowne of Fraunce by mariage, which Duchie his whole mynde was to defende, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subiectes, lay still lyke a Dormouse nothyng doyng, perceiuyng also that it should be both to his people profitable, and to hym great honour to determine this great warre without losse or bloodshed, appointed for commissioners the Bishop of Excester, and Gyles Lorde Dawbeney to passe the seas to Calice, to commen with the Lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the Commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectuouslye proceeded in their great affayres, that they agreed that an amitie and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the condicions of the league should be equall, indifferent, and acceptable to both partes as after shall be declared.

While the Commissioners were thus consultyng on the Marches of Fraunce, the king of England as you haue heard, was arriued at Calice, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iourney. And from thence he remoued in foure battailes, nere to the towne of Boleyn, and there pitched his tentes before the towne, in a place mete and conuenient, and determined to geue a great assault to the towne. In the which fortresse was such a garrison of warlike Souldiours, that valiauntly defended the towne, and the same so replenished with artillary and municions of warre, that the losse of the Englishemen assaultyng the towne, shoulde be greater dammage to the realme of England, then the conqueryng and gainyng of the same shoulde be gaine or profite. Howbeit the kings dayly shot, rased and defaced the walles of the sayde towne: But when euery man was prest and redie to geue the assault, a sodaine rumor rose in the armie, that a peace was

Boleyne besieged.

by the commissioners taken and concluded, which brute as it was pleasaunt and delectable to the Frenche men, so it was to the English nation bitter, sowre, and dolorous, because they were prest and redye at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprice, which might seeme eyther to be for theyr laude or profite: they were in great fumes, angrye, and euill content, railyng and murmuryng amongest themselues, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offred, was by certain conditions to no man, nor yet to the king commodious or profitable, refused, put by and shamefully slacked: But aboue all other, dyuers Lordes and Capitaynes, encouraged with desire of fame and honour, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurres, which for to set themselues and theyr band the more gorgiously forwarde, had exchaunged and borowed diuers and sundrie summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had morgaged and laydé to gage theyr landes and possessions, sore grudged and lamented at this sodaine peace, and spake largely agaynst the kinges doynges, saiyng and affirmyng, that he as a man fearing & dreadyng the force and puissaunce of his enemies, had concluded an incōuenient peace without cause or reason: But the king as a wise man & most prudent Prince to asswage the indignation & to pacifie the murmour of the people declared what dammage and detriment, what losse and perdition of many noble Capitaynes and strong Souldiours must of necessitie happen and ensue at the assault of a towne, and especially when it is so well fortified with men and munitions, as the towne of Boleyne at that present tyme was: protestyng farther, that he might bee iustly accused and condemned of iniquitie and vntruth, except he did preferre the sauegarde of theyr lyues, before his awne welth, helth, and aduauntage.

A peace concluded with Fraunce.

When he had thus prudently quyeted and appeased the mindes of hys men of warre, he returned backe againe with his whole armie to the towne of Calice, where he began to smell certaine secret smoke, which was lyke to turne to a great flame, without it were well watched and pollitikely sene to. For by the craftie inuention and deuilish imagination of the Ladie Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyn, a newe ydoll was set vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had bene resuscitate from death to life, which sodeyne newes more stack and fretted in his stomacke, then the battaile which nowe was set late forward, and more paine he had (not without great ieopardie of himselfe) to appease and quenche this newe sprong conspiracie, then in makyng peace with the French king his enemie. And so he was content to accept and receyue (and not to offer and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemye profered except hee woulde at one tyme make warre both at home in his awne Countrie, and also in foreyne and externe nations. Wherefore king Henry foreseeyng all these thinges concluded with the Frenche king, to the entent that he beyng deliuered of all outwarde enmitie, might the more quicklye prouide for the ciuile and domesticall commocions which he perceyued well to bee buddyng out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, that the peace should continue both their lyues, and that the French king should pay to king Henry a certaine summe of money in hande, accordyng as the Commissioners should appoynt for his charges sustayned in hys iourney: Which (as the king certefyed the Maior of London by his letters the. ix. day of Nouember) amounted to the summe of seuen hundred. xlv. thousand ducates, which is in sterlyng money. C. lxxxvj. M. CC. l. pound, & also should yerely for a certein space pay or cause to be paied, for the money that ỹ king of England had sent and exspended in the tuition and ayde of the Briteynes. xxv. M. Crownes, which yerely tribute, although the French king were afterwarde vexed and troubled with the warres of Italy, yet he yerely satisfied, cōtented and payed the same, euen vnto the tyme of his sonne king Henry the eyght.

Margaret Duchesse of Burgoyne. Richard Plātagenet duke of Yorke, second sonne of king Edwarde the fourth.

The conclusion of the peace.

Also in this soiourning and besieging of Boleyne (which we spake of before) there was fewe or none killed, sauyng onely one Iohn Sauage knight, which goyng priuely out of hys pauilion with Sir Iohn Risely, roade about the walles to viewe & see their strength, was sodaynely trapped and taken of his enemies. And he being inflamed with yre, although he

he were captiue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of such vileynes, defended his lyfe to the vtterraost and was manfully (I wil not say wilfully) slaine and oppressed, albeit sir Iohn Risely fled from them and escaped their daunger.

The king hauing put all things in an order beyond the Seas, did then with speede returne into Englande, and first of all things he elected into the societie of saint George, commonly called the order of the Garter, Alphonse Duke of Calabres sonne, according to his desire, which Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand king of Napels, and after king of the same realme, tyll he was ouercome by king Charles. And after, the king sent Christopher Vrsewike, Ambassadour with the Gartier, Coller, Mantell, and other habiliaments apperteyning to the companions of the sayde noble order. Which Ambassadour arryuing at Naples, delyuered to the Duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonyes and due circumstaunces therevnto belonging. Which the Duke very reuerently receaued, and with more reuerence reuested himselfe with the same in a solempne presence, thinkyng that by thys apparell and inuestiture, he was made a friend and companion in order with the king of Englande, whose friendshyp obteyned, he feared nothyng the assaults or inuasions of his enimies. And thys was the cause that he desired so much to be companion of that noble order, firmely beleeuing that the king of Englande souereigne of that order, should be ayder and maintayner of hym agaynst the French king, whome he knew would passe the mountaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistence in orders was, eyther neuer begonne, or before clerely abolished: For in our time there haue bene many noble men of Italy, companions as well of the Golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the order of saint Michell in Fraunce, that haue beene banished and driuen away from their naturall Countrey, and yet haue not bene ayded by the souereigne nor companions of the same order. For surely the statutes and ordinaunces of all the sayde orders doth not binde them to that case, but in certayne poynts. After thys the Duke dimissed the Ambassadour, and rewarded him most Princely.

Alphonse son and heire to Ferdinando king of Naples made knyght of the Garter.

But now let vs retorne to the new sonne of king Edward: And first to declare his lignage and beginning you must vnderstand that the Duches of Burgoya so norished and brought vp in the sedicious and vnhappie factions of false contriuers and founders of discorde, coulde neuer cease nor be in quyet, except she shoulde trouble and vnquyet the kyng of Englande, for no desert or displeasure by him to her committed, but onely because he came and descended of the house of Lancastre, euer being aduerse and enemie to her lyne and linage. For which only cause she compassed and inuented how to cast a scorpion in his bosome, and to infect his whole realme with pestiferous discorde. To the intent that he being vanquished and brought to confusion, both the boyling heate of her malicious hart might be fully saciated with his innocent bloude, and also aduaunce and preferre some darling of her faction to his Empire, rule and dignitie. And principally remembring that the Earle of Lincoln, which was by her set foorth and al his company had small fortune and worse successe in their progression and enterprice, contrarie to her hope and expectation she beganne to deuise and spinne a new webbe. And as the deuill prouideth venemous sauce to corrupt banckettes, so for her purpose she espied a certaine young man, of visage beutifull, of countenaunce demure, of witte subtile, craftie and pregnaunt, called Peter Warbecke. And for his dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision, called Perkin Warbeck, according to the duche phraise, which chaunge the name of Peter to Perkin, to yonglinges of no strength nor courage: Which yong man traueylyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other languages, and for his basenesse of stocke and birth was knowne of none almost, and onely for the gaine of his lyuing from his childehoode was of necessitie compelled to trauaile diuerse realmes and regions. Therefore the Duches thinkyng to haue gotten God by the foote, when she had the deuill by the tayle, and adiudging this yong man to be a meete organe to conuey her purpose, and of not vnlike to be the Duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certaine space with her priuily, and him with such diligence instruc

Peter Warbeck comenly called Perkin Warbeck.

ed, both of the secretes, and common affayers of the realme of England, and of the lignage, dissent & order of the house of Yorke, that he lyke a good Scholer not forgettyng his lesson coulde tell all that was taught him promptly without any difficulty: & besides, he kept such a princely countenaunce, and so counterfeyte a maiestie royall, that all men in maner did firmely beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the Dukes of Yorke. For suerly it was a gift geuen to that noble progenie as of nature in the roote planted that all the sequele of that lyne and stocke did study and deuise how to be equyualent in honor and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this Duches had framed her cloth mete for the market, and imagined that all thinges was readye and prepared for the confusion of King Henrie, sodeinly she was enformed that the sayde king of England prepared a puissant armie against Charles the French King. Then she considering the oportunitie of the time, as who woulde saye, a time wished and a daye desyred to achieue and bring to passe her malicious inuencion. Wherefore she sent Perkyn Warbeck, her new inuented Mawmet first into Portingall, and so craftelie into the realme of Irelande, to the entent that he being both wyttie and wylye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude and rusticall Irishe nation (being more of nature enclined to rebellion then to resonable order) to a new conflict & a sedicious commocion. This worshipfull Perkyn, arriuing in Ireland, whither it were more by his craftie witte, or by the malicious exhortacion of the saluage Irish gouernors, within short space entred so farre into their fauoures, and so seriouslye perswaded and allured them to his purpose, that the greatest Lordes and Princes of the countrie gaue such fayth and credit to his wordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, which he vntruly set forth & declared: And as though he had bene the very son of king Edward they honored, and exalted him with all reuerence and due honoure, promising vnto him ayde, comfort and assistaunce of all thinges to the feat of warre, necessarie and appertayning.

Perkin Warbeck arriued in Ireland.

In the meane season these newes were made knowne to Charles the French king, then being in displeasure with king Henry, which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande, to the intent to sende him against the King of England which was inuading Fraūce (as you before haue heard.) This fleming Perkyn was not a litle ioyfull of this message, thinking by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiaritie and acquaintaunce of Kinges and Princes: and so with all diligence sayled into Fraunce, with a verie small nauie, not so small as smally furnished. And comming to the kings presence was of him royally accepted, & after a princely fashion entertained, & had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernor the lorde Congreshal. And to him at Paris resorted syr George Neuell bastard, Syr Iohn Tayler, Rouland Robinson and an hundred English rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is said was apointed and concluded betwixt him and the king of England, the said king Charles dismissed the yong man, and would no lenger kepe him. But some men saye which were there attending on him, that he fearing that Kyng Charles, woulde deliuer him to the king of Englande, beguiled the Lorde Congreshall, and fled away from Parys by night. But whether he departed without the French kings consent or disassent, he deceiued in his expectacion, and in maner in dispaire, retourned againe to the Lady Margaret his first foolish foundresse.

The French king enterteyneth Perkyn.

The Duches thinking euery houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill such time as she heard from him, and effectuously desiring to knowe which way Ladie fortune turned her wheele, hearing him to be reiected out of the French court was in a great agony and much amased: But when shee was asserteyned of his arriuall in Flaunders, she no lesse reuiued, then he that hath in stead of the sworde of execution, a pardon and restitution of his lyfe. And at his comming to her presence, she receaued him with such gladnesse, and with such a comfort (as in dede she could dissemble alone aboue all other) as though she had neuer seene nor knowne him before, that what in trust to preferre him to the preheminence by her ymagined, and what for the hope that she had to destroy king Henry, shee fell into such an vnmeasurable ioy, that she had almost lost her wyt and senses. And that

thys

thys her gladnesse might be notefied and made apparaunt to euery man, she first reioyced of her Nephewes welth and welfare: And secondarily she much thrusted and sore longed, not once, but dyuers and sundrie times in open audience, and in solempne presence to here him declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserued from death and destruction, and in what Countries he had wandered and sought friendship: And finally, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her court and presence. To the entent that by the open declaration of these feyned phantasies, the people might be perswaded to geue credite and beliefe that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother king Edward. And after this shee assigned him a garde of thirtie persons in Murrey and blewe, and highly honoured him as a great estate, and called hym the whyte Rose, Prince of Englande.

Perkyn was named the Prince of Englande.

By reason whereof the Nobilitie of Flaunders were to hym diligent, and wyth due reuerence did him all the pleasure that laye in their power or offices. And to be short, the more that this poeticall and feyned inuention was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more fayth and assured credence, was geuen to it. In so much, that many one thought hym to be preserued, onely by the will and mightie power of almightie God, and to be conueyed at the first daunger by some faythfull friend of king Edward his father into some straunge Countrie, and so escaped the violent tirannie of hys Vncle king Richard. The fame and brute of thys iuggeled miracle was almost in one moment blowne ouer all the Countrie of Flaunders, but in England it was blased in euery place soner then a man could thinke or deuise it: In which Countrie more then in other places it was receaued for an vndoubted truth, and that not onely of the common people, but also of diuers noble and worshipfull men, of no small estimation, which sware and affirmed it to be true. After this brute that Richard sonne to King Edwarde was yet liuyng, and had in great honor amongst the Fleminges, there began sedition to spring on euerie side. For not onely they that were in Sanctuaries, for great and heynous offences by them committed, but also manye other that were fallen into debt, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie and bondage, assembled together in companies, and were passed ouer the Sea into Flaunders to their counterfayte Richarde sonne to King Edwarde, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeck. After this many of the noble men conspired together some through rashnesse and hastie credite induced therevnto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awne conceipt, as though they knewe perfitly that thys Perkyn was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth, solicited, stirred and allured to their opinion all such as were friends and fauorers of the house of Yorke. Other through indignation, enuie and auarice, euer grudging and thinking they were not sufficiently rewarded for their paines and partes taken in the kings behalfe and quarrell. Other whome it grieued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one staye, and all men to lyue in peace and tranquilitie, desirous of some chaunge, ranne headling into that furie, and seditious coniuration.

Thys rumour and vayne fable of this twise borne Duke Rychard, deuided all Englande, and drewe the realme into partakings and seuerall factions, so that the mindes of all men were vexed eyther with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. Albeit the king and his counsayle and other his faythfull friendes, not a little marueyled that any person (beyng in his right wyt) could induce in his minde or finde in his hart falsely to thinke that such a pernitious fable & feyned matter should haue any truth in it. Notwithstanding many of the Noble men (as he well then perceaued) tooke and reputed it to be a thing true and vnfeyned. So that he then sawe as farre as Lynx with his bright eyes, that thys newe inuented fable would make some broyle and discorde in his realme: Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a feyned fable, and a craftie imagined mischiefe. Other persons, to whome warre, sedition, and strife, were as pleasaunt as delicate fare, were very ioyous of these newes, beleuing no fraude nor deceyte to be hidden vnder this golden tale, and therefore they determined to send messengers, to the Ladye Margaret to knowe when Rycharde Duke of Yorke might

Vaine rumors causeth great troubles.

come conueniently into Englande, to the intent that they beyng thereof certefied, might be in a redynesse to help and succour him at his first arryuall.

1492 8 Sir Robert Clifford and Sir William Barley procured the setting vp of Perkyn Warbeck.

So by the common consent and agreement of the coniured confederats, sir Robert Clifford knight, & sir Wylliam Barley were sent into Flaunders, which playnely shewed to the Duches all the secret intents and priuie counsayles of the friendes and fauourers of the newe found Duke. The Duches this message did gladly accept, & louingly imbrace, and of their tydinges was not a little ioyous, easily by hir perswasion inducing to their heades, that all things that were spoken of Duke Rycharde were true and vnfeyned. And afterward brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which counterfeyted the countenaunce and the maner and fashion of Rycharde Duke of Yorke, praising his vertues and qualities, with the which he was indued aboue the Mone. The sayde Sir Robert Clifford, when he had sene and well aduised the yong man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of king Edward the fourth, and thereof he wrote a letter of credite and confidence into Englande to his companyons and felowes of his conspiracie, & to put them out of all doubt he affirmed that he knew him to be king Edwardes sonne by his face and other lyniaments of his body. And when these letters came to England, the Chieftaynes of this businesse, to the entent to stirre the people to some new commotion and tumult, & to set foorth some cause of matter apparaunt, caused it openly to be diuulged & published, that it was true and not feyned that was spoken and sayde abroade of the Duke of Yorke: but it was done by such a secret craft, that no man could tell who was the author and founder of that rumour.

When the king perceaued that this vayne fable was not vanished out of the mad breynes of the commen people, he thought it expedient both for the sauegarde of himselfe and also of his Countrey, to prouide some remedie to represse this immynent mischaunce, not a little suspecting, that some conspiracie had bene concluded and agreed, because that Sir Robert Clyfford had late fled priuily into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a band of Souldiours into euerie part to keepe the shores and the Sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into anye foreyne lande beyonde the Sea, nor repasse into thys realme without search or pasport or saueconduyt by him geuen, & all streytes passages, and bye pathes were kept and searched, so that no man vnapprehended could passe to the Sea coast, nor make any conuenticle or assemble without he were espied and taken. And to the intent that many men, beyng both of England and other places for verie malice by this newe inuention enflamed and indurate, should no farther runne in their madnesse, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the Cities of the lower Fraunce, within the Archedukes dominion, and the confines of the same, to search and prie out of what progeny this misnamed Richarde was dissended and brought forth, promising highly to rewarde and thanke such persons, which would manifest and open the secret doubtes and deuises of the same matter: and beside thys he wrote to his trusty frendes to do the same. So they sailynge into fraunce deuided and seuered themselues euery man into a lymite and prouince. And when certayne of them repayred to the towne of Turnay, they were there certefied by the testimony of manye honest persons that this feyned Duke came but of a low stocke, and of a base parentage, and was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shortly after the kinges inquisitors returned in Englande, reportyng to the king what they had knowen and hearde: Of which thing the king was also more plainly certified by his trustie and faythfull friendes, both by letters and trustie messengers.

Wherevpon seyng that now the fraude was openly espyed, he determined to haue it published and declared with all diligent celeritie, both in the realme of England, and also in all partes beyond the sea, in the prouynces of foreyn Princes, and straunge Potentates. And for the same cause he sent to Philip Archeduke of Burgoyn, and to his counsaylors (because that he was not yet of full age, apt and conuenient to take the regiment of his Countries and seignoryes) Sir Edward Powninges, a valiant knight, and Sir William

liam Warram Doctor of the lawes, a man of great modestie and learnyng, that they should openly to them declare, that the yong man beyng with the Ladie Margaret, was discended of a base and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vntruly vsurped the name of Richarde Duke of Yorke, which long before was murthered with his brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the commaundement of King Richard theyr Vncle, as many men liuyng can testifie. And to thinke and say otherwyse then this that apertly is knowne, it were the highest poynt and degree of madnesse, forasmuch as it is probable by an inuincible reason, and an argument infallible, that king Richard their naturall vncle, in dispatchyng and destroiyng Prince Edwarde the eldest sonne of king Edwarde his brother, was in no suretie of his realme or vsurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the yonger son to liue and continue: For then might he as next heyre to his brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the Scepter and Diademe royall, which was his fathers, and after diuoluted to his elder brother. And therefore they should desyre the Archeduke, and the Princes of his Counsayle, that it would please them to geue no credite, nor themselues suffer any more to be blinded or seduced with such mere impostures and craftie illusions being full of vntruth and apparant falsehed, nor yet to ayde or assist such a craftie marchant, which had falsely fayned his name and stocke, and in especially agaynst him, which in fewe yeres passed, had succoured and relieued Maximilian their Lorde beyng sore oppressed, and almost ouercome, both with the extort power and puyssaunce of the French king, and also with the ciuile discorde, and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and Vassals. With these commaundementes the Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and were there gently receyued, and louyngly enterteyned of the Archeduke Philip and his Counsaile. And after that they were commaunded to declare the intent of their Legation, Doctor William Warram priest, made before them a pleasaunt and an eloquent oration, shewyng therein discretely the mynde and desyre of the king his mayster: And in the latter ende of his oration, he a little rebuked the Ladie Margaret, and hit her on the thombes, saiyng that shee nowe in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert (of whome rehersall was made before) and the other Perkyn Warbeck. And beyng conceyued of these two great babes, was not of them deliuered in eyght or nine monethes as nature doth require, and as all other women commonly do, but in the. C. and. lxxx. monethes, she brought them foorth out of her wombe: for both these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde bee brought in bed of them and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe they were no infantes, nor suckyng children, but lustie yonglynges, and of age sufficient to bid battaile to kinges. Althoughe these tauntes and ieastes did anger and trouble the Ladie Margaret, yet Perkin was more vexed and encombred with the thinges declared, in this oration, and in especiall because his fraude, and false feyned iuggelyng was brought to light & opened; yet the Duches beyng therewith more incenced then quenched, nothing refraynyng her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entendyng to cast hote Sulpher to the newe kindled fyre, determined clerely to arme and set forwarde pretie Perkyn agaynst the king of England with speare and shield, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadors had done their message, and the Archedukes Counsaile had long debated whether Perkyn were the true sonne of King Edward the fourth, they aunswered the Ambassadors: that to the entent to haue the loue and fauour of the King of England, assuredly after that tyme, the Archeduke nor they would neyther ayde nor assist Perkyn nor his Complices, in any cause or quarell. Yet notwithstandyng, if the Ladie Margaret persistyng and continuyng in her malice towardes the king, would be to him aidyng and helpyng, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankely and frely do and order all things at her awne wyll and pleasure without contradiction of any other gouernor.

When this aunswere was geuen to them, they returned againe into England. After 1493
that, 9

that, King Henry lokyng circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacify the stormes and blastes that he perceyued to be growyng, rather by pollicie and counsaile, then by doubtfull warre and manslaughter, if his nobilitie would thereynto condiscend. For he well considered that of one businesse ryseth another, and of one small sparcle commeth a great flame. And therfore streight he sent forth certain espialles into Flaunders, which should feine themselues to haue fled vnto the Duke of Yorke, and by that meanes serche foorth and seeke out the whole entent of theyr coniuration, and after what way they entended to proceede in the same. Other were sent also to allure and entice Sir Robert Clifforde, and William Barlye to returne into England, promisyng to them franke and free pardon of all offences and crymes committed, and promocions and rewardes, for obeiyng to the kinges request. These Spyes so trauayled in their affayres and businesse, that they brought to passe all thinges to their maisters desyre. For first they had perfite knowlege of the names of certaine conspirators agaynst the king. After they perswaded sir Robert Clifford to leaue off that foolishe opinion, which had no sure ground nor foundation to stay it selfe vpon. Albeit William Barley could not be brought from his begon enterpriee, but that he would go forwarde hedlong with the same, which taryed not long in that lewde opinion. For within two yeres after this, he repentyng him of his foly, beyng reclayined, and hauyng pardon, geuen him of the king, repayred home to his natiue Countrie, detestyng him and his foolishe blindenesse. When the espials had sped their purpose, one after another stale away priuily from the fayned Duke, and returned into Englande, bringyng wyth them the names of certaine, which were chiefe of that conspiracie. Other taryed still behinde to accompanie sir Robert Clifford, when he returned againe into England, whose returne marueylously discomfited and abated the courages, and hartes of the coniurators, for they perceyued dayly that their enterpriee more and more fainted, and that they were by a little and little damnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfitely put diffidence in, nor yet once mistrust.

When the king had knowlege of the chiefe Capitaynes of thys tumult by the ouerture of his spies, which were returned, he caused them all to bee apprehended, and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chiefe were Iohn Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, sir Simond Mountforde, sir Thomas Twhaytz knights, William Dawbney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. Also certaine priestes and religious men, as sir William Richeford Doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poynes, both Friers of Saint Dominikes order, Doctor William Sutton, sir William Worsely Deane of Paules, and Robert Leyborne, and sir Richard Lessey. Other that were guiltie of the same cryme, heeryng that many of theyr company were taken, fled and tooke Sanctuary. And the other that were taken were condempned all of treason, of the which there was behedded, Sir Symound Mountford, syr Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbeney, as aucthours and chiefe Capitaynes of this businesse. The rest were pardoned, Also sir Iohn Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, was pardoned of his lyfe, but after that he came to Calice, and there layd in holde, he was behedded, because he corrupted the kepers with many promises to haue escaped out of the same entendyng as was thought to haue gone to Perkyn.

The chiefe of the conspiracy to haue aduaunced Perkyn Warbeck and to haue deposed king Henry the seuenth.

King Henry of England, partly grieued with the king of Romaynes for breakyng his promise, when he should haue associated him in his iourney agaynst the French king, and partly displeased with the Flemynges, but principally with the Lady Margaret, for kepyng and settyng forwarde Parkyn Warbecke, not onely banished all Flemishe wares, and marchandises, out of his realme and dominions, but also restrained all Englishe marchaunts from their repayre and traffique, into any of the landes and territories of the king of Romaynes, or the Archeduke his sonne, causyng the Marte of Marchandises and commodities of this Realme to be kept at his towne of Calice. Wherefore the sayde king and his sonne banished out of their landes and seignoryes all Englishe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade, and other commodities, vpon great forfeytures and penalties. The restraint made by the king sore grieued and hindred the Marchantes, beyng aduenturers: For they by force

Kyng Henry the vij. forbad the trade of English men into Flaunders.
The marte kept at Calice.
The Kyng of Romanes and y' Archeduke his son banyshed out of Flaunders all Englishe wares.

force of this commaundement had no occupiyng to beare theyr charges and support their continuance and credite. And yet one thing sore nipped their harts, for the Easterlynges which were at libertie, brought into the realme suche wares as they were wont and accustomed to doe, and so serued their customers through out the whole realme: By reason whereof the maisters beyng destitute of sale and traffique, neyther reteyned so many couenaunt seruants and apprentices as they before were accustomed, and in especiall, Mercers, Habardashers, and Clothworkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so great stipend and salarie, as before that restraynt they vsed to do. For which cause the sayde seruauntes entendyng to worke their malice on the Easterlynges, the Tuesday before Saint Edwardes day came to the Stiliard in London, and began to rifle and spoyle such Chambers and Warehouses as they could get into: so that the Easterlynges had much a do to withstand and repulse them out of their gates. And when their gates were shut and made fast, the multitude rushed and beate at the gates with Clubbes and Leauers to haue entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters, and Smythes, which came to their ayde by water out of the Borough of Southwarke had so strongly shored and fortefyed themselues, that they could not preuail. The Maior of London heeryng of this ryot, assembled the Maiestrates and officers of the Citie together, and so beyng furnished both with men and weapon, set forward toward the Stiliard. Assone as the commyng of the Maior was declared and knowen to the riotous persons, they fled away lyke a flock of sheepe: howbeit he apprehended diuers of the malefactors, and committed them to seuerall prisons. And vpon the inquirie before the kinges Commissioners, there were found guiltie aboue. lxxx. seruauntes & apprentices (and not one housholder) which were confederate together to make this attempt, and sworne in no wyse to discouer or reuele the same; Whereof, some that were the Chiefteynes and beginners of this mischieuous riot, were sent to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maysters were founde trespassers of this naughtie act, the king of hys goodnesse pardoned their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

A ryot made vpon the Easterlinges.

Shortly after, syr Robert Clifford, partlye trusting on the Kings promise, and partly mistrusting the thing, bicause he knew that diuers that were accused to be partakers of that faction and conspiracie were put in execution: and therefore perceyuing that there couldenot be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thing then that deuilishe enterprice, retourned sodeynlye againe into Englande. The kinge beinge certefied before of his comminge, went streight to the Towre of London the morow after the day of Epiphany and there taried till such time that syr Robert Clifford was there presented to his person, which thing he vsed vnder this pretence, that if Syr Robert Clifford had accused any of the Nobilitie to be partakers of this naughtie felowship and deuilish pretence, that then euery such person might be called thether without suspection of any euill, & there straight to be attached & cast in holde. 1494 19

But before I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of this knyghtes going into Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that king Henrie for a policye did send him as a spye to Flaunders, or else he woulde not haue so sone receyued him into his grace and fauour agayne: Neuerthelesse, this is not like to be true by dyuers reasons and apparaunt arguments, first after that attempt begon by syr Robert, he was in no small daunger himselfe, and by that he was not a litle noted, and his fame blemished, but also his friendes were suspected and had in a iealosy. Secondarily he was not after that in so great fauour, nor so estemed with the kyng as he had beene in times past, bicause he was blotted and marked with that crime and offence. And therfore he bearing his fauour to the house of Yorke entending in the beginning to administer displeasure to king Henry, sayled to the Lady Margaret, beyng seduced and brought in beliefe that Perkyn was the verie sonne of king Edwarde. But to my purpose, when syr Robert came to the presence of the king, he kneeling on his knees most humblie, beseched him of grace and pardon, which he shortly obtayned. And after that beyng requyred

Sir Robert Clifforde greatly abused with the opinion that he had of Perkyn. &c.

quyred of the maner and order of the coniuracion, and what was done in Flaunders, he opened euery poynt to his knowlege, & after disclosed the names, as well of the ayders and fautours as of the deuisers and beginners. Amongst whom he accused syr William Stanley, whom the King had made his chiefe chamberlein, and one of his priuie counsaile. When he had so sayde, the king was greatly dismayed and grieued, that he should be partaker in that grieuous offence, considering first that he had the gouernaunce of his chamber, and the charge and comptrolment of all such as were next to his body, and also calling to remembrance the manifolde gentlenesse and friendship, which he had receaued at his hande, but in especiall not forgetting that benefite aboue all other, that only by his aide and succour, he had vanquished and ouerthrowen his mortall enemy king Richard. Wherefore, at the beginnyng he could in no wise be perswaded nor beleue that he was such a priuye conspiratour, or malicious offender, but when the cryme was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the king caused him to be restrayned from his libertie in his awne Chamber within the quadrate Tower. And there appoynted him by his priuie counsaile to be examined. In which examination he nothing denyed, but wisely and seriously did consent and agree to all thinges layde to hys charge, if he were in anye of them culpable or blame worthye.

The report is, that this was his offence. When communication was had betwene him, and this sir Robert Clifford, as concernyng Perkyn which falsely vsurped the name of king Edwardes sonne, Sir William Stanley sayd and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armour agaynst the yong man, if he knew of a truth that he was the vndoubted sonne of king Edward the fourth. This poynt argueth and proueth him at that tyme, beyng moued with melancholye, to beare no great good will to king Henry, whereof suspicion first grewe, and after this ensued the accusation of Sir Robert Clifforde.

Then the king doubtyng what to do with him, did consult and breath with himselfe of this sodaine chaunce. For he feared least that his brother Lord Thomas Stanley, in whome he had found great friendship, woulde take this matter grieuously. And if he should remit that fault, that he abusing his lenitie and mercie, woulde be the more bolder to offende, and trespasse more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritie tooke place, and mercy was put back, and so he was arreigned at Westminster, and adiudged to die, and according to that iudgement was brought to the Tower hill the. xvj. day of February, and there had his head stricken off. What was the occasion and cause why the sincere and faythfull minde that sir William alwayes before bare to king Henry, was turned into cancard hatred and despite, and why the especiall fauour that the king bare towarde him was transmuted into disdeyne and displeasure, dyuers men allege dyuers causes, affirmyng that when king Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receyued of the other, I wyll now pretermit and ouerpasse) in that battail in the which he bereft king Richard both of his life and his kingdome, being associate and accompanied but with a small number, and circumuented by king Richardes armie, and in great ieopardie of his life, this Sir William beyng sent from the lord Stanley his brother with a good companye of strong and hardie men (which Lord Stanley was nere the fielde with a great armye) came sodainly and fortunately to the succours of king Henry, and saued him from destruction, and ouerthrewe king Richard as before you haue heard. Surely this was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remembred, by the which king Henry was not only preserued aliue, but also obteyned the Crowne and kingdom, which great benefite, after the kingdome once obteyned, he did neyther forget, nor yet left vnrewarded. For the Lorde Thomas Stanley he inuested with the sword of the countie of Darbie, and besyde other great giftes and offices geuen to William Stanley, he made him his chiefe Chamberleyn. This Sir William, although he were in great fauour with the king, and had in great and high estimation, more remembring the benefite done to the king, then the rewardes and gratuities of his liberalitie receyued, thinkyng that the vessell of Oile (accordyng to the Gospell) would ouerflow

Sir William Stanley beheded.

the

the brimmes, and as some say, desiryng to be Erle of Chester, and thereof denyed, beganne to grudge and disdeyne the king his highe friende: and one thing encouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he only possessed at the conflict of Boswoorth: by reason of which abundaunce of riches, and great power of people, he set naught by the king his souereigne Lorde and Maister. When the king perceyued that his stomake beganne to canker and waxe rustie, he was with him not a little displeased, and so when both their hartes were enflamed with melancholy, both lost the fruit of their long continued amitie and fauour. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not consider nor yet regarde the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre againe hatred for liberalitie, and for bread geuen, they yelde againe a Scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this time the king thought it best, yea and very necessary, not only to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punishment and correction of the offences of his subiectes, to the entent that the late begonne sedicion might the soner be repressed, and for this cause specially that some persons voyde of all honest feare and reuerent dread, had taken such courage and audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euill of their king and souereigne Lorde, with most spitefull and contumelious wordes, as though they neither feared nor would obey him, or his precepts and commaundementes, expectyng dayly and hourely the arriuall and landyng of the fayned Richard Duke of Yorke, nowe lately risen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slaunderous and opprobrious wordes were brought to the kinges eares, he caused diuers persons to suffer condigne punishment for theyr heynous offences, whereby their complices well perceiuyng that their enterprice had no prosperous successe nor tooke any good effect, and especially such as rashely beganne to make mastries, and farther seeyng what preparation was made and prouided agaynst their troubleous commocion and frantique enterprice, they of their awne swinge pacified themselues, & began to turne to their king and naturall liege Lorde.

After the death of Sir William Stanley, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney, a man of great fi- 1495
delitie and circumspection, was elected and made the kinges chiefe Chamberleyne. When 11
the king had thus pollitiquely weeded out the euill and corrupt heartes of his Englishe subiectes, and had pacifyed and brought all his realme to a peaceable and a quiet life. Then he perceyued that it was necessary also to purge and cleuse his realme of Ireland, to the entent that the venemous seede sowne and planted two yeres past, amongest the wilde and sauage Irishe persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane digged and rooted vp. Wherefore he sent sir Henry Deane, late Abbot of Langtony, a man of great wit and diligence (whome he made Chauncelor of the Isle) and Sir Edward Pownynges knight, with an armie of men into Ireland, to serche and purge all such townes and places where Perkyn was receyued, relieued or fauoured. And if they espyed any of hys affinitie or faction, then he would they should be punished with all extremitie to the terrible example of all other that would encline to that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arriuall into Ireland, they called in the kinges name the nobilitie of that countrie to a counsaile, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chauncelor with a gentle exhortation required them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towardes their king, and to ayde his Capitayne Syr Edward Pownynges with their might, power, and strength, agaynst suche rebelles which eyther through blindnesse and folly, or else through desyre and appetide to do euill, sustayned and ayded Perkyn with harnesse, men, or money. Euery man promised openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promised not so quickly, but they performed it as slowly, for few or none eyther ayded or assisted him, as who would say, that they loued the Englishe nation more with their outwarde countenaunce, than in their inwarde heartes and mindes. But when they heard that sir Edward Pownynges was come to persecute all such as were fautors and friendes to Perkin Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a little defiled with that sedicious in-

fection, but he fled out of hand into woodes and marises for the defence and sauegarde of themselues, there consultyng together, after the maner of their Countrie, in what places they might best lye in wayte to hurt and skirmishe with the Englishe men, or else if nede shoulde so requyre to fight with them hande to hande.

In Ireland are two maner of people.

In Irelande there be two kinde of men, one soft, gentle, ciuile, and curteous: And to these people, as to the most richest, and best nurtered persons, doth many marchant men of the Countryes adioynyng, dayly resort. But because the most resort thether is of the Englishe nation, the Irishe men folow and counterfeyt their ciuile maners, and honest conditions. And by reason of the common trade and entercourse betwene them, they haue learned the English tongue, and can both speake and vnderstand it. And all this kinde of people is ynder the subiection and dominion of the king of England. The other kinde is cleane contrary from this, for they be wylde, rusticall, foolishe, fierce, and for their vnmanerly behauior, and rude fashions, are called wilde and sauage Irishemen. And these men haue many gouernours and seuerall rulers, which kepe continuall battaile, and dayly warre amongest themselues, for the which cause they be more fierce, more bolde and hardie then the other Irishe men, and they be very desyrous of newe thinges, & straunge sights and gasyngs, and after robbery, theft, and rapine, & in nothing so much delightyng as with tumulteous, sedition, and continuall strife. And to these wilde Coltes, Perkyn shewed himselfe first, easily perswadyng them to beleue that he was the same very person whom he falsly fained & counterfeited.

Sir Edward Powninges.

Wherefore Sir Edwarde Powaynges accordyng to his Commission, entendyng to punishe suche as haue bene ayders and aduaunCers of Perkins foolishe enterprice, with his whole armie, marched forwarde agaynst thys wylde Irishemen, because that all other beyng faultie of that offence, fled and resorted to them for succor and defence, to the entent that they both together might be able to resist and defye there enemyes: But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wished it, both because the Irish lords sent him no succor, accordyng to their promises, & also considerynge that his number was not sufficient to set on the wilde people beyng dispersed amongest woodes, mountaynes and marises, was of necessitie compelled to recule and returne frettyng and vexed in his stomack, because he suspected that Geralde Erle of Kyldare beyng then the kinges Deputie, was the cause and occasion that he had no succors nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of such as bare to the Erle no good will. And therefore sodeinely he caused the Erle to bee apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England: Where when he was examined and certaine matters of treason layde to hys charge, he auoyded them all, & clerely (such was his wit and innocencie) quit himselfe, and layd the burthen in other mens necks: Whom the king dismissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his deputie and Lieutenaunt as he was before. The king like a pollitique Prince had many great and weighty considerations, which refrained him from vsing of any seuerity or extremitie against this Erle, contrary to the minds & willes of his malicious aduersaryes. One was the great auctority and swinge that he bare amongest the Irishe nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyme, wherin he sauoured some sedicion to be in brewyng: and chiefly of all the assured hope and affiaunce that he conceyued in him.

Gerard Erle of Kildare.

So that nowe the king beyng out of all feare of battaile, did take hys progresse into Lancashire the xxv. day of Iune, there to recreate his spirits and solace himselfe with his mother the Ladie Margaret, wife to the Erle of Darby, which then lay at Lathome in that Countrie. While these things were thus done in England, Perkyn Warbeck then beyng in Flaunders, although he had taken great sorowe and care for that his craftie conueyaunce was espyed and openly knowen, and also that king Henry had afflicted and punished diuers of his confederates and alyes, and thereby in dispayre of all the ayde and succor that was to him promised and appointed: yet he determined not to leaue the hope and trust that he had conceyued in his mad head to obteyne the Crowne and realme

Margaret mother to king Henry the seuenth wife to the Erle of Darby.

of England, and so gatheryng a great armie of valiaunt Capitaynes of all nations, some bankeroutes, some false Englishe Sanctuarie men, some theeues, robbers, and vacabondes, which leauyng their bodily labour, desiryng onely to lyue of robbery and rapine, came to be his seruauntes and souldiours. And so beyng furnished with this rablement of knaues, tooke such shippes as his friendes had prouided for him, and departed out of Flaunders, entendyng to arriue in England whersoeuer the winde brought him. And by chaunce of fortune he was driuen vpon the Kentishe coast, where because the sea was calmed, he cast his ancors, and there made his abode, and sent certeine of his retinue to the land to signifie to all the Countrie, that he was so furnished of all thinges meete and conuenient for his enterprise, that their was no doubt but the victory would encline to his part. And by this meanes to make serche and enquirie whether the Kentishe men would take his part and folow him as their Capitain, which before tymes was not timerous nor afrayed of their awne mynde in troublous seasons to moue warre agaynst their Princes. The Kentishmen heering that this feyned Duke was come, and had heard that he was but a painted Image, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him, or to resist his power, at the last remembryng what euill chaunces their forefathers had, and howe small a profite such as haue rebelled haue gayned, thought it neyther expedient nor profitable for them to ayde and assist him that came rather to spoyle, destroy, and waste the Countrie, then to conquere it for theyr welth and commoditie. And this they firmely coniectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which woulde take and accompt euery Church, Towne, Chappell, house, and euery priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their natiue Countrie. Wherfore they fearyng the sequell, determined still to abide true to theyr king and prince, and to fall vpon such as were newe come to land out of their shippes. And while they were assemblyng of themselues together, other should by fayre promises allure and call vnto them the great number out of the ships, and so geue them battaile. And so vsyng this guile, they promised all to folowe him, and to fight vnder his banner: Howbeit the prolongyng of tyme draue Perkyn into a suspicion, which well remembred that a communalty is not accustomed sagely to consult, but sodainly and rashely to run hedling euer into rebellion and new stirred commocion. Wherfore Perkyn determined not once to sette foote out of his ship till he sawe all thing sure without any daunger. And although he mynded not to take land himselfe, yet he suffered certaine of hys Souldiours to go on lande, which persons beyng a pretie way from theyr shippes, were sodeinly trapped and compassed by the Kentishemen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to their shippes, and there were taken prisoners an hundreth and. lx. persons, wherof foure were named Capitaynes, Mountforde, Corbet, Whitebelt, Quintine or otherwise Genyn. Which rebelles were brought by Sir Iohn Pechy Shirife of Kent, to London rayled in ropes like horses drawyng in a Cart. And after vpon their arraiument, confessed their offence, and were executed, some at London, and other in the townes adioinyng to the sea Coast. Wherefore Perkyn failyng of his purpose, fled backe into Flaunders, and there taryed, consultyng with his friendes vntill such tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come, more prudently then he had done before tyme.

Perkin with such power as he coulde make attemneth to land in Kent.

The sodeyne apprehencion of Perkyns people.

The execution of Perkyns Capitaines. Perkyn flyeth into Flaunders.

In this very season departed to God Cicile Duchesse of Yorke, mother to king Edward the fourth & king Richard, at her Castell of Barkamstede, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buryed by her husband in the College of Fodringey.

Cicile Duches of Yorke mother to king Edwarde the fourth deceased.

The king beyng aduertised that his enemyes had made entraunce into his realme, left off his progresse, and purposed to returne to London againe, but beyng certefyed the next day after of the luckie speede and fortunate chaunce, continued and went foorth of his progresse, sendyng to them Sir Richard Gilforde, both to prayse the fidelitie and manhood of the people, and also to render to them his most hartie thankes for their good seruice to him done, with faythfull promise not to forget them hereafter in theyr sutes, re-

questes, and peticions. Also that they might not haue any successe hereafter into those partes, the king commaunded the watches to be kept all along the Sea coastes, and Bekons to be erected accordyng to the auncient vsage and custome of the Countrie.

Peter and his Capitaynes takyng counsayle together in Flaunders, were of one assent resolued to this poynt, that there was nothing more surer to them, then to proceede quickly with their entended enterprice. And when they perceiued that their was neyther people, towne, nor Countrie in England that would associate them in their phantasticall frensye, which nothyng was asswaged, least that by delaiyng of tyme and long space, king Henrye might fortify and make strong all daungerous places, and passages wyth Souldiours and men of warre, which thing they heard say that he neyther forgate nor foreslowed, and besyde that he was not a little afearde, that hys long tariyng should discomfort his priuy friendes within the realme of England. Wherefore he gathered together his vngracious companie, and determined first to saile into Irelande, there to augment his number. And from thence if it were possible to sayle into the west parts of England. And if there were any let or impediment in that place, then he determined to sayle streight into Scotland, knowyng that seldome or neuer is perfite concorde and amitie betwene the Scottes and the English nation. When this gentle counsail was dissolued, and winde and weather serued, he set vp his sailes, and hauing a prosperous gale after his phantasie, sailed into Ireland, where he reposed himself a space. And remembring that the hope of victory consisted not whole in the Irishe nation, which beyng naked men without harnesse or armure, were not able to combat with the Englishemen: wherefore when the winde serued him, he departed from Corffe and arryued in Scotland, and comming to the kinges presence, with great solemnitie, framed his tale after the forme and fashion folowing.

The arriuall of Perkyn Warbeck first in Ireland and then in Scotland.

The oration of Perkyn Warbeck made to Iames ye Scottishe king.

I thinke it is not vnknowne to you, most noble king and puissant prince into what ruyne the stocke, house, and family of Edward the fourth of that name king of England, is nowe of late brought to, and fallen in, eyther by Gods permission, or by diuine punishement, whose vndoubted sonne (if you knowe not alredie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preserued aliue to this houre, from the mightie hand of a tyraunt. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoynted his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defender, whom the more that he loued, and studied to aduaunce and promote, the better he thought that he woulde loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my infortunate chaunce, I may say, howe hath his trust bene turned into treason? and his hope turned into hinderaunce? All men knowe, and I feele. Oure Vncle was not the tutour and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroyer of our blood and progenie. For that tyraunt blinded and glutted with the desyre of rulyng and soucreinetie, commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slaine, and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherevpon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and geuen, to oppresse and destroy vs poore innocent infantes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and butcherly offence, the more he feared to commit it. And so wauering in minde, and doubtfull what to do, at the length, willyng in part to saciate the bloodie thirst of the vnnaturall tyraunt, and in part to abstayne from so mischieuous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother, and preserued me, like the good priest Iosada which saued little Ioas when all the children of the blood royall, were commaunded by Athalia the Queene to be slaine and vtterly destroyed. And farther, to the entent that my life might be in a suretie, he appointed one to conuey me into some straunge Countrie, where when I was furthest off, and had most nede of comfort, he forsooke me sodainly (I thinke he was so appoynted to do) and left me desolate alone without friend or knowlege of any reliefe or refuge. And so king Richarde did obteyne the crowne as a pray mischieuously gotten, by the dispatchyng away of my brother and me. So that I thus escapyng, by reason of my tender infancie, forgat almost my selfe, and knewe not well what I was, but after long wandryng from

Countrie

Countrie to Countrie, and from Citie to Citie, I perceyued and learned a little and little what was my estate and degree, and so in cõclusion came to mine awne Aunt the Lady Margaret liyng in Flaũders, which was sometyme maryed to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which ioyfully receyued and welcommed mee, as the onely type and garland of her noble stirpe and linage, but forasmuch as she beyng onely dowager of the Duchie of Burgoyn, and hauyng nothing but her dower proper vnto her selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munimentes of warre as she would gladly haue done for the recouery of my fathers realme and rightfull inheritaunce, I therefore am driuen to seeke farther ayde and succour. And therefore by her counsaile and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and Souldiours, I am repayred to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniury banished or driuen out of his Countrie, region, or inheritaunce, or by extort power and tiranny kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hande. Therefore by the maiestie of your realme and Countrie, I desyre, and heartily with prayer as I can, I besech and exhort you to helpe & relieue me now in my extreme necessitie. And if it chaunce me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possesse my fathers realme and dignitie, not onely I, but all the kinges of our linage which hereafter shall obteyne the same, shall be so much bound vnto you, that they must nedes thinke that doyng to you all the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with all the thankes that can be geuen, your great kindnesse can neuer be recompensed.

The answere of the king of Scottes.

When he had thus sayde, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promysed him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his comming to him. And after this the king assembled his counsell together, and demaunded of euery man seuerally what they sayde, of these things which Perkyn had both declared and requyred, or whether they would take anye farther deliberation to aduise themselues what to doe in so great and weightie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparant arguments that his saiyngs were but dreames and phantasies, and of no force nor truth, and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encomber themselues with any lenger consultation. Another sort, which was not verie great, neyther of wyt nor experience, but greater in number, esteemed this matter very profitale to the commoñ wealth, considering it ministred to them occasion to make warre in Englande. And although they had knowlege what good successe Perkyn had enioyed in all his former attemptes, yet they esteemed that now all things should succeede according to their expectation, if hys cause (although it were as light as a fether) were assumed and taken in hande to be defended, considering that when the warre was once open and begon, and if Perkyn did preuayle, he would denie nothing conuenient to his friendes and helpers. Or else at the least they doubted not but king Henry would make to them large and ample offers and conditions of peace, rather then king Iames shoulde take part with his aduersary and mortall enemie.

When thys counsayle was geuen by the more number, it was well accepted, and the Scottishe king, whether he were blynded by errour, or else did dissimule the matter, began to haue Perkyn in great honour, and caused him openly to be called Duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apparaunt to the people that he was so in deede, he caused Ladye Katheryn daughter to Alexander Erle of Huntley, hys nigh kinsman and of a highe linage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinitie he caused to be made for thys ende and purpose, partly that he might extenuate the euil wil and malice which was lyke to succeede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowne abroad, that he had peace and amitie with the King of Englande, and partly least he might be accused of to much light credence, if Perkyn were founde and prooued to be another man then hee was reported.

Perkin called Duke of Yorke.

Perkyn maryeth with Katherin the daughter of Alexander Erle of Huntley.

When all things were prepared for the warre: Thys Perkyn swelling with ioye that he

after his awne phantasie had made the Scottes to be hys partakers. And to the intent that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his enterprise, and to encourage them the more, he pronounced surely that he should haue great succour and ayde of his friends in Englande, sent euen from the farthest part thereof, assoone as euer the Trumpet of warre was blowen. The Scottes although they had but little confidence and lesse trust in his wordes, yet putting their hope more in the gayne of spoyle then in the gayning of the victorie by battail, armed themselues in all the hast, and marched toward the confines and borders of England. Albeit the Scottish king minding not to be to rashe, mistrusted the Englishe men knowing Perkyn to be arryued in Scotlande, had layde some armie for the defence of the Frontyers, sent out certaine light horsemen to espie and searche if the husbandmen of the Countrie were assembled in araaure to defende their enemies. The horsemen ranging ouer the fieldes and playnes belonging to their enemies, seing all things quiet returned to their king, and certified him that now was the time most apt and conuenient to inuade the realme and set on the Englishe nation. Then the Scottishe king marchyng toward Englande with all his puyssaunce, first proclaymed openly, that all such should onely be pardoned that would take part and submit themselues to Rychard Duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to the entent to discourage and daunt the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they should be enforced and compelled to submit themselues to thys newe founde Mawmet, they made so cruell and deadly warre and that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and sick persons, brent townes, spoyled houses and killed men and children, and delighted with the swetenesse of spoyle and prayes, wasted all the Countrie of Northumberlande, and had gone foorth farther, but that they perceaued no ayde or succour to come out of England to attend vpon thys newe Duke. And the souldiours being fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that tyme, and the Countrie rose on euery part, which made the king suspect some armie to approche. Wherfore he determined rather to returne with his assured gaine, then to tarrie the newe named Dukes vnsure and vncertaine victorie, and so he returned agayne into Scotland.

The Scottishe king wyth an armie aydeth Perkyn and entreth into England.

It is a worlde to remember in this place of a certaine kynde of fonde mercie and foolishe compassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued that it seemed him to regarde nothing more then the commoditie of another man. For whyle the Scottishe king thus vexed and haryed the poore inhabitaunts of the borders of Northumberland, so that nothing was heard but roring, weeping and lamenting. This new inuented Duke beyng returned into Scotland, euen lyke himself, which wrought all thing with fraude and deceit, perceauing that no concourse nor resort of Englishmen shewed themselues in open apparaunce, to minister to him any ayde or succour, and fearyng not a little that the boxe of hys craftie dealing, and bagge of his secret counterfeyting should be disclosed and set in an open glasse, by reason whereof he should be hated and had in contempt and disdeyne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene thervnto prouoked by a naturall inclination and pittie (to the intent to hide and cloke his subtill subornation) cried out openly, Oh, my stony and hard frosen hart which art not once moued nor yet aflicted with the losse and slaughter of thyne owne naturall subiectes and vassales. And at that glorious sighing, he beseeched the Scottishe king that from thence forth he would not afflict and plague his people, nor deforme and deface his naturall realme and countrie with such terrible fyre, flame and hauock. As who would say, that he beyng ouercome with the perfite loue of his native Region, began now to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruction of the same. The Scottishe king which began to perceaue which waye the winde blewe, aunswered him agayne, Sir mee thinketh you take much paine, and very much imagine howe to preserue the realme of another prince which is not youres (but I thinke you would gladly haue it) but my mind geueth me that you be as farre from the obteyning of the same, as you be nere the soyle and sight of the Countrey, considering

that you call England your land and realme, and the inhabitaunts thereof your people, and subiectes, and yet not one man, neyther gentleman nor yoman will once shew himselfe to ayde or assist you in the warre begon for your cause, and in your name within your realme, to the which you be both (as you say) inheritour, and by your people desired and called vnto. And so the king reprooued the lightnesse of this yong fond foundling, and euery day more and more neglected and lesse phantasied and gaue credite to him, noting well and wisely that neyther his wordes, with his deedes, nor the sequele of factes with his promises were neyther agreeable nor consonant.

The Nobles inhabiting in the Northe partes, hearing the clamour of the common people, and perceauing that they fled to auoyde the crueltie of the Scottes, were sodainely abashed, and fortefied their holdes, and manned their fortresses readie to defend their enimies, laiyng embushements in the wayes, where they imagined that their enimies would resort. And without delay certified the king, of the Scottes inuasion and enterprise. The king was not a little abashed at this sodayne chaunce, and troubled also with his awne businesse at home, not onely fearing his outwarde enemies but also his awne nobles and naturall subiectes least anye of them would step from him to the other part, and put him to farther trouble and vexation. Wherefore assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small importaunce and meete to be foreseene, with all diligence prepared remedies to resist and withstande the first brunt of so great a sourge newely begon. But the sodayne retreyte of the Scottes agayne asswaged all the Englishmens swift and speedy prouisions: For when they were once laden with prayes and spoyles, they returned home againe or the Englishe men could assemble together.

When the King was truly certified that the Scottishe King was returned, he geuing praise to his capitaines and other inhabiting on the bordures of his realme, which had duly and truly serued him at that time, did staye to ouertake, and to be reuenged for the malicious inuasions of the Scottishe king. And yet fearing least his enimies should be encouraged with this great gaine of spoyles and prayes, he determined by dent of swerde and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manifest iniurie and apparant wrong to him by king Iames and his people done and committed. Wherefore he assembling his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedie he himselfe had inuented and deuised, perswading with manye strong arguments and reasons, that it should be for the profite and benifite of the publique & common welth to prosecute & follow the warre by his mortall enemies begon & attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitie (which were no lesse offended with this prowde brag of the Scottish nation then he himselfe) did willingly agree and gladly assent. And to the maintenaunce of the warre and toward the charges of the same, a certaine subsedy and tax of monie was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & freely geuen and graunted: Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the common people which euer abhorre suche taxes and exactions, grudged sore to pay the same. A murine of the people for a small tax.

At this parliament also and conuocation, ther was such certaine lawes, actes and statutes confirmed and made, as were thought most necessarie and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the king dissoluing his court of parliament, and prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane season the king of Scots not sleping his matters bicause he perceaued well that the Englishmen would shortly reuenge their losse & harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an host and puyssant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powre inuading his realme & coūtry, or else of fresh enter vpon the borderers: and going forth to spoyle, rob & make hauoke againe. And so these two valiaunt Princes minded nothing more then the one to hurt and preiudice the other. But the king of Englande sore pricked and wounded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sore moued against the Scottysh King, that he would not respite nor deferre one houre tyll he were reuenged. And so prepared a puissaunt and strong armie to inuade Scotland, and therof ordayned for chiefetaine Gyles Lorde Dawbeney his chiefe chamberlaine,

chamberlaine, a man of no lesse wytt then pollycy and of no lesse pollicie then hardinesse.

When the Lorde Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his iorney forward into Scotland, he sodainly was stayed and reuoked againe, by reason of a new sedicion and tumult begon within the realme of Englande for the subsedie which was graunted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes, which of the most part was truly satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabiting in the least part of the realme, and the same part also barreyn and wythout all pleasauntnesse, complayned and grudged greatly, affirming that they were not hable to pay such a great somme as was of them demaunded. And so what with angre, and what with sorrowe, forgetting their due obeysaunce, began rashly to speake of the king himselfe. And after leauing the matter, lamenting, yellyng and cryng, maliciously said that the Kings counsayle was the cause of this pollyng and shauyng. And so being in this rage manaced to death the auctboures (as they imagined) of this mischiefe and sorrow, whome they threatned shortlye to dispatche out of this world. And so being in a roare two of the same affinitie, the one called Thomas Flamock gentelma, learned in the lawes of the realme, & the other Mighell Ioseph a smith, men of high courages and stoute stomackes, tooke vpon them to be capitaines of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. Who cryed out that it was a shame (for a smalle commocion made of the Scots, which was asswaged and ended in a moment) they should be exacted and polled, and such great exactions layde vpon their necks, and especially on the Cornishmen, which they affirmed to be but poore men, and being in a barrein and vnfruitefull countrye gate their liuing hardly by myning and digging tynne and mettall oute of the grounde both daye and night with great turmoyle and laboure: And therefore they had rather dye and suffer extreme ponishment, then liue in such calamitie and wretchednesse. And they layde the faulte and cause of this exaction to Ihon Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie, and to sir Reignold Brey, because they were chiefe of the Kinges preuie counsayle. Such rewards haue they that be in great auctboritie with kings and princes. For if any thing proceede well according to the minde and pleasure of the communaltie, that is euer referred and gratefied to the king or gouernour. But contrariwise, if any thing be done, eyther by chaunce or by counsell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrarie to their opinion or phantasie, they will laye it straight to the counsell saiyng that they haue perswaded him to doe this and that.

A rebellion in Cornewall.

Thomas Flamock. Mighell Ioseph.

Iohn Morton Archebishop of Cantorburie. Sir Reignold Brey.

These Capitaynes exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be afearde to folowe them in this quarell, promisyng them that they should doe no dammage to any creature, but onely to see punishment and correction done to such persons which were the auctbours and causers that the people were molested and vexed with such vnreasonable exactions and demaunds. And if they perceyued any person (as they espied many in deede) which did impugne and reproue their mad, vnreasonable and seditious counsell, affirming that it was the highest point of madnesse for a man to put his life in hazard for that thing, which he ought meekely and humbly to require and desire of his Prince and souereigne Lorde. Then they called them dastardes, fooles, and cowardes, and taunted and rebuked them with most shamefull reproches. So these vnhappie Capitaynes nothing more desired then to bring their flock and themselues to finall perdition and vtter confusion. With these bragges and mocions a great part of the people were eleuate and encouraged, and condiscended to doe as the Capitaynes and the most of the multitude would agree and appoynt. Then the Capitaynes praysing much the hardynesse of the people, when all things were prepared meete for their vnfortunate iourney, set forwarde with their armie, and came to Tawnton, where they slue the Prouost of Peryn which was one of the Commissioners of the subsedie, and from thence came to Welles, and so entended to go to London where the king then soiourned.

When the king was aduertised by his Collectors and officers of al these doings and attemptes, he was maruellously astonnyed, & especially because at that one time he was enuyroned

uyroned with double warre, both externe and intestyne. And because perill did depende on both, he was in great doubt which of both he should most regarde. And as he was musing of this matter he was asserteyned that Iames Twichet Lorde Awdeley and dyuers other of the Nobilitie were associate with the Cornishemen, and were in great haste and no good speede marchyng toward London. The king perceauing the cyuile warre to approche and drawe nerer and nerer, almost to his verye Gates, determined with all hys whole powre to resist and represse the same. And after that tumult appeased and suppressed he would with all expedition set vpon Scotlande. Wherefore he reuoked agayne the Lorde Dawbeney, which as you haue heard, was with a puyssaunt armie goyng into Scotlande, whose armie he increased and multiplyed with many picked and freshe warryers, that he might the better, and with lesse labor ouercome these rebels. Also mistrusting that the Scottes might now (hauyng good oportunitie seyng him troubled with this ciuile discorde) inuade the realme agayne, and so spoyle and destroy the borderers, he appointed the Lorde Thomas Haward Erle of Surrey, a puyssaunt and pollitique Capitayne (which was taken prisoner at the ouerthrow of king Rycharde as you haue heard, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high Treasurer of England, after the death of Iohn Lord Dynham) to gather a bande of men in the Countye Palantine of Durham, and they with the ayde and helpe of the inhabitants adioyning and the borderers, to driue out and expell the Scottes from of the borders, if they should fortune againe to inuade, vntill such time that the Cornishmen were subdued and pacified (which he thought easie to be done) he might sende to them the foresayde Lorde Dawbeny agayne with all his power and armie. When the Nobles of the realme heard of this tumultеous businesse and commocion, they came to London, euery man with as many men of warre as they could put in a readynesse to ayde the king if neede should be: In the which company, there was the Erle of Essex, the Lorde Mongey with diuers other.

James Twichet lord Audeley chief of the rebelles.

At this time and season, Charles the French king returning from the warres that he had at Naples, sent Ambassadors to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorie that he had obteyned in Italie, and gaue to them in charge to desyre of the king of England nothing so much as the contynuaunce of his amitie and fauour towarde their maister and souereigne Lorde. For the French king sore desired to continue in perfite peace and amitie with the king of Englande. And not without a cause, for he had so vexed and combred himselfe and his people with suche Italian snares and craftie engines, out of the which at this day his successors can not cleane be ryd, and delyuered.

When the king was informed that king Charles Ambassadors were come to Calice, he sent certaine of his Nobilitie, honourably to receyue them, and so to conuey them to Douer, and there for a pollicie to make their abode till the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one worde thereof to be sounded in the eares of the Ambassadours: Which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obserued.

And nowe the Cornishe men departyng from Welles (where they receyued theyr chiefe Capitaine, Iames Lorde Audeley) went to Salisbury and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceaued: for the Erle of Kent, George Lorde of Burgany, Iohn Brooke Lorde Cobham, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Richarde Guildeford, Sir Thomas Burchier, Iohn Peche, William Scot, and a great number of people were not onely prest and redie to defende the Countrie from all mischiefe and destruction, but also bent and determined to fight and combate with such as would not be obedient to their naturall souereigne Lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also the Kentishe men themselues, partly remembring that other commocions haue bene to their dammage and great hinderance, and partly beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yet eyther make countenaunce or once speake to any of them, to the entent that the king should in no wise conceyue any poynt of vntruth or treason in the poorest of them.

Which thing so daunted and dismayed the heartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornishemen (which seeyng themselues deceyued and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours, and fearing the euill chaunce that might happen to them) that they to saue themselues fled priuily in the night from their awne companie and Companions. The Capitaynes of the rebelles perceiuyng that they coulde haue no ayde of the Kentishe people, puttyng their onely hope to theyr awne power and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, and of no lesse force than valiaunt courage) brought them to blacke heath foure myles from London, and there in a plaine vpon the toppe of an hill they ordered their battailes, eyther redie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault and beat the Citie of London; For they thought verily that the king was so affrayed of theyr puyssaunce, that he minded nothing lesse then to encounter with their armie. And therefore beyng enflamed with arrogancie, nothyng mistrustyng, but firmely beleuyng that the victory was sure in their handes, they determined to enter into the Citie of London and to assault the Tower, wherein the king (as they thought) had priuily enclosed himselfe. But king Henry wrought cleane contrary to their minde, for he neuer thought to geue them battaile till he had them farre from their dwellynges and Countrie, so that they should be out of all hope, of ayde and comfort. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney weryed and tyred, and that their furye were somewhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commotion, and frantike progression, then he would in some place conuenient for his purpose compasse and enclose them to his aduauntage and their destruction as he did in dede afterward. In the meane season there was great feare thorough the Citie, and cryes were made, euerie man to harnesse, to harnesse, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no part was vndefended, and continuall watch was kept by the Maiestrates of the City, least the rebelles beyng poore and nedie would discende from their campe, and inuade the Citie, and spoyle and robbe the ryches and substaunce of the Marchauntes. But the king deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after that he perceyued that the Cornish men were al the day readie to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent straight Iohn Erle of Oxforde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, and Sir Ryes ap Thomas, and sir Humfrey Stanley noble warriours, with a great company of archers and horsemen to compasse the hill on the right syde & on the left, to the entent that all by wayes beyng stopped and forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them: and incontinent, he beyng as well encouraged with manly stomacke and desyre to fight, as furnished with a populous armie, and store of artillary, set forward out of the Citie and encamped him in Saint Georges fielde, where he the fryday at night then lodged.

Blackheth field.

On the Saterday in the mornyng, he sent the Lorde Dawbeney wyth a great companie to set on them earlye in the mornyng, which first gat the bridge at Detford Strande which was manfully defended by ceretyne Archers of the rebelles, whose arowes as is reported were in length a full yeard. While the Erles set on them on euery syde, the Lorde Dawbeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting the Cornishe men were ouercome, but first they tooke the Lorde Dawbeney prisoner, and whether it were for feare or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie without any hurt or detrimeut. There were slaine of the rebelles which fought and resisted two thousande men and mo, and taken prisoners an infinite number, and amongest them the blacke Smith and chiefe Capitaynes which shortly after were put to death. This Mighell Ioseph, surnamed the blacke Smith one of the Capitaynes of this donghill, and draffe sacked ruffians, was of such stowte stomacke and haute courage, that at the same time that he was drawen on the Hardle towarde his death, he sayd (as men do report) for that mischieuous and vngracious act, he should haue a name perpetuall, and a fame permanent and immortall. So (you may perceyue) that desyre of vaine glory and fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswel poore and meane persons, as the heartes of great Lordes and puyssaunt Princes to

The Lorde Dawbeney takē prisoner by the Cornish men, but they set him againe at libertie.

Mighel Ioseph the black smith taken & executed.

trauayle

trauayle and aspire to the same. Some affirme that the king appoynted to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and preuentyng the tyme by pollicie, set on them vpon the Saterday before, beyng vnprouided and in no array of battaile, and so by that pollicy obteyned the field and victory.

When this battaile was ended, the king wanted but three hundred of al his companie that were slaine at that present conflict. Also the Capitaynes apprehended and taken he pardoned, sauyng the chiefe Capitaynes and first aucthours of that mischiefe, to whome he woulde neyther shewe mercie nor lenitye. For he caused the Lorde Audeley to be drawen from Newgate to the Tower hill in a Cote of his awne armes painted vpon paper, reuersed and all to torne, and there to be behedded, the. xxviij. day of Iune. And Thomas Flamock, and Mighell Ioseph he commaunded after the fashion of traytors to be drawen, hanged, and quartered, and their quarters to be pitched on stakes and set vp in diuers places of Cornewall, that their sore punishments and terrible executions for their trayterous attempts and foolishe hardie enterprises, might be a warnyng for other hereafter to abstayne from committyng lyke cryme and offence. But because he was certifyed that their Countrimen beyng at home in Cornewall were by this scourge little mollified or quieted, and were redie to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, if any vngracious or euill minded person woulde eyther moue or pricke them forwarde, he turned his purpose, and caused them to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should wrap himselfe in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his wit and counsaile to represse and asswage all domesticall and ciuill sedicion, to the entent that he might the more seriously and intentiuely set forwarde a puyssant army agaynst the braggyng and vnfaythfull Scottes, beyng content at that tyme, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

Iames Lord Audeley drawen and hanged.

Thomas Flamock and Migh Ioseph hanged drawen and quartered.

While this businesse was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beyng certified of it by his espialles, that there was none armie raysed in England, eyther to withstand his power or destroy his Countrie, and hering also that king Henrie and his Nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornishe men, and in a ciuile discorde and dissention amongest themselues: Wherefore he thought it necessarye to anticipate the warre before hande. For well he knew, that assoone as king Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaryes, that he would with his whole puyssaunce inuade his realme and dominions: And therefore he inuaded the frontiers of the realme of Englande, wastyng the Countrye, burnyng the townes and murtheryng the people, sparyng neyther place nor person. And while his light horsemen were ridyng to forage, and destroy the Bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with another companie went about to assault the Castell of Norham standyng on the riuer of Twede, which deuideth England and Scotland. The Bishop of Durham which at that tyme was Richard Foxe, had well furnished it both with men & municions, wisely foreseeing and imagining, that the Scottish king (as sone as he knew that there was ciuile discord and vnnaturall warre moued within the realme of Englande) would with all his power inuade and harry the borders and countries adioinyng to his land. This Richard Foxe was before called Bishop of Excester, and for his singuler vertues and great grauitie was after that made Bishop of Bath and Welles, and last of all, promoted and exalted to the Bishoprike of Durham.

1497

13

The Scots inuade Englande.

Richard Fox Bishop of Durham

The Bishop from tyme to tyme aduertised the king of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at London) and sent in all post hast to the Erle of Surrey to come to rescue which was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlike company. When the Erle heard of these newes, he perceiuyng that all thinges were not voyde of ieopardie, made no long tariyng, but with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all quarters of the North, euery one bringyng as many as they could gather for the defence of their naturall Countrye and Region. Amongest whom the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe Erle of Westmerland.
Thomas Lorde Dacres.
Raufe Lorde Neuell.
George Lorde Straunge.
Rychard Lorde Latimer.
George Lorde Lumley.
Iohn Lorde Scrope.
Henry Lorde Clifford.
George Lorde Ogle.
Wylliam Lorde Conyers.
Thomas Lord Darcy.

¶ Of knightes.
Thomas Baron of Hylton
Sir Wylliam Percy.
Sir William Boulmer.
Sir Wylliam Gascoyne.
Sir Raufe Bygod.
Sir Raufe Bowes.
Sir Thomas a Parr
Sir Raufe Elerker.
Sir Iohn Constable
Sir Iohn Ratclyffe
Sir Iohn Sauell.
Sir Thomas Strangueys.

wyth many other well proued and warlike men, which although in degree they were not egall with these great Lordes and knightes, yet in manhood and pollecies of warre and valiaunt courage, they were to them in all feates equiualent. The number was little lesse then twentie thousande men, beside the Nauie whereof the Lorde Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scottes had dyuers dayes assauted and beaten the Castell of Norham, to the no lytle detriment and dammage therof, and could make no batrie to enter into the same, they determined of their awne minde to reise their siege and returne, and that so much the soner because they heard saye that the Erle of Surrey was within two dayes iourney of them with a great puyssaunce. Wherfore king Iamy thought it to small purpose to tarie any lenger in besieging the Castell, raysed his siege and returned into hys awne realme: When the Erle knewe of the kinges returne, he folowed after wyth all haste possible, trustyng surely to ouertake hym and to geue hym battayle.

When the Erle was entred into Scotland, he ouerthrewe and defaced the Castell of Cawdrestenes, the towre of Hetenhall, the towre of Edington, the Towre of Fulden: and he sent Norrey king at armes to the Capitayne of Hayton Castell, which was one of the strongest places betweene Berwyke and Edenborough to delyuer him the Castell, which he denied to doe, affirming that he was sure of speedie succours and swift aide. The Erle perceauing the deniall, layde his ordinaunce to the Castel, and continually bet it from two of the clock in the morning till fiue at night, in such wise that they within rendered vp the fortresse, their lyues onely saued. And when the Erle had receyued the Scottes, he with his miners rased and ouerthrewe the Castell to the playne grounde. The Scottishe king was within a myle of the siege, and both knewe it and sawe the smoke, and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or rescue his Castell. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the king of Scottes sent to him Marchemount, and another Heraulde, desyring him at his choyse eyther to fight with whole puissaunce agaynst puyssaunce, or else they two to fight person to person, and haude to hande, requiring that if the victorie should fall to the Scottishe king, that then the Erle should delyuer for his raunsome the towne of Berwyke, with the Fyshegarthes of the same. The Erle ioyously, lyke a couragious Capytayne receyued this message and made annswere, that he was readie in the playne fielde to abide the battayle with his whole armye, praiyng him to come forward with hys puyssaunce, and after that he thanked him hartily of the honour that he offered him, for surely he thought himselfe much honored that so Noble a Prince would vouchsafe to admit so poore an Erle to fight with him body to body, asserteyning him farther that the towne of Berwike was the king his maisters and not his, ỹ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor gage without the kings assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precious to him then all the townes of the world, promising on his honour, that if he tooke the king prisoner in the singuler Combate, that he would release to him all his part of his fine and raunsome, and if it chaunced the king to vanquishe and

apprehende

apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was meete and conuenient for the degree of an Erle. And when he had rewarded and dismissed the Heraulds, he set his armie in a readynesse, abidyng the comming of the king of Scots, and so stood all daye. But the Scottishe king not regarding his offers, nor performing his great crakes and boastes, beyng afrayde to cope with the Englishe nation, shamefully and sodeynly fled in the night season with all his power and company. When the Erle knewe that the king was returned, and had bene in Scotland sixe or seuen dayes, beyng daylie and nightly vexed with continuall winde and vnmeasurable rayne, could not cause his people to continue in that tempestious and vnfertyle and barrein region, with good aduise retreated agayne with his whole armie to the towne of Berwike, and there dispersed his armie euery man into hys Countrie, tariyng there himselfe till he knewe the pleasure of the king in furthering or protracting the warres of Scotlande: But in the meane season one Peter Hyalas a man of no lesse learning then prudent wyt and pregnant policie, was sent Ambassadour from Ferdinand King of Spayne, vnto the King of Scottes, to moone and entreate a peace and an vnitie to be had betwene him and the king of Englande. For of King Ferdinand and Elizabeth his wife (to which woman none other was comparable in her time) there was nothing more desyred nor wished then by the coniunction of mariage betweene Arthure Prince of Wales heyre apparaunt to king Henry, and Lady Katheryn the daughter of king Ferdynand and Quene Elizabeth a new affinity and alyaunce might be knyt and begon betwene the realme of England & the Countrie of Spaine. And also he fauoured somewhat the King of Scottes, for which cause he offered himselfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betweene both the princes, their territories and dominions.

Peter Hialas ar. Ambassadour from Ferdinand king of Spaine sent to intreate a peace betwen Englande and Scotland.

This Peter Hyalas solicited and moued by all honest meanes and deuices kyng Iames to assent to a vnitie and concorde: and when with long soliciting he conceaued some good hope to growe in this waightie busynesse hee wrote vnto the king of Englande, that it woulde please him to sende one of his Nobilitie or counsell to be associat with him in concluding with the Scottish king. The king of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, hurt or detriment) was not onely a louer of peace, but also a norisher, and a furtherer of amitie and quietnesse, and especially at this time when he was vexed with the ciuile sedition of his owne proper sheepe and flock, committed the charge of this weyghty matter to Richarde Foxe Bishop of Durham, which laye on the Englishe borders in his castell of Norham. The Bisshop according to the kinges apoyntement went honorablye into Scotland, where he and Peter Hyalas at the towne of Iedwoorth reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as concerning this peace to be had. Sixe hundred conditions were purposed on the one part & the other, but after long protracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor alowed, and one thing aboue all other dashed the whole treatie: For King Henrie instantly required to haue Perkyn Warbecke the fountaine and chiefe cause of all this tumulte and vnquietnesse, the perturber of hym and his whole realme: But the king of Scottes fyrmelye denied to consent to any article that might sounde to his reproch or dishonour: And also now he beganne to smell and sauour the iuggeling and false counterfeyting of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck: Yet because that Perkin was alied to him by matrimony, he thought it both vnhonest, vnreasonable and vnnaturall to betray his allie, and deliuer him to death and confusion. Wherefore when they had reasoned the matter and diuers other vrgent and weyghtie causes by diuers dayes of meeting, and that for the contrariety of opinyons, no firme peace coulde be concluded. In stede of peace a truce was concluded for certayne yeres vpon condicion that Iames King of Scottes should conuey Perkyn Warbeck out of hys realme, seigniories and dominions.

Richarde Foxe Bysshop of Durham.

While these things were reasoned and at the last concluded in the confines of England and Scotlande, king Henry caused the Ambassadoures of the French King, to be brought to his presence, and he them receiued with all benignitie, which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vntyll such time as the insurrection of the Cornishmen were suppressed and extinguished. And with lyke entertaynement he embrased at

the same very season the Lorde of Camphire & other Ambassadors of Philip Archeduke of Austrich and Duke of Burgoyne, comming to hym for the conclusion and continuaunce of an amitie, and to haue the English marchants to resorte to their countrie agayne, which from thence before were prohibited and forbidden. Whych request being verye agreable to the quyetnesse and tranquility of his realme, and especially at that time, he did fauourably graunt and beningly assent vnto. And so being confederate & alyed by treaty & league with all his neighbors marchyng on euerie side of his realmes and regions, he gratified with his most hartie thanks Kyng Ferdynand and the Queene his wife, for they were the mediators, organes & instruments by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottish Kyng and hym, and rewarded Peter the ambassadour liberally and bountifully.

A peace and treatie of the entercourse concluded betweene the house of Austrich and Burgoyne with King Henry the seuenth for the free traffique into the lowe Countries.

So the Englishmen resorted againe into the Archedukes Dominions and were receyued into Andwarp wyth generall procession, so glad was the Towne of their returning, which was by theyr absence sore hyndered and impouerished, at the time that this vnitie and concorde was made, which was the yeare of oure Lorde a thousand foure hundred. xcvij. and the. xiij. yeare of kyng Henries reigne.

The Englishe Marchaunts receyued into Andwarp with generall procession.

Iames king of Scottes perceauing now that he was by Perkyn manifestly deluded, according as he had faythfully promised, so he now duly performed it. For he calling to his presence the foresayde Perkyn Warbecke, declaring to him what benifites & commodities he had receiued of his princely liberalitie and gentilnesse, gentlye required him to depart out of the realme into some other countrie where he might make his abode more surelye and more quyetly, vntill such time as fortune woulde prouide a more prosperous wind to set forward the sayles of his purpose and desyre, declaryng vnto him that he compelled in maner by necessitie had concluded a league and concord with the king of England, and by the treatie, the refuge that he shoulde haue had of hym and hys countrye, was not onely to hym prohibited and forbydden, but also it was agreed and condiscended that neither the king of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name shoulde make warre on the Kyng of England, which war he gladly tooke in hand for Perkyns sake, hauing sure confidence and perfite trust to haue bene ayded and assisted with Perkyns friendes in England. But when he perceyued that all was in vayne, and that all his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be displeased to depart, least his tariyng might be to hym a detriment and a breakyng of the treatie betwene hym and kyng Henrie lately concluded: wherefore with many fayre wordes, he desired him to depart. This Perkyn knowyng the kings pleasure was very sore amased, seing there was no helpe to be looked for hereafter in Scotlande. Albeit remembring the great benifytes which he had receaued heretofore of the Scotishe kyng, which he thought him selfe neuer hable to requyte and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not willing to follow hys desire, he was content at his intercession to depart. And shortly after sayled into Irelande wyth hys wyfe and familie, there determining with him selfe eyther to sayle into Flaunders to the Duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take part with the Cornishmen. But how so euer it was, while he laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certayne messengers that the Cornishmen for all their discomfiture and plague not to be appeased, but sore to grudge and murmure against king Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renew the warre agaynst the King and the Prince: Where he not entendyng to forsake so fayre an occasion so manifestly offered, he hauing with hym foure small shippes and not aboue syx skore men, sayled into Cornewalle and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a towne called Bodman, and their did so solicit, prouoke, & styrre the mutable and wauering people, what with fayre wordes and large promises, that he gathered to hym aboue three thousand persons, which immediatly called him their Capitayne, and sayde that they would take his part and follow hym to the death, and in all things obey his preceptes and commaundements.

Perkyn is dispatched out of Scotlande.

Perkin sayleth into Cornewall.

The Cornishe men againe rebell and haue Perkyn for their Capitayne.

Then Perkin was well encoraged and made proclamations in the name of kyng Richard the fourth as sonne to kyng Edwarde that last dyed. And by the aduise of his three councellers, Iohn Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Scelton a Tailer and Iohn Asteley a Skreuener,

a Skreuener, men of more dishonesty then of honest estimation, determyned first of all to assault and beate all walled & strong townes and fortresses, & them to receiue into his possession and seigniorye for his farther securitie and defence: And that enterprice atchieued, then he would augment hys hoste and marche forwarde against all persons that durst once offer themselues to withstand hym.

When he & his imprudent counsaile were fully resolued on this point and conclusion, they in good order went straight to Excester, which was the next City that he could aproch to, and besieged it, & because he lacked ordinaunce to make a battery to rase & deface the walles, he studied all the waies possible how to breake and infringe the gates. and what with casting of stones, heauing with yron barres & kyndling of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtheraunce of his vngratious purpose. The Citizens perceauing their towne to be inuironed with enemies & like to be enflamed, began at the first to be sore abashed, and let certaine messengers by corde downe ouer the wall which should certefie the kyng of all their necessitie and trouble But after that, takyng to them lusty hartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fyre by fire, & caused faggots to be brought to the inwarde part of the portes and posterns and set them all on fire, to the entent that the fire being enflamed on both the sydes of the gates, might as well exclude their enimies from entering, as include the Citezens from running or fliyng out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampyres to defend their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwarkes. Thus all the doings and attempts of the rebellious people had euill successe in their first enterprise: and thus by fire the Citie was preserued from flame and burning. Then Perkyn beyng of necessitie compelled to leaue the gates, assaulted the Towne in diuers weake and vnfortefied places, and set vp ladders, attempting to clyme ouer the walles and to take the Citie, thynkyng suerly to compell the Citezens eyther by feare or for lack of succour to render themselues and yeeld the towne. But the Citezens being nothing so mynded, so courragiously lyke valyaunt champions defended the walles, that they slue aboue two hundred of his sedicious soldiours at this assault.

Perkyn and hys company assaulteth the towne of Excester.

One fyre hath victorie & ouerthroweth another fyre.

Assone as the messengers of Excester came to the Kyngs presence and shewed their instructions, he hasted with his host toward Excester wyth asmuch hast as the grauitie of the cause did require. And sent the Lorde Dawbeney with light horsemen before to certefie all men of hys comming at hand. But in the meane season Lord Edward Corteney Earle of Deuonshire and Lorde William his soune, a man of great force and valiauntnesse, accompanied wyth syr Edmond Carew, syr Thomas Trenchard, syr William Courtney, syr Thomas Fulforde, syr Iohn Halewell, syr Iohn Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egecombe, William Sentuaure, with all spede came into the Citie of Excester and holpe the Citezens, and at the last assault the Earle was hurt in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of hys company, but verye fewe slayne.

When Perkyn wyth his lewde capytaynes saw that the Citie of Excester was so well fortified both wyth men and municions, and that in maner impregnable, fearing the sequell of this matter, departed from Excester with his lowsie armie to the next great Towne called Tawnton, and there the twentye daye of September he mustered his men as though he were readie to fight: but his number were sore minished. For when the pore and needye people saw the great defence which was made at Excester, and that no man of honour nor yet of honestie drew to hym, contrarie to the promyse and assuraunce, made by hym and hys counsaylers to them at the begynnyng, they withdrew themselues by sundry secrete companies from hym. in prouiding their owne sauegard. Which thing when Perkyn perceaued, he put small trust & lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward it did apere because the most part of hys souldiers were harnissed on the right arme and naked all the body and neuer exercised in warre nor marciall feates but only with the spade and shouell.

Perkyn fleeth from Excester.

When the king heard he was gone to Tawnton, he hastened after him with all spede.

Perkyn besieged Tawnton.

Thether

Thether came to the king, Edward Duke of Buckingham, a yong Prince of a great courage & of a singuler good wit, and him folowed a great companie of noble men, knightes, and Esquiers, prepared and redie with all thinges necessary for the fielde and battaile. Amongest which number was Sir Alexander Baynam, Sir Mawrice Barkeley, Sir Robert Tame, Sir Iohn Guise, Sir Robert Poyntz, Sir Henry Vernon, Sir Iohn Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlet, Sir Iohn Bickenell, Sir Iohn Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterell, Sir Fraunces Cheyney, and many other knightes, Esquiers and valiaunt personages. When the king approched nere the towne of Tawnton, whether he would not deferre and put off the battaile, or whether he doubtyng the turne of fortunes whele, sent before him Robert Lord Brooke lord Steward of his house, Gyles Lorde Dawbeney his chiefe Chamberleyn, and sir Rice ap Thomas, to set on his enemies, and begin the battaile, and he with his power folowed, to the entent that when the armyes coped and ioyned together, he eyther should with newe succours refreshe his awne army, or else set on the backe of his enemies or they could espie him. Albeit the king had no great neede to vse such pollicie if he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For assoone as Perkyn was enformed that his enemyes were redie to geue him battaile, he that nothing lesse minded then to fight in open field with the kinges puyssaunce, dissimuled all the day tyme with his companie, as though nothing could make him afeard, and about midnight beyng accompanyed with. lx. horsemen, departed from Tawnton in poste to a Sanctuary towne besyde Southhampton called Bewdeley, and there hee and John Heron, and other registred themselues as persons priuileged. But whether Perkyn did this for feare, least his men should forsake him, or for the cowardnesse of his awne timerous courage, it is as much vncertaine, as it is probable and sure, that the king tooke by his flight great commoditie and quietnesse, by reason that he was not enforced to fight with the Cornish men, whose heartes and courages were so encreased and enflamed by deadly desperation that they earnestly determined and were stedfastly bent either to winne victorie and ouercome their enemies, or else not one of them all to liue any day or houre longer.

Perkin flieth and taketh Sanctuary at Bewdley.

When king Henry knewe that Perkyn was fled and departed, he sent after him the Lorde Dawbeney, with fiue hundred horsemen towarde the sea syde to stay him before he should come there. But Perkyn whome the matter touched at the quick, made such hast with the swiftnesse of his horse, and sharpenesse of his spurres, that he was so farre passed on his way before, that no person coulde tell tidynges of him, before he regestred and disclosed himselfe in the Sanctuarie. But his chiefe Capitaynes which fled, could not so craftily escape, for the most part of them were apprehended, and as captiues and wretches miserably presented to the king. When the residue of the common people could neyther see Perkyn nor yet the Standards nor guidehomes of their Capitaynes, not knowing where he was become, doubtyng whether he were fraudulently slaine, or fearefully fled, wist not what councell to aske or what way was most surest to follow and take. But when they were assertayned of his most shamefull flight, euerye person oppressed wyth this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perill, castyng awaye their armure, submitted themselues to the king, holdyng vp their handes in asking mercy, offryng and promisyng him, fayth, loyaltie and obeysaunce. To whome the king of most gentle heart and lenitie, not onely graunted pardon but receyued them to his fauour. And so the king beyng a conqueror without manslaughter or effusion of christian blood, roade triumphantly into the Citie of Excester, and there not onely lauded and praysed the Citizens of Excester, but also rendered to them his most hartie thankes, as well for their dueties done, as for their valiauntnesse. And there also he afflicted and put in execution diuerse Cornish men which were the aucthours and stirrers vp of this newe insurrection and false conspiracie.

The horsemen that were sent, without any stop or stay, in short space came to Saint Michelles mount, and there (as chaunce was) found Lady Katheryn Gorden wyfe to Perkyn,

Perkyn, and brought her strayght lyke a bonde woman and captiue to the king. And the king wonderyng at her beauty and amiable countenaunce, thought her a pray more mete for the chiefe capitaine then for the meane Souldiors, began then a litle to phantasie her person, and sent her incontinently, accompanied with a goodly sort of sad matrones and gentlewomen (because she was but a yong woman) to London to the Queene as a true and vndoubted token of his triumph and victorye. And while he reposed himselfe at Excester, he iudged that he had nothing wonne, nor yet plucked vp the roote of this sedicious rebellion, except he coulde get into his possession the chiefe hed and type of thys pestiferous faction and businesse. Wherefore he enuironed the Sanctuarye which Perkyn was in, rounde about with two companies of light horsemen, wise and discrete persons, to the entent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapyng away. And after that, he attempted thys yong fondlyng by trustye and pollitique messengers, if he hauyng pardon and remission of all mischieuous and heynous offences by him done agaynst the king and his Realme, would gladly submit himselfe to the king, and be to him faythfull true and obedient. Perkyn beyng nowe destitute of all hope, faylyng of his dwellyng place, and lackyng comfort, ayde, and refuge, consideryng that he was now brought to the very poynt and pricke of extremitie, that he wist not how nor whether to flie into any Countrie for succour, and also he was in vtter dispayre to haue hereafter any prosperous chaunce, or fortunate successe in his enterprice, because he had so often attempted, and so manye tymes had bene foyled and vanquished, wherefore he hauyng his pardon to him offered, and trusting to the open promise of men, of his awne will frankly and freely departed out of Sanctuary and committed himselfe to the kinges pleasure, and so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Perkyn submitted himselfe to the King.

Then was the king very glad that this warre was ended, and tooke his iourney immediately toward London, not without a great concourse of people meetyng him out of euery quarter to see this Perkyn as he were a Mōster, because he beyng an alyen of no abilitie by his poore parentes (although it was otherwise talked and dissimuled) durst once inuade so noble a realme, and it to infect with such lyes and leasynges, and chiefely of all that he by hys craftie subornations had perswaded diuers aswell noble as ignoble (not without the confusion and vndoyng of many of them) to beleue and say that he was the very same person that he feyned and paynted himselfe to be. But when the king was come to London, he appoynted certaine kepers to attend on him which should not (the bredth of a nayle) go from his person, to the entent that he might neyther conuey himselfe out of the lande, nor flie any whether, nor yet prouoked and procured by other, should be able to sowe againe no newe sedition nor sedicious tumult within his realme and countries.

Kepers were appointed to looke to Perkyn.

When these tydings came to the Ladye Margaret in Flaunders that Perkyn her deere darling had no good luck but losse, both of his enterprise and her great studious furtherauance, and was brought into captiuitie, shee was not well pleased with them, but wept and lamented hys vnluckie spede, and cursed her infortunate chaunce.

When these things were brought to passe according to the kings minde, he did not forget that there was not a more delectable and pleasaunt thing, nor a larger reyne of mischiefe geuen to the vulgare people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende without any punishment or correction: Wherefore to the intent hereafter to obserue his people in due obeysaunce and subiection, he shortlye caused inqnyries to be made of dyuers offences. Whervpon diuers persons as well in Sommersetshire as Deuonshire were accused and presented that they had ayded both wyth men and money the Cornish Traytors, not only after their discomfiture in returning homeward, but also in their marching forward, entending to make battayle against the king being their souereigne and liege Lord. All which offenders he determined to plague and scourge according to the quantity of their crime and offence, with great fines and sore assesments. And therefore he committed this charge to Thomas Lorde Darcie, to Amis Paulet knight, and Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules, after Bishop of Chichester.

Commissioners Thomas Lorde Darcy Amis Paulet knight, Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules.

These

These Commissioners lyke a whirlewinde tossed and pierced the Cofers and substaunce of all the inhabitaunts of both the Countries, to the intent that no person being embrued or spotted with the ynke of that abhominable crime, should escape the payne which he worthily had deserued: but they were gentle and remisse to a great number, and specially to such as offended by cohercion and feare, rather then of malicious heart or enuious minde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishment, so that equitie therein was very well and iustly executed.

1498 — 14

In this yere a sodeyne chaunce, ye a thing of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kindled agayne the olde displeasure and grudge betweene king Henry and king Iames of Scotlande, that they could scarce kepe their hands, and bridle their courages from warre and fighting. The first motion of this displeasure was thus: Certayne yong men of the Scots came armed into Norham Castell, and beheld it wonderous circumspectly, as though they had beene desirous to knowe what was done there within: But when the kepers of the Castell could not perceiue any hostilitie or dammage towardes them or theirs, and seyng them depart of their awne accord, determined it not conuenient to moue any question to them nor once to stirre out. But when they came agayne the next daye and viewed it likewise, the kepers of the sayde Castell suspecting some fraude to lurck in their looking, demaunded of them what was their intent, & why they viewed and aduised so the Castell. The Scottes euen lyke themselues, aunswered them proudly and rustically with many disdeynfull wordes. Insomuch that after their blustering and blowyng aunswers made, the Englishe men beyng vexed and moued therewithall, replyed to them with hard and manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on both parties, and diuers Scottes wounded and some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of the Englishe people, fled as fast as their horses would carie them. When they came home and certefied the king of the same, he was therewith sore moued and angry, and sware by sweete Saint Ninyan there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruyng of the league by the king of Englande, and sent worde thereof to king Henry in all haste by Marchmount his Herauld.

Marchemount a Herauide of Scotland.

The king of England which nothing more embraced and desyred then quyet tranquilitie and perfite loue and amitie with all Princes beyng hys neyghbours and borderers, to the intent that he myght lyue in his latter dayes in an honest and quyet lyfe after so many labours and vexations euen from his infancie drawen and exercised in, made him aunswere that it was not done through his default, neither by his counsell nor knowledge, but rather by the rashe folly of the keepers of the Castell, requiring him for that cause not to thinke the league infringed, promising in the worde of a king to enquire of the truth, and who were the malefactours. And if the offence were founde to be begon on the partie of the keepers of the Castell, he assured him that they should for no meede or fauour escape paine and punishement. This aunswere although it were more then reasonable, could not mitigate or asswage the Scots anger and outrageousnesse, for the which cause Rycharde Byshop of Durham, which was more heauie then all other because that this discorde was renued agayne betwene these two Princes by occasion of Castell kepers, he therefore thought it best first to asswage and coole the furious rage of the Scottishe king, and wrote manye letters to hym, requiring him of peace and vnitie. The king perceauing both the good will and constant grauitie of the Bishop, appeased his furie and aunswered gently to the Byshops letters by wryting agayne to him, saiyng, that because he had many secret and priuy things in his mind which he would cōmunicate onely with him touching the cause nowe in varyaunce, he therfore required him to take paine to come into his Countrie, trusting that he should thinke his labour well bestowed. The Byshop was very glad and sent worde to the king his maister, of king Iames desire, who esteemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therfore willed him to accomplish the Scottish kings honest desire.

Richard Bishop of Durham.

When

When he came into Scotland, he was receyued with all humanitie that could be thought of the king himself at an abbey called Melrose. And there, after that the king for a countenaunce had complayned muche of the cruelty and slaughter that was vsed towardes his men late at Norham. he easily remitted the offence and pardoned it, and began secretly to common wythout any witnesses or arbitrers nere hande with the Byshop alone. And first declared to him what olde and iust causes haue moued him before this. to seeke alyaunce and amitie with king Henry, which nowe he desired much more to haue confirmed and corroborate for the farther maintenaunce of loue and increase of friendship, which thing he doubted not, but should sorte to a fortunate effect and good conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to geue to him in matrimony his first begotten daughter the Lady Margaret, vpon which point he determined not long agone to sende hys Ambassadors into England, which thing he would the soner doe if he knew this Byshops minde and intent readie to further his louing purpose. The Bishop aunswered but fewe wordes, saiyng that when he were returned to the king hys maister, he would doe the best in the matter that laye in his power. Which words animated moch the king, and put him in good hope to sende his Ambassadours to the king of Englande to sue for the sayde matrimonie to bee concluded.

Ladie Margaret eldest daughter to king Henry the seuenth.

When the Bishop had taken his leaue, and was come to the king, he declared to him in order all the communication betwene king Iames and him. This request pleased the king very much, to whom peace was euer a souereigne medicine, and determined surely to minister occasion of warre to no man, nor would haue any Prince to prouoke him to the same.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, and Edward Erle of Warwicke to approche: For after this fact done and committed, one fierce and strong waue deuoured and swalowed both their lyues not long a sunder, as you shall heare by the continuation of this storie. Perkyn, whether it grieued him to be kept in warde, or else that he was instigated and entised by some of his olde friendes to sturre more coles, and begin some newe seditious faction, or at the least, because he would wilfully waste and cast away himselfe, studied how to escape and flie away, hauyng perfite hope that he should finde occasion to bring all things well to passe, if he could conuey himselfe once out of the English mens hands. And although he were not ignoraunt, that he neither could doe nor imagine any thing, but the king would both heare of it and know it: Yet he seduced with hope of euasion and scaping, which was the chiefe comfort of his captiuitie, had liefer put all things in a proofe and hazarde, rather then lenger to suffer the present calamitie and daylie miserie. And so deceyuing his keepers tooke him to hys heeles, by the which he brought himselfe into a straighter custodie and prison, and wrapped himselfe into tortures and punishmentes: For when he came to the Sea costes, and had gone but a little forward on his iourney, when the rumour of his flight was spreade abroade, euery bye way and lane was set abroade with the Kings garde, which had the custodie of hys body. Wherefore be beyng sore abashed with the clamour of them that searched and made inquirie for him, and beyng in a maner destitute of wyt and counsaile, altered of necessitie from his pretensed iourney, and came to the house of Bethlem, called the Priorie of Shene beside Richemond in Southrey, and committed himselfe to the Prior of the Monasterie, requiring him for Gods sake to aske and desire his lyfe and pardon of the kings maiestie. The Prior which for his verteous qualities was had in great estimation, moued with the calamitie and infortunate state of this man, came to the king and shewed him of this Perkyn, whose pardon he humblye craued, and frankely obteyned it. Incontinent after this, Perkyn was brought to the Court againe to Westminster with many a cursse and reproche, and was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, before the dore of Westminster hall, and there stoode one whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mockes and scornings. And the next day was caryed thorough London, and set vpon a lyke Scaffolde in Chepe by the Standard, with lyke gynnes and stockes as he occupied the daye before, and

Perkin Warbeck. Edward erle of Warwick.

there stood all daye and red openly his awne confession written with hys awne hande, the verie Copie whereof hereafter ensueth.

The confessiō of Perkin as it was written with his awne hande.

First it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my fathers name is Iohn Osbeck, which sayde Iohn Osbeck, was Comptroller of the said towne of Turney, and my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my Graundsires vpon my fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my Graundmother was maryed vnto Peter Flamme, that was receauer of the forenamed towne of Turney, and Deane of the Botemen that rowe vpon the water or ryuer, called Leschelde. And my Graundsire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of S. Johns within the same Towne of Turney. Also I had an Vncle called maister Iohn Stalyn, dwelling in the parishe of Saint Pyas within the same towne, which had maried my fathers sister, whose name was Ione or Iane, with whome I dwelled a certayne season. And after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flemmishe, in a house of a Cousyn of mine, an officer of the sayde towne, called Iohn Stienbeck, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned agayne to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders. And within a yere followyng I was sent with a Marchaunt of the sayde towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe where I fell sick, which sicknesse continued vpon fiue Moneths. And the said Barlo set me to borde in a Skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nation. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two Moneths. And after this the sayd Barlo set me with a Marchant of Middelborough to seruice for to learn ỹ language whose name was Iohn Strewe, wyth whom I dwelled from Christmas til Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companie of Sir Edward Bramptones wyfe, in a ship which was called the Quenes ship. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruice to a Knight that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, which sayde knight had but one eye. And because I desyred to see other Countries, I toke licence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruice with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Irelande, and when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the towne, because I was arayed with some clothes of Silke of my sayde maisters, came vnto me and threaped vpon mee that I should be the Duke of Clarence sonne, that was before time at Deuelin. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holy Euangelists and the crosse by the Maior of the towne, which was called Iohn le Wellen, and there in the presence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truth was, that I was not the foresayde Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishe man, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one Iohn Water, and layde to me in swearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richardes Bastard sonne: To whome I aunswered with like othes, that I was not. And then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me boldly, and if I would so do, they would ayde and assist me with all their power agaynst the king of England, and not onely they, but they were assured well that the Erles of Desmond, and Kildare, should do the same. For they forced not what parte they tooke, so that they might be reuenged vpon the king of England, and so agaynst my will made me to learne Englishe, and taught me what I should do and say. And after this they called me Duke of Yorke, second sonne of king Edward the fourth, because king Richards bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England. And vpon this the sayde Iohn Water, Stephen Poytron, Iohn Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the foresayde Erles, entred into this false quarell. And within short time after, the French king sent an Ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loyte Lucas, and mayster Stephyn Fryam, to aduertise me to come into Fraunce. And thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same day, which was the. xv. day of Iune was come (partly because the king had pardoned him his life, and partly because hee should no more ronne awaye, & put the king in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was committed to the Tower of London, where hys wickednesse boilyng so hote within his cankard stomacke, woulde not suffer him to escape the punishement and vengeaunce of God, but shortly after was most iustly and worthily put to death, as hereafter shall be shewed.

1499
15

Edward Plantagenet Erle of Warwike, of whome ye haue heard before, being kept in the Tower almost from his tender age, that is to say, from the first yere of the king to this. xv. yere, out of all companie of men and sight of beastes, in so much that he could not decerne a Goose from a Capon. And where as he by cõmon reason and open apparaunce, coulde not by his awne doynges seeke his death and destruction, yet by the drift and offence of another man, he was brought to his end and confusion. For a Frier Augustin on the border of Suffolke called Patricke, to the entent to bring this Erle into disdaine and hatred, had a certaine scholer called Raufe Wilford, whome he greatly fauoured, and in whose hed he euer distilled and enfused this foolish and phantasticall conceyte, that if he would folowe his counsaile and aduise, he would easily conuey him to the kingdome of England. The scholer lyke a good disciple, did not denie to folow his maisters discipline and counsaile, but more and more desired and put his Maister in remembraunce to performe and accomplishe with all speede, that thing which of his awne liberalitie, he before had to him both promised and assured, saiyng, what Mecocke or dastard is so sore afeard of transgressing the law, or dreadeth punishment, the which to obteyne a kingdome will not attempt to do, and suffer all things that is possible to be assayed and tasted? So that when they betwene themselues secretly had taken a craftie deliberation and counsaile of their enterprise, and had deuised in their foolishe wittes, howe it should be brought to passe, they went both together into Kent (which Countrie in auncient tyme hath not beene dull in settyng foorth of newe phantasticall phantasyes) and there begon this yong Mawmet to tell priuily to many that he was the very Erle of Warwicke, and lately gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of thys Frier Patricke. To the which saiyngs when the Frier perceyued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the Pulpet, and desired all men of helpe.

Patrick a Frier the conueyer awaye of Edward Erle of Warwick.

But the head of this sedicion was Sommer topped, that it could haue no time to spring any higher, the maister and the scholer beyng both apprehended and cast into prison, and attainted. Of the which two, the scholer was hanged on Shrouetuesday, at Saint Thomas of Waterynge, and the Frier was condemned to perpetuall prison and captiuitie. For at that tyme here in England, so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that a priest, although he had committed high treason against his souereigne Lord and to all other, offenders in murder, rape or theft, which had receyued any of the three higher holy orders, the lyfe was geuen, & the punishment of death released. The chiefe cause of this fauour was this, because Bishops of a long tyme and season did not take knowledge, nor intermit themselues with ỹ serch and punishement of such heynous and detectable offences, by reason wherof they did not disgrade and deprive from the holy orders such malefactors, and wicked persons, which without ỹ ceremony, by the canonicall law could not be put to death. Furthermore, what should a man say, it was also vsed that he that could but only read (yea although he vnderstode not what he read) how heynous or detestable a cryme so euer he had cõmitted (treason onely except) should likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders be saued, & committed to the Bishops prison. And to the entent that if they should escape, & be again taken, cõmittyng like offence, that their liues should be no more to them pardoned, it was ordayned that murderers should be brent on the brawne of the left hande with an hote yron signed with this letter *M*, and theeues in the same place with this letter *T*, so that if they, which were once signed with anye of these markes or tokens, did againe commit like cryme and offence, should suffer the paynes and punishmentes, which they had both merited and deserued. Which deuice was enacted

Murderers to be brent in the hand with an M. and theeues with a T.

ed and established in the Parliament kept in the seconde yere of this kinges reigne, and taken as I coniecture of the French nation, which are wont if they take any such offender, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill doyng. And the charge of keping such offenders, that be only imprisoned by their offences, because it soundeth to spirituall religion, is committed to the Bishops and rulers of the spiritualtie, with a penaltie set vpon them, if any such prisoner doe afterwarde escape. The which act and priuilege did nourishe and encrease aboundauntly the sect and swarme of theeues and murderers, for after that time there were an hundreth waies practised and inuented, how at one time or another, to deliuer or conuey them out of prison and captiuitie, by making their purgation (by what sleight and meanes they care not) of such offences as before they were conuinced and found guiltie, if no man be present to lay exceptions to the same. For if the partie offended and hurt be absent at the day of the purgation makyng, the theefe or murderer truely found guilty from the begynning, shall be both excused and set at libertie. And oftentimes the sooner, because the Bishop would not leese so great a summe as an hundred pounde, for the escape of a poore knaue, scant worth a Dandiprat: But now to returne to our matter againe.

Purgation of Conuicts.

Perkyn (of whome rehersall was made before) beyng now in hold, could not leaue with the destruction of hym selfe, and confusion of other that had associate themselues with hym, but began nowe to studye which way to flye and escape. For he by false perswasions and liberall promises, corrupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier hys kepers, being seruauntes to syr Iohn Dygby Lieutenaunt. Insomuch that they (as it was at their areinement openly proued) entended to haue slayne the sayd Maister, and to haue set Perkyn and the Erle of Warwicke at large, whiche Erle was by them made priuie of this enterprice, and therevnto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) to his distruction assented. But this craftie deuice and subtill imagination, being opened & disclosed, sorted to none effect, and so he being repulsed and put backe from all hope and good lucke wyth all his complices and confederates, and Iohn Awater, sometyme Maior of Corffe in Irelande, one of his founders, and hys sonne, were the sixtene day of Nouember arained and condemned at Westminster. And on the three and twentye daye of the same moneth, Perkyn and Iohn Awater were drawne to Tiborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a litle skaffolde, read his confession, which before you haue heard, and toke it on his death to be true, & so he and Iohn Awater asked the kyng forgeuenesse and dyed paciently. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Alye of Perkyn Warbeck, which in his life wyth false perswasions and vntrue surmises had brought many noble personages to death and vtter perdicion, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not vndeserued punishment. And amongest other Edward Earle of Warwicke, which as the fame went, consented to break pryson, & to depart out of the Realme wyth Perkyn (which in prisoners is high treason) was the. xxj. daye of the sayde moneth arreyned at Westmynster before the Earle of Oxforde, then high Counstable of England, of the sayd treason, which whether it were by the enticement of other or of his awne free will (many mē doubt because of hys innocency) confessed the fact & submitted himselfe to the kyngs mercy. And vpon his confession he had his iudgement, and accordyng therevnto, the. xxviij. day of Nouember. M.cccc.xcix. was brought to the skaffold on the Towre hyll, and there behedded. The fame after hys death sprang abroad, that Ferdinand kyng of Spayne would neuer make full conclusion of the matrymony to be had betwene Prince Arthur & the Lady Katheryn hys daughter, nor send her into England as long as this Erle lyued. For he imagined that as long as any Erle of Warwicke lyued, that England should neuer be clensed nor purged of cyuill warre and preuy sedycion, so muche was the name of Warwicke in other Regions, had in feare and gelosye.

Strangweys Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier kepers of Perkin were corrupted.

Perkyn and Iohn Awater drawen to Tyborne and executed.

Edwarde Erle of Warwick behedded.

The next yere after there was a great plague, whcrof men dyed in many places very sore, but especially & most of all in the City of London, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kings called the maner of Shene, situate

A great death.

situate and lyng nigh the Thamys side, which he after buylded agayne sumpteouslye and costely, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Richemond, because his father and he were Erles of Richemond. The manour of Shene brent.

The King perceyuing this plague and contagyous disease, rather to encrease then decrease, whether it was to auoyd the occasion of the sicknesse, or to allure the Archduke of Burgoyn to common with him, he personally toke his ship at Douer, in the beginning of May, & sailed to Calice, to the entent to prouide and see the watches, which haue bene accustomed to be diligently kept and mayntayned against the incursions of his aduersaries, and there he made politique ordinaunces and strayght lawes. While the Kyng laye thus at Calice, the Archeduke Philyp sent to him diuers notable personages, not alonelye to gratify and welcome him into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archeduke offred to repayre personally to hys presence, wyth suche a number as the King should appoynt, so that it were within no walled towne or fortresse. For he had before diuers tymes made deniall to the French king to enter into any of his walled townes, and if he should, as he gladly would come to the towne of Calice, it might be a president to ỹ French king to desyre like metyng, what chaunce thereof might fall, euery man could not iudge. The king gently enterteyned the Ambassadors, but more thankfully accepted the Archedukes offer, and so appoynted the place at Saint Peters Church without Calice. Vpon the Tuesday in Penticost weeke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient companie. The King and the Queene with many a lustie Lorde and Lady rode thether to welcome him. And when the king approched, the Duke at his lightyng offred to holde hys stirrop, which the king in no wise woulde suffer to be done. When the king was dissended from his horse, he and the Archeduke embraced eche other with most princely familiaritie, and then the Queene and all the Nobles saluted him. What banquettyng, what mirth, and what pastyme there was, I ouerpasse. But to conclude there was communication of mariages, treating of farther corroberation of leagues, requestes, of tolles in Flaunders to be minished, with many other thinges, touchyng the entercourse and traffique of both their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an order, the two Princes louyngly tooke their leaue and departed, the king to Calice, and the Archeduke to Saint Omers.

After this departyng, the French king Lewys the twelue, sent to visite the king, the Lord Grouthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the Lord Merneiliers, Bayly of Amyas, which declared to the king the gettyng of Millayn, and takyng of the Duke, which Lordes were highly feasted, and wyth great rewardes departed.

Soone after when this plague was slaked, the king returned againe to England, about the ende of Iune: And beyng come into Englande, soone after there came to him one Gasper Pous, a Spaniard (both for learnyng and good behauiour very excellent) sent from Alexander Bishop of Rome, which should shew the Englishe men the right way to heauen. Therefore that yere was called the yere of Iubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand fiue hundred. And to the entent that the people of farre Countries might be eased of their labour and trauaile in commyng thether, the charitable father sent his Legates into euery Countrie to destribute the heauenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, which eyther letted by warre, enemies, infirmitie, weakenesse, or tediousnesse of ỹ long iourney, were not able to performe their iourney to the holy Citie of Rome. But this beneuolent liberality was not francke & freely geuen: For the holy Bishop Alexander, with helpyng and loking to the helth of mens soules, thought somewhat to doe for hys awne pryuate commoditie and singuler welth, and therefore he limitted and set a certaine price of this his grace and pardon: and to the ende that the king should not hynder nor let his purpose, he offered part of this his gaine vnto the king. And that the people might the sooner minishe their purses, and enriche his Chestes, he promised that he would in the beginnyng of the yere make warre in all the haste against the great Turke. By this meanes and pollicie, this Alexander gat and heaped vp a great summe of money, and

1500
16

A yere of Iubile.

and yet no battaile begonne against the Turke, which in the meane season had taken, conquered, and destroyed many regions, Cities, & townes belongyng to Christen men.

About this time died three Bishops in England, Iohn Morton Bishop of Cauntorbury, Thomas Langton Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotheram Bishop of Yorke. After him succeded Thomas Sauage Bishop of London, in whose place succeded Doctor William Warham of whom we made mencion before. And Henry Deane Bishop of Sarisburie was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury. Also Richard Foxe Bishop of Durham, was preferred to the Bishoprike of Winchester. Also this yere two notable mariages were concluded and agreed vpon, but neyther solemnised nowe, nor consummate as you shall heare afterwarde. For king Henry graunted hys daughter Ladie Margaret to Iames the fourth king of Scottes. And Ferdinand king of Spaine gaue his daughter Ladie Katherin to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the king of England. And it is to be considered ỹ king Henry did not ioyne this affinitie with the king of Scottes without cause: For he desiryng nothing more, then to passe ouer the remnãt of his lyfe in peace, rest, and tranquilitie, imagined in himselfe that by thys coniunction and couplement of matrimonie, no warre or hostilitie hereafter should be attempted eyther agaynst him or his Dominions by the Scottishe king or his nation, hauyng sure trust that none other of his enemies or of his rebelles should hereafter be receyued or mainteyned in the Dominions and territories of his sonne in lawe. And amongest all other articles this was concluded and appoynted, that no English man should enter into Scotland, without letters commendatory of theyr awne souereigne Lorde, or saueconduyte of his Wardein of the Marches, and that prohibition was, in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes.

The Ladye Margaret affied to Iames the fourth king of Scottes.

The Ladie Katheryn affied to Arthur Prince of Wales.

1501

17

You haue heard before, howe that the mariage was agreed betweene Prince Arthure of England, and the Ladie Katheryn of Spaine, and howe the king her father promised to send her with great honour into England: He now this yere accordyng to his promise conueyed her with a puyssaunt nauy toward England, where she arriued in the porte of Plymmouth the seconde day of October, then beyng Saterday. When the king was certified of her arryuall, incontinent he sent both for Prince Arthur his sonne into Wales to repayre to London, and sent diuers great Lords and knightes to conuey her with tryumph toward her spouse and husband. And vpon the. xij. day of Nouember, she was conueyed from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that could be deuised or imagined, to the Bishops palace, by the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paules. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wise deuises, and the prudent speeches, set foorth in seuen goodly Pageauntes, erected and set vp in diuers places of the Citie. I leaue also the sweete harmonie, which sounded with heauenly noyse on euery syde of the streete. I omit farther, the costly apparell both of Goldesmithes woorke and embraudery, the riche Iewelles, the massie Chaynes, the stirryng horses, the beautifull bardes, and the glitteryng trappers, both with belles and spangles of golde. I will not molest you with rehersyng the riche arras, the costly tapestrie, the fyne clothes both of golde and siluer, the pleasaunt silkes, which did hang in euery streete where she passed, the wine that ranne continually out of the Conduytes. But to resort vnto the historie.

The receyuing into Lõdon of ỹ Lady Katheryn who afterward maryed with Prince Arthur the kings eldest sonne.

While this princesse soiourned for her recreation in the Bishops palace of London, not without visitation of the king, the Queene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the bodye of Saint Paules Church, a long bridge made of timber, extending from the West dore of the Church, to the step at the entering into the Quere, which was sixe foote from the ground. On the sayd bridge or stage, euen directly before the consistorie of the church was eleuate a place lyke a mount, for eyght persons to stand vpon, compassed rounde about with steps to assend and dissend, which was couered wyth fyne red worsted, and in lykewise were all the rayles of the sayde stage. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the king and Queene and such other as they appointed. On the

the Southside of the same mount stood the Maior & the Magistrates of London. When all preparation was made, and all things set in an order. Vpon the day of Saint Erkenwalde, then beyng Sunday, the sayde Lady was led to the same mount, and there prince Arthur openly espoused her, both beyng clad in whyte, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of xviij. or there abouts. After the matrimonie celebrate, the prince and hys wyfe went vp into the Quere, and there heard a solempne masse, song by the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury, associate with. xix. Prelates mytred. And after the masse fynished, the Bride was led homewarde to the Byshops palace, by Henry Duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly yong prince, & the Legate of Spaine. Next after folowed the Ladie Cicile sister to the Queene, supportyng the trayne of the spouse. After whome folowed aboue an hundred Ladies and Gentlewomen gorgeously appareyled and richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumpteous feast, but when night was come, this lustie prince and his bewtifull Bride were brought and ioyned together in one bed, and there did that act, which to the performaunce and full consummation of matrimonie was most requysite and expedient. In so muche that his familier seruitours, which had then neyther cause nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the morning he called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to doe. At which thing one of his Chamberlaynes marualyng, required the cause of his drouth. To whome he aunswered merily saiyng, I haue this night bene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hote region, and that iourney maketh me so drie, and if thou hadst bene vnder that hote clymate, thou wouldest haue bene drier then I. Then shortly after the king and the Quene with the new wedded spouses, went from Baynardes Castell by water to Westminster, on whome the Maior and Communaltie of London, in Barges garnished with standardes, streamers, and penons of their deuise, gaue their attendaunce. And there in the palace were suche martiall feates, and valiant iustes, as before that tyme was of no man had in remembraunce. Of this royall triumph Lord Edward Duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalenger, and the Lorde Thomas Grey Marques Dorcet was chiefe defendour, which with their aydes and companions, bare themselues so valyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honour, both of the Spanyardes and of their Countrimen.

The mariage of prince Arthur with the Ladye Katheryn.

This after his father was king Henry the eyght.

During the time of these iustes and triumph, were receaued into London, an Erle, a Byshop, and dyuers noble personages, sent from the king of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage betwene the Lady Margaret the kings daughter and hym. Which Erle by proxie in the name of king Iames his maister, affied and contracted the sayd fayre Lady. Which assuraunce was published at Paules Crosse, the day of the conuersion of S. Paule, in reioysing whereof *Te deum* was song, & great fires made thorough the Citie of London. Which things as you haue heard, beyng fully fynished and accomplished the Ambassadours as well of Spaine as of Scotlande, tooke their leaue of the king, and not without great rewardes departed into their Countries.

Ambassadors sent from the Scottes, for the mariage of the Lady Margaret.

When the Ambassadors were departed, the king entending to auaunce the honor and reputation of the prince his sonne, furnished him with men and money largely, and sent him agayne into Wales, where he was before, to keepe liberall hospitalitie, and to minister to the rude Welshemen indifferent iustice. And least by reason of lack of experience he might erre, he appointed to him wise and expert counsaylers, as syr Rycharde Poole his kinsman, which was his chiefe Chamberlayne, with whome were associate syr Henry Vernon, Sir Rychard Croftes, Sir Dauy Philip, Sir Wylliam Vdale, Syr Thomas Englefelde, Sir Peter Newton knightes, Iohn Waleston, Henry Matyon, & Doctor Wylliam Smyth who was President of his Counsayle, and Doctor Charles, both were with him associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncolne, and the other Byshop of Herford. But as of one Fountayne cometh often both ioye and sorrowe, so I leaue here to speake more of ioye of thys mariage, considering the chaunce that shortly after succeeded.

A few Moneths before the mariage of Prince Arthur, Edmond Poole Erle of Suffolke, sonne to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and Lady Elizabeth sister to King Edward the fourth, beyng

beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and headie, was endited of homicide and murther, for sleayng of a meane person in his rage and furie: And although the king pardoned hym whome he might iustly haue condempned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the Kings Benche barre and arreyned (which fact he reputed to be a great mayme and blemishe to his honor) tooke it seriously, and shortly after for this displeasure, fled into Flaunders, without any licence or safe conduyte geuen him of the Kyng, to the Ladye Margaret his Awnt on the mothers side. Neuerthelesse, whether he was sturred by hys priuie friendes thervnto mooued by the king, or whether he trusting on hys innocencie and truth feared no daunger nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused himselfe so to the king that he was thought to be guiltlesse and inculpable in any cryme that could be obiected to him, and therefore he was permitted to go frankely at his libertie and pleasure.

But when this mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London wyth great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the king himselfe was principally geuen to ioy and reioysing. Thys Edmonde, eyther for that he had bene at great and excessyue charges at the same tryumph and solempnitie, and by reason therof sore charged with debt. Eyther sollicited, allured & prouoked by that olde venemous Serpent the Duches of Burgoyn, euer beyng the sower of sedition, and beginner of rebellion agaynst the king of Englande, or else prouoked and pricked wyth enuy, which could not paciently with open eyes see and beholde king Henry, beyng of the aduerse lyne to his lignage, so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie, in conclusion with his brother Rycharde fled agayne into Flaunders. This sad chaunce (I thinke) happened among the great ioyes and solaces of king Henry, least that he might not by ouermuch gladnesse sodeynly forget himselfe: Which displeasure at an other time before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowne to you.

When the King vnderstoode certaynly that this Erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquieted, mistrusting that some newe tumultuous busynesse should be begonne againe, and chiefly therfore blamed hymselfe of foolish follie that he had giuen hym his pardon for hys offence, lately committed. Although it was manifest ynough that he dyd it for thys purpose, that he myght dissemble and wynke at the matter so long vntill such time, he had some sure token and perfite knowledge of his coniuration, the which he perceyued now to be surely attempted and begon. Assone as Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunders, Syr Robert Curson, whome the kyng had promoted to the order of knighthoode, and made capitayne of Hammes Castle, a valiaunt and a circumspect man, dissimuling himselfe to be one of that conspiracye went into Flaunders, doubtlesse to espy what was done there by the Lady Margaret against kyng Henrye. This opinion was setteled in euery mannes head at the first brochinge of the matter, and so yet continueth, groundyng vpon this principle, that he neyther vexed nor molested wyth any poynt of displeasure or iniurie by his Prince or anye other fled to the kings enimies. And after all thinges were knowne, pacefied & suppressed, he willingly returned and was receiued into high fauour with the Kyng his mayster and soueraigne Lord. Howbeit, the king like a wise Prince, knowing the faithfull intent of thys syr Robert, & entending to put him out of al iealowsie and suspicion with the Ladye Margaret, and Edmond de la Poole, caused the said Erle and the said Sir Robert Corson, and fiue persons more to be accursed at Paules crosse the first Sundaye of Nouember, as enimies and rebels to him and his realme. But howsoeuer it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of his hart, or for some priuye pollicye, the King after the mariage of his sonne Prince Arthur, was so vigilant, and so intentiue, that he espied and tryed out such as he knew, partly to bee the inuentours of mischiefe against him, and partly to beare no good wyll towarde his person, that he coulde redily name and reherse their names and surnames, whereof a great part were within few dayes after apprehended and taken. And among them, Lord William Courtney, sonne to Edward Erle of Deuonshire, a man

Edmond de la poole Erle of Suffolke.

of

of great nobilitie, estimacion and vertue, which maryed Lady Katheryn, daughter to King Edward, Lorde William brother to Edmond, Erle of Southfolke, syr Iames Tyrrell, Sir Iohn Windham. Both these Williams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion and ielowsie, because they were nere of blood to the cōiurators, then for any proued offence or crime. Wherefore the Lorde William sonne to the Erle of Deuonshire, after the death of king Henry the seuenth, was deliuered and set abroad at libertie, by the noble and famous Prince Kyng Henry the eyght, sonne to the sayd kyng, with whome after he was in great fauour and estimacion: but shortelye after, when he beganne to exercise him seife in marciall feates and warlikê study he sickened of a disease, called *Pluresis*, of which malady because it was straunge & rare to the Phisicians of England, he at the kinges Manour of Grenewich decessed, leauing one sonne behinde him, to continue hys stirpe and familie. The Lorde William, brother to Edmond the Erle of Southfolke had also greater fauour shewed in prison, then hee had before. And syr Iames Tyrrell, and Iohn Windham, because they were Traytors and so attaynted the sixt daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyll behedded. But when the Erle of Southfolk hard that some of his friends were put to executiō, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuity, he was in a great agony and feare of himselfe. And so being clerely desperat to haue any fortunate successe in his pretensed enterprice, wandered about all Germanye and Fraunce for ayde and succour, prouing if he coulde finde any ayde or succour at their handes. But when he perceyued no stedfast ground to catch anchor holde vpon he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaunce and defence of Philip Archeduke of Austrich and Burgoyne and Erle of Flaunders: But Richard his brother being an expert and politique man, so craftilye conueyed, and so wisely ordered himselfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not attrapped eyther with net or snare. The King, not yet being out of doubt of all domesticall and seditious ciuill discord, studied busily how to restrein & kepe in a streyte closure diuers malefactors, which being partakers of this conspiracy fled to sundry sanctuaries, tariyng there til a faire day came to auaunce forward their enterprise. Whervpon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries & places priuileged, shut & well locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and vnquiet him, his realme or people. And for that entent he both wrote and sent Ambassadours to Alexander then Bishop of Rome, desiring him by his authority to iudge and decerne all Englishmen, being fledde to Sanctuarye or other places for treason, as enemies to Christes faith, and scismatiques to Christen religion, & as cōmon perturbers of the quyet people, and Capytaines and prouokers of trayterous rufflings inhibiting & prohibiting the refuge & priuilege of Sanctuary to all such persons as once had enioyed the immunity & libertie of the same, & after had fled out, & eftsones returned again. Which thing after ẏ the bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quietnesse and comfort of king Henry, & many through the feare of that reproch, conuerted themselues to goodnesse & due subiection of their Prince: Other also that were in securitie, & out of all perill & daūger, durst not hazard themselues for feare of galtroppes or slypping into the fyre.

Iames Tirrill, Iohn Windham.

When the Kyng by his high pollicie had compassed and framed his affaires thus to his purpose, sodeinly happened a lamentable chaunce & losse to the King, Queene, and all the people. For that noble Prince Arthure, the kinges first begotten sonne, after that he had bene maryed to the Ladie Katherin his wyfe fiue moneths, departed out of this transitorie lyfe, in his Castell of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obsequie was buryed in the cathedrall Church of Worcester. After whose death the name of Prince belonged to his brother the Duke of Yorke, for ẏ his brother dyed without issue, and so without any creation ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit the sayde duke vpon suspicion of his brothers wife to be with childe, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and sage men of the Princes counsaile, was by a moneth and more delayed from his title, name, and preheminence, in the which season the truth might to women easily appere. It is reported that this Ladie Katheryn thought and

The death of Prince Arthure.

feared such dolorous chaunce to come: For when she had embraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, and sayled towardes England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hether and thether, wyth boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the windes, her ship was prohibited diuers tymes to approch the shore and take lande.

1502
18 The birth of the Ladye Katheryn.

The next yere after Queene Elizabeth, liyng within the Tower of London, was brought abed of a fayre daughter on Candlemasse day, which was there christened and named Katheryn, and the xj. day of the same moneth, the sayde most vertuous Princes and gracious Queene there deceassed, and was with all funerall pompe caryed through the Citie of London to Westminster, and there buried, whose daughter also taryed but a small season after her mother.

The death of Quene Elizabeth.

Sir Reignolde Bray dead.

After the death of this noble Princes, which for her great vertue was commonly called good Queene Elizabeth, departed Sir Reignolde Bray knight of the Garter, a very father of his Countrie, a sage and a graue person, and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thing had beene done agaynst good lawe or equitie, he would after an humble fashion plainly reprehende the king, and geue him good aduertisement how to reforme that offence, & to be more circumspect in another lyke case. Of the same vertue and honest plainenesse was Iohn Morton Archebishop of Cauntorbury, which Bishop dyed as (it is shewed aboue) two yeres before. So these two persons were euer restrayners and refrayners of the kinges wilfull scope and vnbrideled libertie, where as the rude and ignorannt people say and affirme, that their counsaile infected and corrupted the kinges cleane and immaculate conscience, contrary to his princely disposition & naturall inclination. Such is euer the error of the cōmon people: but surely as long as the king would heere and obey such as warned him of his offyce royall and kingly dutie, he coulde in no wise erre or swarue asyde. About this tyme also dyed Henrye Archebishop of Cauntorbury, whose rowme Doctor William Warram Bishop of London supplyed. And to the Bishoprieke of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeded Richard Fitziames. In which yere the xviij. day of February, the king at his Palace of Westminster, wyth all solemnitie created his onely sonne Henry Prince of Wales, Erle of Chester. &c. which noble younglyng succeded his father, not onely in the inheritaunce and regalitie, but also was to him equall in honour, fame, learnyng and pollicie.

Iohn Morton Archebishop of Cauntorbury.

Henry Archbishop of Cauntorburie.

Henry prince of Wales.

Maximilian the Emperour sent his Ambassadors to the king.

Maximilian the Emperour, hearing that Queene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade of the which Lorde Cazimire, Marques of Bradenburgh his Cosyn, accompanied with a Byshop, an Erle, and a great number of gentlemen well appareled, was principall Ambassadour, which were triumphantly receaued into London and was lodged at Crosbyes place. This Ambassade was sent for three causes, one to visite and comfort the king, beyng sorowfull and sadde for the death of so good a Queene and spouse. The second for the renouation of the old league and amitie. The thirde which was not apparaunt, was to moue the king to marry the Emperours daughter the Ladye Margaret, Duches dowagar of Sauoye. The first two tooke effect, for the King vpon Passion Sunday, roade to Paules in great triumph, the sayde Marques ryding on his left hande. And there the Byshop made to the King an excellent and comfortable Oration, concerning the death of the Queene. And there also the king openly sware to keepe the new renouate league and amitie, during their two liues. But the thirde request, whether the let was on the mans part or womans side, neuer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these things done, the Ambassadours returned sumpteously and honorably rewarded.

The Ladie Margaret eldest daughter vnto the King, affied vnto the king of Scottes was conueyed into Scotlande.

All this Wynter was preparation made for the conueyaunce of the Ladye Margaret, affied to the king of Scottes into Scotland. And when all things were readie and prest, the king remoued the last day of Iune from Rychemond, hauing in his company his sayde daughter, and came to Colyweston, where the Countesse of Richmond his mother then lay. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the king gaue her his blessing with a fatherly

exhor-

exhortation, and committed the conueyaunce of her to the king her husbandes presence to the Erle of Surrey: and the Erle of Northumberlande was appointed as Wardeyn of the Marches to delyuer her at the Confines of both the Marches. Thus this fayre Ladie was conueyed with a great company of Lordes, Ladies, Knightes, Esquires and Gentlemen, till shee came to Berwike and from thence to a Village called Lambreton Kyrke in Scotlande, where the king with the floure of Scotlande was readie to receaue her, to whom the Erle of Northumberland, according to his commission delyuered her. The Scottes that day, I assure you were not behind the Englishemen, but farre aboue, both in apparell and riche Iewels and massy Chaynes: But aboue other the Erle of Northumberland, what for the ryches of his Cote, beyng Goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the costly apparell of the Henxmen and galaunt trappers of their horses, besides foure hundred tall men, well horsed and appareled in his colours, that he was esteemed both of the Scottes and English men, more lyke a prince then a subiect. Then was this Ladie conueyed to the towne of Edenborough, and there the day after, king Iames the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused the sayde fayre princesse, and feasted the Englishe Lordes, and shewed to them Iustes and other pastimes, very honorably, after the fashion of his rude Countrey. When all thinges were done and finished according to their commission, the Erle of Surrey with all the Englishe Lords and Ladyes returned into their Countrie, geuyng more prayse to the manhood, then to the good maner and nurture of Scotlande.

In this yere began the newe worke of the kings Chapell at Westminster, which is one of the most excellent peeces of worke, wrought in stone, that is in Christendome.

1503

19 A parliament.

In this yere the king kept his high Court of Parliament, in the which diuers actes were concluded, which were thought necessarie and expedient for the preseruation of the publique weale. And among other thinges, it was determined that theeues and murderers duely conuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hande, and committed to the Byshops custodie as I haue before declared. After this certaine money was graunted to the king, by the whole Parliament, and the goodes of men outlawed were forfeyted and confiscated. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregation of the Clergie, to the intent, that they with their Treasure and Money might auaunce and preferre the common welth of the realme.

Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernitious and seditious strife, tumult, and the death of many noble and meane persons: Now therefore let vs here reherse, the contention of familier things, the gnawyng at the hartes, and the fretting of mindes and of vowes, promises and requestes made of dyuers persons.

Kyng Henry, now drawing to age, and before this time euer vexed and prouoked with the scrupulous stinges of sedicion and ciuill commocion, insomuch that he more detested and abhorred intestine and pryuat warre, then death or any thing more terrible. Wherfore he determined so pollitiquelye to prouide that all the causes of such vnquyetnesse and mischiefe to come, should be rooted out and banished: which imaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and bring to effect, if he made lowe and abated the courage of his subiectes and vassalles, and especially of the richest sortes, remembring the olde prouerbe, that men through aboundaunce of riches waxe more insolent and hedstrong, and that nothing is more to them acceptable or desirous, then aboundaunce of treasure and plentie of money, which people eyther for feare of losing, or hope of gayning of worldly ryches desyre eyther peace or warre. But to the intent that men might not thinke nor report that he which is their King instituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to them done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exact money of his subiects, he deuised with him selfe by what honest meane he might performe it. And thus deuising with himself, it came into his hed that the Englishmen did little passe vpon the obseruation and keping of penall lawes and statutes, made and ordeyned for the preseruation of the common vtillitie and welth. And therefore, if inquisition were had of suche penall

Execution of penall lawes.

statutes, there should be fewe noble men, Merchaunts, Farmers, Husbandmen, Grasiers nor Occupiers, but they would be found transgressours and violatours of the same statutes. After that he had taken this councell, he sought oute the penall lawes, and put them in execution, and they that were found offenders were easily at the beginning fined and scourged. After that he appoynted two Maisters and surueyers of his forfayres, the one syr Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, both learned in the lawes of the Realme. And these two personnes contended, which of them by most bringing in might most please and satisfie his maisters desyre and appetite. Wherfore in the beginning, they armed wyth a company of accusers (commonly called Promoters) which brought to them the names of the offendors, estemed and regarded so much the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banished out of their remembrance their duetie present, the perill that might ensue, and the thanke and good will that they might haue obtayned, and yet they had warning of diuers sage persons to close theyr handes from such vncharitable doings and cruell extremytie, according to the Adage, the extremitie of iustice is extreme iniurie.

Richarde Empson knyght.
Edmonde Dudley Esquire.
Promoters.
Extremity is extreeme iniury.

1504

The King, after he had gotten a large and ample sum of money, hauing pitie of the people, which cryed to God daylie for an ende of their pilfering, of his clemencie and gracious goodnesse towarde his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two extreme officers should be depriued of that office, and the monie from whome it was vniustly exacted and extorted to be wholy restored and deliuered againe: Which being preuented with death, commaunded it by his last will & testament to be duely and truly performed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied.

20 King Henrie caused restitution to be made of such money as came by Promoters.

1505

In this very season, and the yere of our Lord. 1505. Elizabeth Queene of Castell, wife to Ferdinand king of Arragon dyed without any issue male, by reason whereof the inheritaunce of Castell (because that Kingdoms be not partible) discended to Lady Iane her eldest daughter by king Ferdinãdo, the which was maried to Philip Archduke of Austrich & Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaunders. Which kingdome he obtayned by hys wife, and had the possession of the same, and was named, reputed and taken, as king of Castell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowyng, aboũt the sixt day of Ianuary, hauyng a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wife towarde Spaine, but he had sayled no great way before that a sore tempest, by reason of contrariety of windes sodainly arose, so that the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodaine sourges. In so much the winde hauyng the maistery, dispersed & separated the ships asunder into diuers places on the coast of England. The kinges ship with two other vesselles were blowen by tempest on the West parte of the realme to the port of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Then king Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the Seas before, beyng weryed and vnquieted both in minde and bodie, enteryng the ship boate to refreshe and repose himselfe a little, came a land contrary to the mynd of his counsaile and Capitaynes, which foresaw and knew well that the same landyng should be the occasion of lenger tariyng there. When it was knowen that straunge shippes were arriued, there came thether a great number aswell of Noble men, as of rurall persons that dwelleth about that coast, to repulse and beate away him if he were their enemie. But when they perceyued he was their friend and louer, and driuen thether by force of weather, Sir Thomas Trenchard knight, the chiefe of that companie, went to Philip king of Castell with all humanitie and lowlinesse, inuityng and desyryng him (if he woulde so vouchsafe) to visite his Manor and Mancion, which was euen nighe at hande, trustyng thereby to haue great thankes of the king his maister, if he could protract and cause him to tarye there, vntill such tyme as king Henry were certifyed of his arriuall, to whom with all diligent celeritie, he sent diuers postes to notifie to his grace of king Philips landyng. This rumor beyng farther blowne abrode of this straũge Princes commyng, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all along the sea coast. And among other there came first Sir Iohn Carew with a goodly band of picked men. Which Sir Iohn and Sir Thomas Trenchard entreated the king of Castell, not to depart vntill such tyme as he had

ax

The landing of Philip Archeduke of Austriche in the West partes of England.

spoken.

spoken with king Henry his louyug and faythfull friend and allye, assuryng him that he would repayre thether within two or three daies at the most. King Philip excused himselfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterprice and importunate cause, affirmyng that long tariyng in matters of grauitie and doubtfull, ought to be excluded: wherefore he alleged that protractyng of tyme might turne him to great preiudice, deniyng at the first to expect and tary the commyng of the king of England: but yet being perswaded by reason in himselfe, that he might be let and interrupted, if he woulde proffer once to go aborde to his shippes againe, at their gentle desyre and louyng contemplation, assented to their humble peticion and request.

When King Henry was informed of his landyng, he was replenished with an exceeding gladnesse, partly for to renue the old familiaritie and acquaintaunce, which they vsed at their last meeting, and partly for that he trusted that hys landing in England should turne to his profite and commoditie. Therfore first he wrote many and dyuers letters to syr Iohn Carew, and syr Thomas Trenchard, wylling and warnyng them withall kindnesse of humanitie to enterteyne the king of Castell, till he in person approched in some place meete and conuenient for the enteruiewyng and enterteyning of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the Erle of Arundell with manye Lordes and knights to accompany and attend vpon him. Which Erle, according to the Kinges letters receaued him with three hundred horses all by Torche light to the great admiration of all the straungers.

King Phylip seyng no remedie, but that he must needes tarie and abyde, would no lenger gase after king Henryes comming, but tooke his iourney towardes Wyndsore Castell where the king laye. And fyue Myle from Wyndsore, the Prince of Wales accompanyed with fyue Erles and dyuers Lordes and Knightes, and other to the number of fyue hundred persons, most gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued him after the most honorablest fashion of entertaynment. And within halfe a myle of Wyndsore, the king accompanied with the Duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the Nobilitie of hys realme, saluted and welcommed him, and so conueyed him to the Castel of Wyndsore, where besyde many triumphes & pastimes shewed, he was made companion of the noble order of the Gartier. After him came to Wyndsore hys wyfe Queene Iane, sister to the Princes Dowager, late wyfe to Prince Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: King Henry desired him to haue Edmond de la poole Erle of Suffolke his rebell to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the king of Castell aunswered awhyle, that he was not within hys rule or dominion, and therefore it laye not in his power to render or deliuer hym. Although he considered it to be a heynous and great offence to be the occasion and author of the death of his guest, which came to him for succour and was receaued vnder his protection and defence, yet when he perceaued that neyther excuse, nor yet reasonable argument could be accepted or allowed of king Henry (which promised faythfully of hys awne offer to pardon, Edmond de la poole, of all paynes and executions of death) he promised and graunted to doe and accomplishe all king Henries desyre and request: And so incontinent caused the sayd Edmond secretly to be sent for. After this king Henry entending to protract the time till he might possesse his praye, which he sore desired, conueyed the king of Castell vnto the Citie of London, that he might see the head Citie of his realme, and there led him from Baynards Castell by Chepe to Barkyng, and so returned by Watling streete agayne, during which time there was shot a wonderful peale of Gonnes out of the Tower, into the which he would not enter, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to enter the fortresse of any forrein Prince, in the which a garison was maynteyned: And there tariyng a little space, returned back with him. Then from London the king brought him to Richemonde, where were many notable feates of armes proued both at the tylt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

Edmond de la poole sent backe agayne into England and committed to the Tower.

In the meane season, Edmond de la poole which euer feared and mistrusted, that the arryuing

arryuing in Englande of King Philip should be his fatall ende and finall destruction, perceyuing well that there was no farther hope to be had in foreyn princes and potentates, and trustyng that after his lyfe to him once graunted, that king Henry would briefely set him at libertie and freedome, was in maner content to returne agayne into his natiue Countrie, casting in his minde farther, that if his hope and trust were defrauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his lyfe, and be buried in the Countrie, where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and couenaunts betwene the kings of Englande and Castell were appointed, couenaunted and agreed: King Philip tooke hys leaue of King Henry, rendering to him most heartie thankes for his highe cheere and princely entertaynement. And beyng accompanyed with dyuers Lordes of Englande, came to the Citie of Excester, and so to Fulmouth in Cornewale, and there toke his ship and sayled into Spaine, where he shortly beyng taken with a sodayne disease, departed out of thys transitorie lyfe, beyng then but, xxx. yeres of age. He had by hys wyfe Queene Iane, sixe children, two men children, Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabell, Marie and Katherin. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenaunce amiable and louely, of bodye somewhat crasse and corpulent, quick wytted, bold and hardie stomacked. Thys tempest that the king of Castell had, was wonderful straunge to many men, because the violencie of the winde had blowne downe an Egle of Brasse, beyng set to shewe and manifest on which part the winde blew, for a pynnacle or spire of Paules Church. And in the fallyng the same Egle brake, and battered another Egle that was set vp for a signe at a Tauerne dore in Chepeside. And herevpon, men that were studious of straunge tokens and mōstruous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, which at that time gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, which so happened in deede: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Philip, newely called to the kingdome of Castell.

The death of king Philip.

The discription of King Philip.

Also, shortly after the departyng of king Philip, the king of Englande began to suspect Sir George Neuell Lorde of Burgeyney, and Sir Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knight, that they were confedered fautors, and partakers, in the beginnyng with Edmond de la Poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were commaunded to the Tower. But shortly after when they had beene tryed and purged of that suspicion and cryme, he commaunded them both to be set at libertie. But Sir Thomas Greene fell sicke before, and continued in the Tower in hope to be restored aswell to his helth, as he was to his libertie, and there dyed. The Lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wit, and goodnesse (because the king founde him like himselfe) alwayes true, faythfull, and constant, was of his soueraigne Lorde more estemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

In this yere also Sir Thomas Kneesworth Maior of London at hys awne charges builded the Conduyt at Bishopsgate. And also he gaue to the companie of the Fishmongers certeyne tenementes, for the which they are bound to finde foure scholers, whereof two to be in Cambridge, and two to be in Oxforde, and eyther of them to haue foure pounde a yere for theyr exhibition. &c.

1506

22

The sweating sickneese came once agayne.

After this, the king hauyng peace aswell with forreyn Princes, for the terme of three yeres, as disburdened and purifyed of all domesticall sedicion, began to be diseased with a certeine infirmitie and weakenesse of bodie, which thrise in the yere, but specially in the spring tyme sore vexed and tormented him. And because for the most part the harme & euill that chaunceth to the Prince, is parted and communicate to his subiects and people, the olde sweatyng disease whereof you heard before amongest the Commons of the realme, came againe. Howbeit by the reason of the remedie that was inuented by the death of many a creature in the beginnyng, it did lesse hurt and displeasure to the people at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thirde plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the workyng of the Maisters of the forfeytures, by the king appoynted, as I

A pestilent plague.

shewed

shewed you before. By whose meanes many a riche and welthie person, by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme, were condemned and brought to miserie.

This matter (sayth Hall) is as wonderfull to be heard, as pityfull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the lawe, where as it is rather peruerse abuse and disorder of a lawe: pollitiquely at the beginnyng inuented to cause the people the sooner to confirme themselues to suche as demaunde their right of them, but craftily practised to the vtter confusion of many by vntrue officers. For if a man put his aduersarie in suyte before the Iudges, of which complaint or action he neyther thinketh nor hath knowlege, if he appere not at ỹ last callyng of the exigent, which is called in a shire where he neuer came (for how can he appere, if he be ignoraunt of the prosecution of the cause, and dwell two hundreth myles from that place) then doth hee forfeyte all his substaunce and moueables, and his bodie to captiuitie as an enemie and rebell to the lawes of his Country. And yet the Prince shall enioy the goodes so confiscate, and the partie complaynaunt or plaintife that is wronged recouereth not one myte, and yet loseth both his paine and costes. And all such persons that be so condempned & adiudged, be called outlawes, that is depriued of all lawes of the lande, to the which he was by the custome of the Countrie inheritable. These outlawries, olde recognisances of the peace and good abering, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that euery man both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing eyther land or substance was called to this plucking banket, according to the Psalmist saiyng, all declyned and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so cleere and guiltlesse, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seing the experience of them that passed before. For these commissioners had such a garde of false periured persons apperteyning to them, which were by their commaundements empanyeled on euery quest, that the king was sure to wynne whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were requyred of their aduise, would say, to agree is the best counsayle that I can geue you. By this vndue meanes, these persons filled the kinges Cofers and enryched themselues. And at this vnreasonable and extort doings, all sortes and degrees of men from the highest to the lowest murmured, grudged and at the last cryed out: But the good king in his last dayes considered and pardoned his poore subiectes of such vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall, as after shall appere.

An extreame lawe.

Outlawyes.

A pluckyng banket.

This is ment by Promoters

In this season Alexander Byshop of Rome departed out of thys world, and for him was elected Fraunces borne Senes, Nephew to Pius the second, and was called Pius the thirde, whome king Henry had made a litle before, Proctour for his realme in the Court of Rome. The king beyng glad of his high promotion and dignitie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knight, Richard Bere Abbot of Glascenburie, and Doctor Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnesse entered into the kinges heart, when he heard tell of his high preferment and honor. But this Bishop Pius did not tary the gratulations of these Ambassadors, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, hauing smal pleasure of his promotion. At this time also died Giles, Lord Dawbeney, the kings chief Chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastarde sonne of Henry last Duke of Sommerset occupied and enioyed, a man of a good wit & great experience.

The death of Giles Lorde Daubeney.

And this yere about Christmasse the Bakers house in Warwicke Lane in London was brent, the which fyre came so sodeinly, and brent so feruently that the Maistresse of the house beyng a widdow with two women seruants were therein brent.

Sone after, the king caused Guy Vbald Duke of Vrbine to be elected Knight of the order of the Garter, a noble warriour, and in the Greke and Latin tongues excellently learned. And this order and dignitie the Duke desired instantlye to haue, that he might be equiualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his Father, duke Frederick a Prince in his time of hygh renowne and estimation, which was receaued and chosen into that order by kyng Edward the fourth. And because it was noysed that Iuly the seconde,

1507

23

a Ianuway

a Ianuway borne, was after ỹ death of Pius elected to be Bishop of Rome. The kyng entending to stop two gaps with one bush, sent Syr Gilbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadours, principally to bishop Iuly, and by them sent also to the Duke of Vrbyne, the whole habite & coller of the noble order of the Gartier. When Duke Guy was requested with the habite, and had taken his oth, according to the statutes of the order: He sent syr Balthaser de Castelio Knight a Mantuan borne, his Oratour to kyng Henry, which was for him enstalled, accordyng to the ordinaunces of that famous order.

While these things were in doing, Lewys the French king mistrusting that he should neuer haue mā child, maried his eldest daughter Lady Claude to Fraunces de Valoys, Dolphyn of Vien and duke of Angulesme: Which Lady was promysed a title before to Charles the king of Castel. When king Henrye knew of this, he thought best to marrye hys daughter Ladye Marye to this Charles kyng of Castell, being almost both of one age and therefore Ambassadors were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and cōfirmed by the meanes of the Bishop of Winchester, chiefe Ambassador for the king at Calleyce, and so the Lady Mary being of the age of. x. yeares, was promised to king Charles. For cōclusion of which mariage, the Lord of Barow, and diuers great Ambassadours were sent into England from the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewardes and returned.

The Lady Mary promised to Charles king of Castile.

1508 24

Nowe approched the end and terme of the three yeres of peace that I spake of before, at which tyme Kyng Henrie thought his fatall daye to be at hand: For his sicknesse encreased daylie more and more, so that he might easilye perceaue that death was not far of tariyng hys praye: Therefore lyke a good Prince, desiring to exhibite some gratuitie to his people that he might be had in memory after his disceasse, graunted of his great liberalitie a generall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrated against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers and theeues were not only offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them and some other out of his pardon. He payed also the fees of all prisoners in the Gayles in and about London, abidyng there onely for that dutie. He payed also the dettes of all such persons as laye in the Counters of London, or Ludgate for. xl. shillynges and vnder, and some he relieued that were condemned in ten pound. For this his goodnesse and pitie shewed to his people, beyng sore vexed with his inquisitors, pollers and promoters, generall Procession was had dayly in euerye Citie and parishe, to pray to almightie God, for the restoryng of his health, with long continuaunce of the same. Neuerthelesse, he was so consumed with his long maladie, that nature could no lenger sustaine his life, and so he departed out of this world, the. xxij. day of Aprill in his Palaice of Richmond, the which was the yere of our Lorde. 1509. his corps was conueyed with all funerall pompe to Westminster, and there buried by the good Queene hys wife in a sumptuous and solempne Chappell, which he not long before had caused to be builded: he reigned. xxiij. yeres and more then seuen monethes, and liued. lij. yeres. He had by his Queene Elizabeth. viij. children, foure men, and foure women children, of the which three remayned alyue behinde him. Henry Prince of Wales, which after him succeded, and was king, Ladie Margaret Queene of Scots, & Ladie Mary promised to Charles king of Castell. He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therwith, of personage and stature, somewhat higher then the meane sort of men be, of a wonderfull beautie and fayre complexion, of countinance mery and smilyng, especiallye in his communication, his eyes gray, hys teeth single, and heare thinne, of wit in all thinges quicke and prompt, of a princely stomacke, and haute courage. In great perilles, doubtfull affayres and matters of waightie importaunce, supernaturall, and in maner deuine, for such thinges as he went about, he did them aduisedly and not without great deliberation and breathing, to the entent that amongst all men, his wit and prudence might be noted & regarded. For he was not ignoraunt that his actes & doings were specially noted and marked with the eies of many a person: and therefore a Prince ought as farre to excell and surmount all meane personages in wisedome and policie

A generall pardone.

The deathe of king Henry ỹ seuenth.

The description of kyng Henry the seuenth.

licie, as he precelleth other in estate and dignitie. For what man will geue credite or regarde to him, whome he hath proued to be light, wilde, and lasciuious of condicions? Besydes this, he was sober, modcrate, honest, affable, curteous, bounteous, so much abhorred pride and arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them, which were noted or spotted with that cryme. And there was no man with him, being neuer so much in his fauour, or hauyng neuer so much auctoritie, that eyther durst or could do any thing as his awne phantasie did serue him, without the consent and agreement of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both wittie and wise) yet her will was brideled, and her doynges restrayned. And this regiment he sayde he kept, to the entent that he worthily might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferent & sure Iusticier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the heartes of many people, because they lived quietly and in rest out of all oppression and molestation of the Nobilitie and riche personnes. And to this seuerity of his was ioyned and annexed a certeyn mercifull pittie, which he did often shewe to such as had offended, and by his lawes were hindred and mereed: for such of his subiectes as were fyned or amerced by his Iustices to their great impouerisbyng, he at one time or another did helpe relieue, and set forward: wherby it appered that he would haue the same penalties for other offences and crimes reuiued and stirred vp againe, which was a plaine argument that he did vse his rigour onely (as he sayde himselfe) to bring lowe, and abate the high stomacks of the wilde people, norished and brought vp in sedicious factions, and ciuill rebellions, and not for the greedy desyre of richesse, or hunger of money, although such as were afflicted would crie out, and say, that it was done more for the desire of gaine and profite, then for any prudent pollicie, or pollitike prouision.

Surely, this good and modest Prince did not deuour and consume the substaunce and ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollicie, meruaylously enriched his realme and himselfe, and yet left his subiectes in high welth and prosperitie. The proofe is whereof manifestly apparant by the great aboundaunce of gold & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money and bullion, by Marchaunts passyng and repassyng out and into this realme with Marchaundise. To whom he himselfe of his awne goodnesse lent money largely without any gaine or profite, to the entent that Marchandise beyng of all craftes the chiefe arte, and to all men, both most profitable and necessarie, might be the more plentifuller vsed, haunted, and employed in hys realmes and dominions. And so this king liuyng all his tyme in the fauour of Fortune, in high honour, riches and glory, and for his noble actes and prudent pollicies, worthie to be regestred in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at the last, which vndoubtedly is ascended into the celestiall mancion, where he hath the sure fruition of the Godhead, & the ioye that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauiour, euer world without ende.

About thys time (sayth Polydore) knowledge of good letters, as well of the Latyne as of the Grecke by contynuall warres beyng sore decayed in Italy, encreased greatly in Germany, Fraunce and Scotlande, in so much (sayth he) that the Germaynes, who were counted in time past but the meanest learned men, are now as may appere by their wrytings most excellent. And for the furtheraunce and encrease of learning, about this time Margaret Countesse of Richemond and Darby and mother vnto thys king Henry the seuenth, a woman of most verteous lyfe, at the motion of Iohn Fisher sometime Bishop of Rochester builded two Colleges in Cambridge, the one called Christes College, the other Saint Iohn Euangelistes, and indued the same with goodly possessions for the maintenaunce of learning. And in the same Vniuersitie also not long before, Iohn Alock Byshop of Ely buylded a College, and named the same Iesus College.

And here, although in this Chronicle in diuers places there is mencion made of the foundation of sundrie Colleges both in Cambridge and Oxford, yet for as much as I was by my friend asserteyned of the foundation of all the seuerall Colleges in Oxford, I

thought it best to place them here altogether, minding to doe the lyke for Cambridge when I shall haue the true knowlege of the Colleges of the same.

¶ In Oxford are these Colleges and Halles followyng, with the names of the Founders of the same, and the yeres they were founded in.

1	Christes Church.	Founded in the yere of our Lord. 1529. by Thomas Wolsay Archebyshop of Yorke and Cardinall, and afterwarde had landes geuen for the maintenance of the same by king Henry ỹ eight.
2	Newe College.	Founded by William Wickham Bishop of Winchester in the yere of our Lorde. 1375.
3	Magdaleyn College.	Founded by Wylliam Waynflete Bishop of Wynchester, & Chauncelour of England. 1456. And he founded also Magdaleyn Hall.
4	Alsoulen College.	Founded by Henry Chicheley, Archebyshop of Cauntorbury in the yere of our Lorde. 1437.
5	Corp^{s} christi College.	Founded by Rychard Foxe Bishop of Wynchester in the yere of our Lorde. 1516.
6	Martyn College.	Founded by Walter Martyn Bishop of Rochester in the yere of our Lorde. 1276.
7	Oriall College.	Founded by Adam Browne, brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Oxford by king Edward the second. 1323.
8	Queenes College.	Founded by Robert Eglisfelde Chapleyne to Philip king Edward the thirdes wyfe. 1340.
9	Vniuersitie College.	Founded by Alured king of the Saxons as appereth before in hys storie, but other say that the same was founded by Wylliam Archedeacon of Dauelmense in the yere of our lord. 872.
10	Brasen Nose.	Founded by Wylliam Smith Byshop of Lyncolne in the yere of our Lorde. 1513.
11	Lyncolne College.	Founded by Richard Fleming Byshop of Lyncolne, and encreased by Thomas Rotheram Bishop of the same Sea. 1420.
12	Excester College.	Founded by Walter Stapleton Byshop of Excester. 1316.
13	Hartes Hall.	and the same time he builded Harts hall. But Excester College is much encreased by Sir Wylliam Peter late Secretary to king Henry the eyght. 1566.
14	Trinitie College.	Founded by Sir Thomas Pope knight in the yere of our Lorde. 1566.
15	Bayly College.	Founded by Iohn Bailioll king of Scottes in the yere of our Lorde. 1263.
16	S. Iohns College.	Founded by Sir Thomas Whyte, late Maior and Alderman of London. 1557.

The diuinitie Schoole in Oxford was buylded by Humffrey Duke of Gloucester the which beside the excellencie of the worke, was a foundation of no small charge.

¶ There

¶ There are also in Oxford sixe other Halles, whose names are these:

Mary Hall.	Gloucester Hall.	which Halles are so auncient that the Founders of them are not knowne.
Brode gates.	Alborne Hall.	
New Ende.	Whyte Hall.	

HENRY THE EYGHT.

AFter the deathe of the Noble Prince king Henry the seuenth. Henry the eyght his sonne began his reigne the. xxij. daye of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde, 1509. and in the. xviij. yere of hys bodily age, & was proclaymed king the next daye folowing, being the. xxiij. day of April in the yere aforesayde. And first of all (as Polydore noteth) the king beyng yong as aforesayde, but yet in all hys yeres had beene brought vp in good letters, did therefore prudently for the good gouernement of the realme, elect and choose of the most wisest and grauest personages to be of his priuie counsayle, namely such as were of hys fathers deere and familier friendes, whose names were.

1509

Henrye the eyght proclaimed king.

1 Wylliam Warram Archebyshop of Cauntorburie and Chauncelour of Englande.
2 Richarde Foxe Byshop of Wynchester.
3 Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey and treasorer of England.
4 George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, and Lorde Stewarde of the Kings houshold.
5 Charles Sommerset Lorde Chamberleyne.
6 Sir Thomas Louell.
7 Sir Henry Wyatt.
8 Sir Thomas Ruthall.
9 Sir Edward Poynyngs.

The Counsaylers of King Henry the eyght.

vnto whom he committed the charge and gouernaunce of the affayres of the whole realme.

These graue and wise Counsaylors fearing least that great and infinite aboundance of welth, might be a harme vnto the good nature of their young king, for vnto no king at any time before, was left greater or the like riches aswell of readye coyne as also in iewels and moueables as was left vnto hym. And therefore the aforesayd counsaylors very prudently and diligently traueyled so with hym, that they prouoked him to be present with them and to be pryuie of their counsailes and deuises, and so dayly acquainted him with the politique affayres of the realme, that by litle and litle he of his owne accord applyed hym selfe to rule and gouerne, the which at the first he semed vtterly to abhorre, as the yong and vntamed Oxe reiecteth the yoke.

Then the sayd Counsaylors traueyled with great care to put in execucion the last will and testament of king Henrie deceased. And first of all, the kings grace by his proclamation made the. xxv. daye of Apryll ratefied & confirmed all the pardons graunted by his father, & also pardoned all persons that were then in sute for any offence whatsoeuer it was, treason, murder, and felonye except. And farther in the sayd proclamation was contayned, that if any man had sustayned iniurye, or losse of goodes by the Commissioners, before appoynted, as appereth in the. xix. yere of king Henry the seuenth, that he should make his humble supplication vnto the kings grace, and therein expresse their griefe, and he was readye not onely to heare them, but also to cause satisfaction to be made. When this proclamation was published and knowne abroad, all such from whome

whome any thing had bene exacted or taken, whether it were by right or wrong, spedily came vnto the Court, and euery man aleaged and shewed iust occasion that they had to complayne. But the Counsayle examyned and tryed their causes, and such as they found to be manifestly & openly iniured, to them they made due restitution. The which thing being blowne and bruted amongst the cōmon people, lord how they resorted in great flocks and heapes, & rushed into the court with the rest, whether they had bene iustly punished or not, and they also with horrible and great exclamation cryed out vpon the Commissioners, yea and many of them that most exclayned were such as had been touched nothing at all. But the rage and crye of the people was so grieuous against the Commissioners, whose names were Richarde Empson Knight and Edmond Dudley Esquier, that the Counsaile to cease and quiet the rage of the people were enforsed to apprehend and commit to the Tower of London the aforesayd Empson and Dudley, and being called before the Counsaile and other the iustices, where they (as Polidor saith) being both learned in the lawes of the realme, pleaded for themselues, namelye syr Richard Empson which was the elder, who said, as foloweth. I am certayn right honorable, you are not ignorant how expedient & profitable vnto mans life be good and wholsome lawes, without the which neyther priuate house may be mayntayned, nor publyque weale duely and orderly gouerned. Euen those lawes among vs by the ouersight and negligence of Magistrats, partlye were depraued, and now in some part abrogate and cleane out of memorie, the which euill encreasing daylie more and more, king Henrie the. vij. (now deceassed) a most prudent and pollitique prince (as ye all know) endeuored to redresse, who vnto vs committed the charge to see, and prouide that the common and accustomed lawes might be maintayned and executed, and such as were depraued and out of vse might be reduced and restored into theyr pristinate state: And that such persones as had violated & transgressed any of them should suffer condigne and worthie punishement: We therfore as faithfully and vprightly as we could haue according to oure commission executed our office trulie vnto the great commoditie of the publique weale: Wherfore we most humbly besech your Honours that of your goodnesse and loue of iustice, ye will vouchsafe to determine no grieuous or cruell sentence against vs, but rather counsaile and conclude howe thankefully to recompence and requite our great trauayle and paynes.

Richard Empson. Edmond Dudley.

The saiyng of Richarde Empson.

These their saiyngs vnto many that were wise, vertuous and discrete semed to be very good and right, but vnto other and that vnto the greatest number, who supposed that the examination and execution of lawes beyng done through auerice and coueteousnesse and for filthye desier of gayne, they iudged that euen they by putting in execucion with extremytie the lawes to the losse of many an honest mans goodes, should now be recompensed with the losse of their heades, who within three dayes after were beheadded at the Tower hill, but their bodies with their heades were buried, that is to say, Richard Empson at the White Friers, and Edmond Dudley at the Blacke Friers in London aforesaid.

Empson and Dudley behedded.

And immediatly after the execucion of the aforesaid persons there were (saith Polidor) by reason of the exclamation of the people apprehended and takē a great number of such as had geuen for their (awne welth and commoditie) ther speciall attendaunce vpon the aforesayd Commissioners, in the informyng and promotyng of many honest mens vexations (commonly called Promoters) and they were committed to sundrie Prisons, and many of them set on the Pillory, and other had papers set on their heades, and so caryed thoroughout the Citie of London, and againe committed to prison, where miserably many of them ended their liues. And some other of them were constrayned to pay most grieuous fynes, and for none habilitie to paye the same, were committed and condempned to perpetuall prison.

Promoters.

Maister Hall in his Chronicle nameth diuers of the sayde Promoters, and for that to their infamie, I wishe them perpetuall memory, I will here make menciō of Halles wordes. After (saith he) the apprehcusion of Empson and Dudley, there were diuers Promoters apprehended, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wright, Symson, and Stocton, and diuers

Promoters set on the Pillory.

uers other, of the which the most part ware papers, and stood on the Pillory: But (saith he) the craftiest knaue of them all (meanyng they were knaues all) called Iohn Baptist Brimalde, escaped and went to Westminster, and there tooke Sanctuary.

King Henry the seuenth buried at Westminster.

Nowe all thinges beyng in a redinesse for the burial and funerall of king Henry the seuenth, he was the. xij. day of May with all solemnitie buryed at Westminster in the Chapell that he himselfe had buylded, which is a most sumptuous and princely peece of worke.

When the funeralles of King Henry the seuenth was finished, then was great preparation made for the coronation of King Henry the eight, the which was appoynted to be done on Midsommer day next ensuyng. During which tyme the king was moued by some of his Counsayle, that it should be honourable and profitable to his Realme, to take to wife Ladie Katheryn, late wife to Prince Arthur his brother disseased, least she hauyng so great a dowry, might marry out of the realme, which should be vnprofitable vnto him: By reason of which mocion, the king being young, & not vnderstanding the law of God, espoused the sayd Lady Katheryn the thirde day of Iune, the which mariage was dispenced with by Pope Iuly, at the request of her father king Ferdinando (and as Hall sayth) contrarye to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome that were deuines. This mariage of the brothers wife was much murmured agayust in the beginnyng, and euer more and more searched out by learnyng and Scripture, so that at the last by the determination of the best vniuersities, in Christendome, it was adiudged detestable and plaine contrary to Goddes lawe, as shall be shewed after. xx. yeres.

King Henry the eight marieth with Lady Katheryn his brothers Wyfe.

Nowe was come the tyme of the coronation, wherefore king Henrye and his wife Queene Katheryn were accordyng to the sacred obseruance and auncient custome, anoynted and crowned by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury at Westminster the. xxiiij. day of Iune.

The coronation of King Henrie and Queene Katherin.

During the tyme that this coronacion with noble triumphes and goodly shewes solempnized to the great reioisyng of all men, a sodeyne occasion of sorrow happened, as often tymes it commeth in experience that sweete and delicate meate in the ende is tempered with sowre sawce, for at this tyme Margaret Countesse of Richemonde and Darbye, Grandmother vnto the king ended her life, by whose death the publique weale was greatly endammaged, for she beyng a woman of singuler wisdome and pollicie, and also of most vertuous life, perceiuyng that the king by reason of his youthfull and lustie yeres could not execute and minister his office and function, did from the beginnyng so prouide and studie at all tymes that she brought to passe that suche men as were the worthiest and of most integritie and godlinesse was aduaunced to highest auctboritie and bare the chiefest sway in the ministration of the causes of the publique weale: And where before least the publique weale shoulde sustaine detrimeut, or by any meanes go to wrecke, the same was guided and gouerned by the aduice of many, as aforesayde: But nowe the administration therof was committed only vnto two, that is to say, Richard Bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Erle of Surrey, betwene whom was secret grudges, and priuie malice, the which contencion of auctboritie, did dayly more and more encrease, for the studies and affections of these two were diuers and contrary. The Bishop of Winchester as (sayth Polidor) contented himselfe with his awne possessions, and therefore endeuored the more earnestly to the seruice of the common weale: But the Erle (sayth he) sought to come to higher estate, and therefore applyed and studied to please the king, more for preferment sake, then for the zeale he bare to the common weale. But the Bishop beyng a man of great wisedome, although he had no good opinion of the Erle, yet perceiuyng him to be greatly beloued and fauored of the king, did dissemble and bare himselfe so warely, that nothing appered outward, whatsoeuer was thought inwarde. The Erle in wisdome beyng nothing inferiour vnto the Bishop, did in like maner dissemble hys griefe towardes the Bishop. Howbeit at the length by the trauaile of the graue and worthie Counsaylor Sir Thomas Louell,

Margaret Countesse of Richemond dead.

Louell, all the olde Counsaylors were againe restored and placed in good and louyng order, and the common weale well gouerned.

John Colet Deane of Paules.

In this tyme also the ryght famous and learned deuine Iohn Colet Deane of Paules Church in London (the sonne of Henry Colet Mercer and late Maior of London) of his awne great costes and charges buylded in the East end of Paules Churchyard in the sayd Citie one free Grammer schoole, with one Maister and Vsher for the education and bringing vp of youth in learning, and builded also two faire Tenements ioyning to the said Schoole for the sayd Maister and Vsher to inhabite in, and endued them with goodlie pencions, and committed the charge and ouersight of the good gouernment and continuaunce of the sayd Schoole vnto the Maysters and Wardeines of the worshipfull companye of the Mercers for the time being to be ordered and kept according to such ordinances and statutes as he had drawne for the good gouernment of the same, which sayde company of the Mercers haue to their great prayse hetherto ordered the same to Gods high honor and to the benefite of the common weale and to the well bringing vp of many an honest pore mans child. This man in his time was a great and diligent Preacher of Gods blessed worde and did in those dayes much reprehend and rebuke the slouthfulnesse of the Cleargie, and he was the first in his time that taught to the people the Articles of their fayth and the Commaundements of almighty God, and the Lords prayer in English, for the which he was not at that time well thought of by sundry of the Bishops and Cleargye, who then fauored in the common people ignoraunce better then knowledge.

1510

Henry the first borne sonne of king Henry the eight.

This yere Henrie the first sonne of King Henrye was borne at Richemond vpon Neweyers daye to the great reioysing and comfort of the whole realme, for the ioye and honour of whose birth great fyres were made and diuers vessels of wine set in the stretes of London for such as would taste thereof. And that at the same time were kept noble and triumphant Iustes and sundry other pastimes, but the. xxij. daye of February next folowing God called to his mercye the sayd chylde to the great heauinesse of the Kyng and Queene, and all the realme. Notwithstandyng the king like a wise Prince toke it with much quietnesse, and the rather to comfort the Queene: But the Queene like a naturall woman made much lamentation.

Ambassadors from king Ferdinando.

This yere in Februarie came from king Ferdinando the kinges father in law, and king of Aragon and Castell, certain Ambassadours, which made request to the king: on the behalfe of the king their maister, to haue an ayde of. xv. hundred Archers, with valiaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduyt them, for his entent was to make warre on the Moores beyng Infidelles, and enemies vnto Christes faith. The king and his Counsaile heeryng this request, thought it much honourable to ayde a Christian Prince, (and in especiall his friend and fatherinlawe) agaynst the enemies of Christes lawe, gently graunted them their request.

When tidyngs was spread in the Court of this iourney against the Infidelles, the Lord Thomas Darcey, knight of the order of the Garter made humble sute to the king to be Capitaine generall of that crewe or armie. The king and his Counsaile for his great valiauntnesse and approued wisedome, graunted his request. And many other Lordes and knightes made sute to be in the same iourney: But the king aunswered them that he would retaine them still with him for other greater purposes. There were appoynted at this tyme to go with the Lorde Darcye, Lorde Anthony Gray, brother to the Marques Dorcet, Henry Guylford, Weston Browne, William Sydney, Esquiers of the kinges house, Sir Roger Hastyngs, Sir Raufe Elderkare and diuers other Gentlemen to be Capitaynes. The Lorde Darcy and all the other Capitaynes tooke their leaue of the king, and went into their coūtryes to prouide for all thinges meete and necessary for the voyage.

A Iustes at Grenewiche.

The king at this tyme beyng lustie, yong, and couragious, greatly delighted in feates of chiualrie, insomuch that he made a chalenge of Iustes agaynst all commers to be proclaymed

proclaymed at his Manor of Grenewich to be holden there the three first dayes of May then next ensuyng, which noble courage all yong persons highly praysed: But the auncient fathers much doubted consideryng the tender youth of the King, and diuers chaunces and misfortunes that might happen by reason of horse and armor: Insomuch that it was openly spoken that steele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse could be so sure of foote but he may fall: yet for all these doubtes the lustie Prince proceded in his chalenge, and honourably and valiauntly to his great prayse and renowne atchieued the same.

1511

3

The Lorde Darcye is sent into Spaine with an armye to the king of Aragon.

The Lorde Darcie and other appointed to the voyage aforesaide made suche diligence that they and all their people were readie at Plymmoth by the middest of Maye, and there mustered their souldyours before the Lorde Brooke and other the kings commissioners, the sayde Lorde Darcie as Capitayne generall ordeyned for his Prouost Marshall, Henry Guylford Esquire, a lustie yong man and welbeloued of the king. Now when the winde serued to their purpose they passed to the sea with foure ships royall, and the wether so fauoured them that they arryued within ten dayes next folowyng beyng the first day of Iune, at the Port of Kales in Southspayne, and immediatly the Lorde Darcie dispatched to the king of Arragon two Gentlemen called Iohn Bartholomew and Wylliam Symond,* with letters to certefie the King of their arriuall, and what paine they had taken to come into his Countrie, in fulfilling the king their maisters commaundement. The messengers did so much that they came vnto the king beside the Citie of Ciuill, where he then lay & declared vnto him how the Lord Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thether with. xvj. hundred Archers, accordyng to the sayde king of Arrogons request, and laye still at Kales to knowe his pleasure. The king of Arragon aunswered them gentlye, that the Lorde Darcie and all the other that were come from his most best beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked them of their paynes, and prayed the messengers to returne to their Capitayne, sheweng him that the king in all hast would send his counsayle vnto him, and so they departed from the king, and made report to the Lorde Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate and would not land, but onely suffred such as were sick and feeble, and fewe other to go a land. And those English that went a lande fell to drinking and were scarce maisters of themselues, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hedges and spoyled Orchardes and Vyneyardes, and did many other outrageous dedes: wherfore the chiefe of the towne of Kales came to complayne to the Lorde Darcie in his ship, which sent foorth his prouost Marshall, who with much a doe brought them agayne on boord to their ships.

The next daye folowyng beyng Saturday, a Byshop and other of the kings counsayle arryued at Kales and there aboade vntill Wednesday next folowyng, at which day the Lord Darcie tooke lande, and was honorably receaued of the king of Arragons counsayle, and on the morrow highly feasted both at dinner and supper. And after supper the Bishop declared the king of Arragons pleasure saiyng: my Lorde Capitayne, the king my maister in most humble wise geueth you thankes for your great paines and trauaile, as much as though he proceeded in his pretended enterprise: But he with the aduise of his counsayle circumspectly considering the suretie of his awne realmes and dominions hath perfite knowlege that his aduersarie of Fraunce, prepareth to inuade his Countries in his absence: wherefore he entending not to leaue his realmes voyde of men and ships (which might be a great comfort to his enemies to inuade) hath therefore taken an abstinence of warre with the Moores vntill another time.

Well sayde the Lorde Darcie, sith it is fully concluded that we shall doe no seruice to your maister, we may not saye against his determination, considering that we were sent to him: But surely it is against my heart, which euer hath desired to fight against Gods enemies: But with your conclusion, I and all mine must be content.

You doe as you should doe, sayde the Bishop, and the king my maister geueth lyke thankes to the king his sonne, and to you all as though he had proceeded on his iourney.

And you shall haue wages for al your souldiours, and if it shall please you to come to the Court, you shall receyue high thanks of the king, and such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire sayde the Lorde Darcie, for my men shalt not say that I brought them out of their Countrie, and nowe to doe my selfe pleasure to leaue them wythout an head, as men of me forsaken? Nay, nay my Lorde, the Banquet is not my desire. So the Lordes parted for that night, and the next day in the morning was sent wages to conduct the armie into England, with dyuers giftes geuen to the Lorde Darcie and other Gentlemen.

An euill fray begon vpon a foolishe occasion.

The same day beyng the. xiij. day of Iune and Friday, an Englishman desyred of a mayde that had bene at the bakers to buy bread for her maisters store, and not to sell, to haue a lofe for his money, she aunswered that she had none to sell, he sayde he would haue one, and followed her: And when shee perceaued that, she cryed, a force, a force. The townes men of Kales Males sodaynely rang their common Bell, and all the towne went to harnesse, and the few English men that were on land went to their Bowes. The Spanyardes cast dartes and sore anoyed the Englishmen, and they likewise hurt and slue dyuers Spanyardes. Then the Captaines of Englande for their part, and the Lords of the counsayle for their part tooke such payne that the Fray was ceassed, and but one Englishe man slayne, and of the Spanyards dyuers slayne. Then all the Englishe men were commaunded to go on boord of their shippes. The Lordes of Spaine came to the Lorde Darcie, saiyng: Sir we praye you sithe you knowe the kings pleasure, that you with all your people will go with your shippes away, for we perceaue you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly aunswered saiyng, that he would al the world knew, that he was as hable to conduct his men homeward, as he was to bring them out of their Countrie, without the king of Arragons wages (sauyng his honor) and as for the Fray, it was against his will, and without hys knowledge: And so that nyght hee and all hys men went aboorde their Shippes.

When this iourney was come to this point, Henry Guylfoord, Weston Browne, and William Sydney Esquires, yong and lustie Gentlemen, desyred lycence to see the Court of Spaine, which was to them graunted: And then they departed from Kales and came to the Court of the king of Arragon, where they were highly enterteyned, and he dubbed Henry Guylford and Weston Browne knights, and gaue to Syr Henry Guylford a Canton of Granado, and to Syr Weston Browne an Egle of Sicill on a chiefe to the augmentation of their armes. Wylliam Sydney so excused himselfe that he was not made knight. And when they had soiourned there a whyle, they toke their leaue of the king and Queene and so returned through Fraunce into England, where they demeaned themselues so, that they had the kings fauour, notwithstanding it was thought to the contrarie.

The returne of the Lorde Darcye.

In this meane tyme the Lord Darcie the. xvij. day of Iune sayled toward England and arryued at Plymmoth, and came to the king at Windsore in the Month of August, and thus ended this voyage.

Margaret Duches of Sauoy.

During the time that the lord Darcy was in Spaine, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy & daughter to Maximilian the Emperor and gouernour of the countries of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Seland, & other the lowe Countries apperteyning to Charles the yong Prince of Castell, then beyng of tender age sent in the ende of May to the king of England, to haue. xv. hundred Archers to ayde her against the Duke of Guelders, which sore troubled the Countries aforesayde. The king tenderly regardyng the request of so noble a Lady, and also for that there was then a communication of mariage to be had betwene the yong prince Charles and the Ladie Marie his sister, most gently graunted her request, and appointed Syr Edward Poynynges knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of his house, a valyant Capitayne and a noble warryour to be Lieutenaunt and conductor of the sayde. xv. hundred Archers, which beyng accompanied with the Lord Clynton his sonne in lawe, Syr Mathewe Browne, Sir Iohn Digby, Iohn Werton, Richard Wetherill and Sherley Esquires, and dyuers talle Gentlemen and yomen, well knowen

Sir Edward Poynynges Knight sent with a power to ayde the Duches of Sauoy.

and

and tryed to the sayde number of. xv. hundred, tooke their shipping at Sandwiche the. xviij. day of Iuly, and landed at Armew the. xix. day, not without some trouble by reason of a storme. And being landed he sent Lancaster an Herault to aduertise the Lady of their arryuall, which forthwith sent to them Lorde Bresly knight of the Toyson (the which is commonly called the golden fleece) and dyuers other to welcome them, and so conducted them to Barowe, where the Lord of the towne made them great cheere. And the same day at after noone came the Ladie Margaret to Barowe, where the Capitayne with all his vnder Capitaynes receaued her at the gate, whome shee welcommed most hartilye, and so shee did all the Souldiours which stood along ranged in the strete. And the next day folowyng shee saw all the companie shoote: And the same night the Capitayne and other tooke his leaue of her and departed to Rosyndale, and on Thursday beyng the last day of Iuly he came to Buldike, and that day the Ladie Margaret came thether. And the next day the whole armie of Almaynes, Flemings and other apperteyning to the sayde Ladie, met with the Englishemen without Buldike, where they set forth in order, the Lady Margaret beyng present, who there tooke her leaue of all the Capitaynes and went to Buldike, whom Sir Edward Poynyngs conducted to the gate, and then returned to the armie.

The armie to the number of ten thousand of the Ladies part, and. xv. hundreth Englishe men passed through Brabant, and came the tenth day of August next folowyng before a little Castell standyng on the higher syde of the ryuer of Mayse, called Brimuoyst, stronglye Bulwarked, in the which were an hundred men belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, with a Capitaine called Langhessell van Gelder, which robbed and spoyled al the partes of Brabant. They within shot fiercely at the army as it passed by, but dyd them little hurt. The same night Thomas Heart chiefe Gonner of the Englishe part, made his approche with his ordinaunce, and in the mornyng beat downe as much as might be beaten downe for the Bulwarkes, and the next day beyng the. xj. day of August, the Castell was assaulted valiauntly and taken by force, and the Capitaine and lxxx. and odde men were slaine, and xix. taken, of the which a. xj. were hanged. Iohn Morton Captaine of an hundred English men, and one Guyot an Esquier of Burgoyn, criyng Burgoyn, Saint George, there was one Englisheman slaine and no more. The. xiiij. day of August the army feryed ouer the riuer of Mase into the land of Gelders, and there soiourned at a little Church that night, and the next day they came to a towne called Eske, belongyng to the Bastard of Gelders, where all the people were fled, and there was vndermyned and cast downe a little Castell standyng vpon the sayde riuer newly builded. The. xx. day of August they brent the towne of Eske, and all the Countrie rounde about it, and came at the last to a towne called Strawly, a strong towne & double ditched and walled, and within it three hundred. lx. good men of warre beside the Inhabitauntes, which at the first commyng shot Gonnes fiercely, and hurt many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Poynyngs which euer was in the forwarde with hys archers, caused Fagottes to be made, and Trenches to be digged, and his men were so diligent, that his Trenche in the Mornyng approched so nighe the towne gate, that they within were halfe dismayed, and desired to speake with the Lordes, and so they did, and the. xxiij. day of August were sixe men sent out of the towne to treate, and sixe Hostages deliuered for them, and then it was agreed that all men of warre shoulde depart the Towne with a whyte sticke in their handes, and to forfeyte all other thinges: And all the Towne dwellers to be prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castell. The next day after that the men of warre were departed, earely in the Mornyng Sir Iohn Digby knight, and Iohn Norton Esquier toke possession of the towne with two hundreth Englishemen. And at after noone, the Admirall of Flaunders, Sir Edward Poynynges, and the Lorde Discilstaine chiefe Capitaynes of the Armie, with all other noble men with Trompets, and their Heraultes in their Cotes of armes before them, as Arthoys, Lancaster, and Ostriche, enter-

ed the towne, and in the towne Hall tooke the othe of the Inhabitauntes, and that night returned againe to the armie.

The. xxvj. day of the sayd Moneth, Sir Iohn Digby, and Iohn Norton came out of the towne with all their Englishemen, and for them entered a Capitaine called Yonker Otes, with two hundreth and fiftie Almaynes to kepe there a garrison, the which day the armie went before Venlowe, and they sent Arthoys with a Trompet to sommon the towne: But they would not heere them speake, but shot Gonnes at them. The. xxviij. day the armye remoued vnto the Northside of Venlowe, and part went ouer the water, and made Trenches to the water. The Capitaine of the Englishe men made Trenches euen to the towne diche, and the Artillary bet downe the Towres of the walles. The siege thus continuyng not without dayly skirmishes. xxix. dayes, Sir Edward Poynynges, and Sir Iohn Digby dined one day with Mounsire de Romy, and all other Englishe Capitaynes and petie Capitaynes dyned with an Almaine called Clene Anderlyne, except sir Mathew Browne, and Iohn Fogge which kept the fielde, & Richard Wethrill which kept the Trenche, and was sore beset. And in the dinner tyme they of the Towne issued out vpon the English men, and hurt and toke one Sheldwiche of Cauntorbury prisoner, and one Miles: But the English men slue and hurt many of them, and compelled them to returne by force of arowes, and so they reculed with one prisoner. For Miles which was led betweene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue commyng, after as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders downe the hill before him, and so ranne backe to his companie, which the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng, came to Sheldwiche and slue him. After long siege layde to this towne, and no good done, for the towne was so great that they had not men enough to compasse it, they all agreed to breake vp their siege and armie for that yere, and so departed. Sir Edward Poynynges went to the Court of Burgoyn, where he was highly enterteyned of the yong Prince, and of the Ladie Margaret his Aunt, and receyued great giftes and thankes for his paynes. And after that Sir Edward Poynynges with all the other Capitaynes of the Englishe men had bene highly feasted, and more praysed for their valiauntnesse, than he with all his companie returned into England, and had lost by warre and sicknesse not fully an hundreth persons.

The returne of Syr Edwarde Poynynges.

In Iune the king beyng at Leycester, tidynges was brought vnto him, that Andrewe Barton a Scottishe man and a Pirate of the Sea, saiyng that the Scottes had warre with the Portingales, did rob euery nation, and so stopped the kinges streames, that no Marchaunt almost coulde passe. The king beyng greatly moued with this craftie Pirate, sent Sir Edmond Haward Lorde Admirall of Englande, and Lorde Thomas Haward, sonne and heyre to the Erle of Surrey, in all the haste to the Sea, which hastilye made redie two shippes, and without any lenger abode tooke the Sea, and by chaunce of weather were seuered. The Lorde Hawarde liyng in the Downes, perceyued where Androw was makyng toward Scotland, and so fast the sayd Lord chased him, that he ouertooke him, and there was a sore battaile: The Englishe men were fierce, and the Scottes defended themselues manfully, but in the ende the Lorde Haward and his men entered the maine decke, and in conclusion Andrew was taken, beyng so sore wounded that he dyed there, and the remnant of the Scottes were taken, with their Shippe called the Lion.

Andrewe Barton a Scottishe pirate taken and slayne.

All this while was the Lorde Admyrall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande called Ienny Pirwyn, which was wont to sayle with the Lion in company, and so much did he with other that he layed him aboord and fiercely assayled him, and in the end the Lorde Admirall entred the Barke and slewe many and tooke all the rest. Thus were these two shippes taken and brought to Blackewall the second daye of August, and all the Scottes were sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remayned at the kings charge vntill other order was taken for them.

After this the Kyng sent the Bishop of Winchester and certayne of hys Counsaile to the Archbishop of Yorkes place where the Scottes were prisoners. And there the Bishop rehersed to them, where as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that they contrarie

contrarie thervnto as theeues and Pirates had robbed the Kinges subiectes within his streames: wherfore they had deserued to dye by the lawe and to be hanged at the lowe water marke. Then sayde the Scottes we knowlege our offence and aske mercy and not the lawe: Then sayd a Priest we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercy. Then the Bishop asked him if he were auctborised by them to say so? and they cried all yea, yea: Then sayd he you shall find the kings mercie aboue his iustice. For where ye were dead by the lawe, yet by his mercye he will reuiue you: Wherefore ye shall departe out of this realme within. xx. dayes, vpon paine of death if ye be found here after. xx. dayes, and praie for the Kyng, and so they passed into their countrye.

The King of Scottes hearing of the death of Androwe Barton and taking of his two ships was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters vnto the kyng, requiring restitucion according to the league & amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherlye salutation to the King of Scottes, for the robberies and euill doings of Androw Barton and that it became not one Prince to laye a breache of a league to another prince in doing iustice vpon a Pirate and a theefe: and that all the other Scottes had deserued to die by iustice if he had not extended his mercy: and with this aunswere the Scottish Herault departed home.

During this season there began great warre betwene Pope Iuly and the Frenche king Lewys the twelfe. The occasion began by one Iohn Bentiuoyle a great Lord of Italy, which kept the Citie of Bolonia le grace from the Pope which by the ayde of the French kyng gate the sayd Citie from the aforenamed Iohn Bentiuoyl. But afterward because the sayd Pope Iulye tooke peace with the Venecians, the French king turned from the Pope and made warre on him on the behalfe of Iohn Bentiuoile, and tooke from him againe the sayd Citie of Bolonia.

King Henry the eight taketh the Popes part.

The kyng of England wrote often to king Lewys of Fraunce to desist from the persecuting of the Pope which was his friend and confederate. To the which writing the French king gaue litle eare: wherfore the king sent him word to deliuer his lawful inheritaunce, both of the Duchy of Normandie and Guyan and the Countries of Anieow and Mayne, and also of his Crowne of Fraunce, else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obtaine his purpose. For all these writinges the French king made warres still in Italie, and the king could haue of him no certaine aunswere. Wherefore after great deliberation had, he by the aduice of his counsaile determined to make warre on the French king and his Countries, and calling to him Maximilian the Emperour and Fardinando king of Arragon and diuers other Princes, he made great preparation both by Sea and land, and fortefied his Frontiers against Fraunce, and set forth shippes to the Sea for defence of his Marchaunts, which were dayly in ieoperdy vnder a pretensed peace of the French king Lewys the twelfe.

The fifteenth daye of Ianuarie next following the King held his high Court of Parliament at Westminster and there was graunted vnto him toward the maintenance of his warres with Fraunce two fiftenes of the temporaltie and two Dismes of the Clergye. And during the time of this parliament one Newbolt yoman of the Kinges gard whome the King highly fauoured, slew wilfully a seruaunt of the Lorde Willoughbyes in the Pallace of Westminster, where he honge two daies in example of other.

Newbolt a yoman of the Garde hanged.

About this time one Hierome Bonuyse which was borne in Luke and was a Factor in London for Merchaunts of that nation and played Bankerupt, and had bene conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauor with Pope Iuly, that he made him his Collector and Proctor in England, & so he kept a great porte and oftentymes resorted to the kyng and his counsaile for the Popes affayres which then was sore troubled by the French king, so that he knew both the Popes councell and the kinges, and falsly and vntruelye resorted in the night vnto the French Ambassadors liyng in London, and to them discouered what the king and Pope intended, which was not so closely done but the king knew it: and so he was layd for, and was taken commoning with one of the sayd Ambassadors late

Hierome Bonuise an Italian.

in the night, and was brought to the Tower of London, where he remained vntill by the sute of his friends he was deliuered, and shortely for shame he voyded the realme.

The King of Arragon, which also had warre with the French king, and heering that his sonne, the kyng of England would make warre in Fraunce, did write to hym that the Duchy of Guyan was his true inheritaunce, which adioyned to his country of Biskey: wherfore if the king of England would entend to recouer his Duchy fyrst, and send an armie of men to Biskeye, and so to begin at Bayon, which is the kaye of Guyan, he woulde ayde them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for cariage, with other necessaries appertaining to the same. The king and his counsayle putting their affiaunce in the promise of the king of Arragon prepared a noble army al of footemen & small ordinaunce trusting to the king of Arragon for the ayde of horsmen and great ordinaunce, and of the same made Capitaine the noble Lord Thomas Graye Marques Dorset to whome he assigned manye other Gentlemen as after shall apere.

1512 4

The Kyng nowe greatlye studiyng to furnishe his warre which he had begon against the Frenche King, caused Sir Edwarde Haward his Admyrall, with all dilligence to take the Sea, which with all spede possible, made readie diuerse goodly and talle shippes, as the Souereigne and other to the number of. xviij. beside litle shippes: and in his companye were Capitaynes, Sir Weston Browne, Griffith Donne, Edward Cobham, Thomas Wyndam, Thomas Lucye, William Pirton, Henrie Sherborne, Stephin Bull, George Witwange, Iohn Hopton, William Grimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Cooke, Iohn Bordet, with diuers other. When all these were shipped, they sayled to Douer, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portesmouth about the middest of Maye.

Guyot of Guy an Almayne.

The thirde daye of Maye a Gentillman of Flaunders called Guyot of Guye came to the King with fiue hundred Almaines all in white, which was cut so small that it could scarse holde together. After they had mustered at the Blackheath, the king made him knight, and gaue him a great chayne and a yearely pencion, and sent him with his band to Southampton, there to tary the comming of the Marques Dorcet.

The Marques Dorset sayleth with an army into Biskey.

About myd Maye the Lorde Marques Dorset and other noble men appoynted by the king for the iourney of Biskey as the Lord Haward some and heire to the Erle of Surrey the Lorde Brooke, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde Iohn, the Lorde Anthony, and the Lorde Leonard Greye, all three brethren to the Marquis, Sir Griffith Aprice, Sir Maurice Barkeley, Sir William Sandes, The Baron of Burforde, Sir Richard Cornewale, his brother William Husey, Iohn Melton, William Kingston Esquires, Sir Henry Willoughby and diuers other with Souldiours to the number of ten thousand men, came to Southampton and there mustered, and hauing a freshe winde they were all shipped and passed to the Sea the. xvj. daye of May, and he with all his Nauie arriued in Biskey at a Port called Passagh, Southwest of Fountrabye: And the thirde daye of Iune the Lorde Marques and all his whole company landed and tooke the fielde, & him wisely embateled for his safegarde. The Biskeyns that brought victuall to the armie, sayde to the Souldiours, Sirs you are arriued here in trust that the king of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here of no preparatiō that he maketh, nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your comming, of the which we marueil much. These wordes ranne daily through the Hoste, which made many men sad and to muse, and the Biskeyns sore feared least the Englishmen would destroy their Countrie, because their king kept not promise with them. But the Marques made such streight proclamacion, that no souldier durst do any iniury vnto them. Within thre daies after the armye had lyen in the fielde, there came to him an Erle and an other Noble man to welcome him and his companie. Then the Lorde Capitayne remoued his fielde, and tooke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of Water and Wood, and there pitched his fielde, euerie daye lookyng for ayde of the king of Arragon, but he heard of none. Then he called a counsaile and deuised how they might haue Beastes to drawe ordinaunce and cariages. Then one Sir Iohn Stile an Englishman caused to be bought two hundred Mulettes and Asses

of such price as the Spanyards gained greatlie: but when they were put to carye, they woulde neyther beare nor drawe, for they were Beastes which were not exercised before. Then the Lorde Marques much lamented the chaunce: for if he had had ready two hundred drawing Beastes, he myght haue ronne a great waye into Guyan with his power, which then was not fortefied neither of men, of warre, nor municion, nor artillarie.

The Frenchemen of 'Bayon, hearing of the English mens campe, made a great ascrie betwene the ryuer of Saint Maria and Bayon: the English men perceyuing the same, passed the ryuer in good order of battayle, all beyng on foote for lack of the horsemen that the king of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchmen on horsebacke that they fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or they came to Bayon, at the which the Englishe men laughed and lamented. First to see their cowardnesse, second, to remember what they might haue done, if they had had horses meete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstanding, they retired to their Campe in such order, that the Spanyardes wondered much, both at their fierce courage and sober order.

The king of Nauerre hearing of the puyssaunt armie of the English men liyng in Biskey so neere to his Countrie, was sore troubled, and wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the Lorde Marques, a Byshop and dyuers other, to shewe to him and all his counsayle, that if it pleased them, his Countrie should sende them vittayle, and all things necessarie for their money, and to doe any other pleasure that they could doe, which might be to the pleasure of him and all his armie, so that his realme should be sure of any inuasions to be made by his people. A gentle offer made by the king of Nauerre.

The Marques being Capitaine generall, with the aduise of the other Lords and counsayle, much highly thanked the king of Nauerre of his good will, aide, and comfort, which things only they required: and if it pleased him that his people will and maye vittaile vs, we shall not ouely pay them for it, but also warrant their passing and repassing for vs and oures in safetie, and that by vs no preiudice shall be done to his realme, nor by our consent. With which aunswere the king of Nauerre was ioyous, and suffered his people to vittayle, and resort to the hoste, with all thynges necessarie and belongyng to the same, in great windes and stormes, for that time happened much winde and raine, which sore encombered the souldiours, that lay nightly on the bare ground, for euery man had not a tent or pauilion, wherof some were lame, and some deaffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there. xxx. dayes, in the second Moneth there came from the king of Arragon, a Byshop and other nobles of his counsail: but when it was knowne that it was the same Byshop that made the aunswere to the Lord Darcie at Kales Males, as you haue heard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delayes: but he required the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly such preparation should be made, that he should see and proue, that it should be to the honor of his maister, and his great renoume. To whome the Marques aunswered, that vpon confydence of the king of Arragons promise, that they should lacke no beastes meete for drawyng, and horsemen, the king of Englande had sent him and his companions thether, whereof we haue trusted sithe our first hether commyng, which things if we had had, we had done other enterprises then we haue done: for now we haue lyen here in Campe, to the great charge of our maister the king of Englande, and to no profite, and to our losse and great hurt. For at our arryuall the Country of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprouided of men of warre, munitions, and ordinaunce, by reason wherof, (if al things had bene accomplished of the part of your maister as we trusted) we might haue had that which we came for, and if our commission had not bene to folow the king your maisters will, as to whome we be sent, I assure you we would haue done otherwise or this: but now the Frenchmen haue fortefied, vittayled, and manned their townes, and we haue spent time and done nothing at all, lyngering for the king your maister, to the losse of vs and great blemishing of our honours.

The Byshop perceyuing that the Englishe Capitaynes were courageous and discontent with their ydle abode, flatteringly desired them to tarie a whyle for the best, for a back enemie sayde he, is to be regarded. Then said the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, if we knewe the kinges intent, it would suffise vs. Then sayde the Byshop, you shall know it shortly: and so he departed from the armie.

The armie this lyngering, euer desirous to be at the businesse that they came for, their vittayle was much part Garlike, and the Englishe men did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote weather, and did eate all the hote fruites that they could get, which caused their bloud so to boyle in their bellyes, that there fel sick three thousand of the flixe, and thereof died. xviij. hundred men.

The Lorde Marques sendeth to the king of Arragon for performance of his promise.

The Lord Marques and other Capitaynes perceyuing this mischiefe, sent to the king of Arragon certaine Lordes of the hoste to knowe his pleasure. The which aunswered them with gentle fashion, that the counsayle of Englande and hys counsayle, had taken an order in all thyng of late, and howe the Duke Dalua a great Prince of Spaine, shoulde shortly with an armie royall ioyne with them, and so to proceede in their enterprise. Wyth which aunswere and small cheere, the Lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their Capitaine according, which thought it verie sleight, but euer hee regarded his Maysters commaundement, and counsayled all the Lordes to be content with the same.

The armie liyng thus, still, and the sicknesse not slaked, the people beyng ydle, some euill disposed persons sayd, that euery Capitain was alowed viij. pence for euery common Souldiour, which was vntrue, for they had alowed onely sixe pence, and so began to gather companies. The Lordes perceyuyng this, tooke with them their trustie seruauntes, and toke the begynners of the mischiefe, which were of the retinue of the Lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde. When they were arrested, other of like euill disposition began to crake and face: which thing beyng perceyued, the Lord Marques by the aduise of other Capitaynes caused serch to be made, and so found out the beginner of the mischiefe, which was deliuered to William Kingston Esquier, then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

The English men thus liyng ydlely abyding the ayde of the king of Arragon, tidynges came dayly into the hoste, howe the Duke Dalua was commyng with a great puyssaunce to ioyne with the Englishe armie, and so to inuade Guian: the Englishe Capitaines were ioyfull of these tidinges, not so much for the ayde of the Spaniardes, which they little regarded, but for the beastes for Cariage of great Artillarie.

A sleight and deceyt vsed by the king of Arragon.

Nowe they thus lookyng for the Duke Dalua, heard euery day howe he marched towarde them, and was within a dayes iourney or little more of them, of the which the English men were marueylous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thing, sodainly remoued his armie in a night with such diligence that he entered the realme of Nauerre, and was before the Citie of Pampilona the chiefe Citie of Nauerre, before the king wist of it, which nothing suspected of that pollicie.

Thus the king was sodainly trapped, supposing the armie of Spaine to haue bene raised to inuade Guyan, and hauing nothing defensable for the war, in ỹ night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce, where he after died. The Citie of Pampilona and all the Countrie of Nauar, beyng vnprouided of artilarie and other defences, yeelded themselues to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Nauerre wonne, which thing made the Lord Marques and his companie not a little to maruayle. So shortly after came to the Lorde Capitayne of the Englishe men, dyuers Lordes sent from the king of Arragon, which sayde: The king our soueraigne Lorde sendeth to you great gramercie, and highly thanketh you for your paine, and so it is, that by Gods grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered the realme of Nauerre, and if that countrie had not bene taken, they might haue intercepted all such ordinaunce and vittayle, as the king of Arragon our maister might haue sent to you, but nowe you be in such a suretie and his puyssaunce with you,

and

and yours with his, that ye maye safely ioyne, which you shall see shortly, yea, & he himselfe in proper person to ioyne with you. Well sayde the Lorde Marques Capitaine generall, we haue soiourned long here abidyng his comming, and if the commission and expresse commaundement of the king my souereigne Lorde were not, that I should doe nothing without the assent of the king your maister, I assure you that the French men should haue knowne that Englishe men had beene here, and not to haue lyen so long in ydlenesse as we haue done: but if the king your maister do as you report, it shall be much to his honor and to our great comfort, and so the Lordes of Spaine departed.

Thus the armie lay till the Moneth of October, and Winter began sore to encrease, and the Lorde Marques Capitayne generall fell sore sicke, and then the Lorde Haward had vnder him the whole gouernaunce of the army, to whome were sent diuers Lordes of the priuie Counsail of Spaine, saiyng: the king our Maister sendeth you worde, that he would gladly come to you, but the season is spent, the grounde is so moyst that cariage can not be conueied, the fieldes so barren that beastes can not feede, and the weather so troublous that people can not well lye abrode in campe: therefore he would desire you all these things considered, to breake vp your field, and seuer your selfe to the townes and villages of his Country, till the spring of the yere, at which tyme there shall resort to you, freshe succors out of Englande, and he himselfe will be with you with all ordinaunce necessary, as becōmeth to such an armie, and then shall procede the first pretensed enterprise, to the honor of the king your maister and ours, and not to your small fame and renowme. When this message was heard by the whole Counsaile, no man was contented, but the Lorde Hawarde which had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques sayd: What report of honor can we make of the king of Arragon your maister, for at his desyre we be come hether, & here haue lyen in campe a long space, euer tariyng for performaunce of his promise, and yet nothing hath he performed, our people be dead of the flixe in great number: we gentlemen eche one doth much lament this long ydlenesse, by reason wherof many a tall man hauyng nothing to doe, but abidyng your Maisters pleasure, hath fallē into some mischiefe, or by sicknesse, or elsē for misdoing executed by iustice. What shall the king our maister report of our slouthfulnesse, which hath spent him innumerable treasure and nothing gayned? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your maister vs denieth of such thinges as he promised, and willeth vs like Cowardes to our dishonour to rayse our campe without any notable act done on the Frenchmen, for which cause we came.

The Spanyardes perceiuing the grudge of the Englishe men, sayd that time passed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lyen ydlely, for the frontiers of Guyan had susteyned suche damage, as in many yeres they shall not recouer againe, and all this while the frenchmen durst not meddle wyth you, so that you haue lost no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daylie skirmishing, they shall receyue great damage: during which time, the king our maister hath commaunded, that things meete and necessary for you shall be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, so that your enemies, & his shall well know your puyssaunce, for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, so with fayre wordes the counsaile of Spaine departed.

Then the Lorde Haward beyng chiefe, because the Marques was sick, counsayled with all the other Lordes and Capitaines, and so in the ende of October they agreed to breake vp their Campe, and so they did, and the Lorde Marques and his people went to Saint Sebastian, the Lorde Haward and his retinew to Rendre, and the Lorde Willoughby to Garschang, Sir Wylliam Sandes and manye other Capitaines to Fountrabie, and so euery Capitayne with his retinew were seuered in diuers Villages.

The Englishe souldiours, what for sicknesse, and what for miserie of the Countrie, euer desired to returne into England. The king of Englande aduertised by the king of Arragon of his intent, and how he would set forward the first spring, sent Wynsore his Herauld

Herauld of armes to his armie wylling them there to tarie, and that he would send them newe ayde, vnder the conduite of the Lord Harbert, his Chamberlaine: which letter when it was red, the Souldiours began to murmure and grudge after suche a sort, saiyng: that they would not abide and die of the flixe in such a wretched Countrie, to be defrauded and mocked of the king of Arragon the next yere, as they were this yere, and spake such outrageous wordes, that the Capitaine could not stay them, insomuch that they in a furie had slayne the Lorde Haward and dyuers other, if they had not folowed their mindes, and so they hired shippes and put the Lorde Marques in one, which was so weake that he asked where he was: and then euery man shipped, which was in Nouember, and in the beginning of December they landed in Englande. The king of Arragon was sore discontent with their departing, for they spent much money and substaunce in his Countrie, and sayde openly, that if they had taried, he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Englishe men were glad that they were departed out of such a Countrie, where they had little helth, lesse pleasure, and much losse of time: but by their liyng there, the king of Arragon stale the realme of Nauerre, and the Englishe men left as much money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

The Englishe armye returneth againe into Englande agaynst the myude of their Captaine generall.

When the Marques sayled into Spaine in the Moneth of Maye, the same time Sir Edward Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue heard before, sayled toward Britaine, and on Trinitie Sunday arriued at Bertram Bay in Britaine, with twentie great shippes, and sodainely set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an ascrie, and set their Beacons on fyre, and shot out of a Bulwarke that they had fortefied at the poynt of the Bay: but the Englishe men which were in the ship of Wylliam Gonstone Grocer of London, tooke first lande maugre them all, and all other after, and so manfully they set on the Bulwarke that they wanne it, and the Britons fled and many slayne. Then the Admyrall set hys men in an order, and passed in the Countrie seuen Myles, burning and wasting townes and Vyllages: and in hys returne he skirmished with diuers men of armes and slue dyuers of them, and notwithstanding the Britons fought valyauntly for defence of their Countrie, yet they lost and nothing wanne: and so the Lorde Admirall returned to his ship.

Vpon Monday the. xxiij. daye of May he landed in the morning, and commaunded to burne the Lorde Piers Meguns place, and the towne of Conket and dyuers other places and chased the Brytones to the Castell of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britones made, yet they suffered the Englishe men peaceably to returne with their prayes & gaines. The Britons seyng the hurt that the nauie of England did to them, sayde: alas the king of England hath euer before this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroy vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first day of Iune the Englishe men toke lande in Croyton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent word to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abyde, they would fight with him in playne fielde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and sayde, go say to them that sent thee, that all this day they shall finde me here tariyng their comming. Then he to encourage dyuers Gentlemen dubbed them knightes, as Syr Edward Brooke, brother to the Lord Cobham, Syr Griffithe Doune, Syr Thomas Wyndam, Syr Thomas Lucie, Sir Willyam Pirton, Sir Henry Shirborne, Sir Stephen Bull, Sir Iohn Burdett: Then the Lorde Admirall highly encouraged his men when he sawe the Britons come, which were ten thousande at the least, the Englishe men but onely. xxv. C. or fewe aboue, bydding them remember the honor and renowne that should come to them, if they gayned the iorney, and yet if they were slayne, their valyauntnesse was to be praysed, and their true diligence to doe their mayster seruice much to be alowed.

When the Britons sawe the order of the Englishe men, and their Banners displayed, they were sodeynly astonied: then a Gentleman of Briteyn of much experience, aduised the other Capitaines not to fight, but to returne a little, and to take a strong ground, and to watch the Englishmen, when they returned to their shippes, and then to take the aduantage.

uantage. And so the Capitaynes began to returne: and when the Commons sawe them returne, all they ranne away as fast as they might, supposyng that their Capitaynes had seene or knowen some great perill towarde them, because they were not priuie of their Capitaines Counsail. And when they came home to their houses, some sayd the battaile was great, and some sayde that the Englishmen were. xl. thousand. The Lord Admirall seeyng this chaunce, when night came departed to his shippes: but yet they knew not why they fled, till after he heard the truth. The Gentlemen of Briteyn called a great counsaile, saiyng: that the Englishemen dayly wasted the Countrie on the Sea coste, and that there was no trust in the Commonaltie, and that the Gentlemen alone coulde not defende the Countrie: wherefore, they concluded to sende a Messenger to the Lord Admirall, desiryng him of a safeconduite for diuers personnes to speake with him, the which he gently graunted. Then certaine Lordes of Briteyn toke a Boate, and came to the ship of the Lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the Counsaile of the Capitaynes about him. Then they desired him humbly to surcesse off his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of townes which to you is no profite, and if you will haue the Castell of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defende it, and we desyre nothing so much as peace. Nay sayde the Lorde Admirall, we are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then they humbly required him for Goddes sake to graunt them peace for sixe dayes, so that they might send to the king their Lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the Lord Admirall answered, that Gentlemen ought to defende their Countrie by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the which saiyng the Britons were ashamed: yet they hartily thanked him, and so he made them a banket, and they departed: and they sent a land for fresh water and other freshe vitayles, and then heeryng that there were men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted from them alongst all the coastes of Normandie, still scouryng the Seas, so that no enemie appered: & at the last came and lay by the Isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on the Englishe coast: duryng which tyme diuers shippes kept the North seas, vnder the conduite of Sir Edward Ichyngham, Iohn Lewys, and Iohn Loueday, which diligently scoured the seas.

The king euer remembring his warres, caused all his Shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with al maner of ordinaunce and artillary, meete for shippes of warre. And amongest all other, he decked the Regent a ship royall, as chiefe ship of that nauie, and then caused Souldiours mete for the same shippes to muster on Blacke heath, and he appoynted Capitaynes for that tyme, Sir Anthony Oughtred, Sir Edward Ichingham, William Sidney, and dyuers other Gentlemen, which shortly shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Galley was lost by negligence of the Mayster.

The King desiryng to see his nauie together, rode to Portesmouth, and there he appoynted Capitaynes for the Regent, Sir Thomas Kniuet, Mayster of his horse, and Sir Iohn Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the Souereigne, he appoynted sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford, and with them in the Souereigne were put. ix. of the tallest yomen of the kinges Garde, and manye other Gentlemen were made Capitaynes. The king made a great banquet to all the Capitaynes, & euery one sware to another euer to defende, ayde, and comfort one another, without failyng, and this they promised before the king, which committed them to God, and so with great noyse of Minstrelsie they tooke their shippes, which were. xxv. in number of great burden, and well furnished of all thinges.

The French king heeryng what dammage the Englishe men had done in Briteyn, strongly furnished his Nauie in the Hauen of Brest, to the number of. xxxix. sayle, and for chiefe ordeyned a Caricke of Brest, apperteinyng to the Queene his wife, which was Duchesse and heyre of Briteyne called Cordelier, which was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so they set forward out of Brest, the tenth day of August, and came to Briteyne Bay, in which place the selfe same day, the Englishe nauy was arryued.

When the Englishe men perceyued the French nauie to be out of Brest Hauen, then the Lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared accordyng to his duetie, the Archers to shoote, the Gonners to lose, the men of armes to fight, the Pages went to the top Castell with Dartes: thus all thinges beyng prouided and set in order, the Englishemen approched toward the Frenchemen, which came fiercely forward, some leauyng his Ancre, some with his foresayle onely to take the most aduauntage: and when they were in sight, they shot ordinaunce so terribly together, that all the Sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the great Shippe of Depe, and chased her still: Sir Henry Guylford and sir Charles Brandon, beyng in the Souereigne, made with the great Caricke of Brest, and layde stemme to stemme to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Maister, or else by smoke of the ordinaunce, or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the Caricke, with which aduauntage the Frenche men showted for ioy: but when Sir Thomas Kniuet which was readie to haue borded the great ship of Depe, saw that the Souereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the sterne, and bowged her in diuers places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodeinly the Regent grappeled with her a long boorde, and when they of the Caricke perceyued that they could not depart, they let slip an Ancre, and so with the streme the ships turned, and the Caricke was on the weatherside, and the Regent on the lye syde, the fight was very cruell, for the Archers of the Englishe part, and the Crosbowes of the French part did their vttermost: but for all that the Englishe men entered the Caricke, which seeyng a Verlet Gonner beyng desperate, put fire in the Gonpowder, as other say, and set the whole ship of fyre, the flame whereof, set fire in the Regent, and so these two noble ships which were so grappeled together that they could not part, were consumed by fyre. The French nauie perceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adioinyng. The English men in maner dismayed, sent out Boates to helpe them in the Regent, but the fyre was so great that no man durst approch, sauyng that by the Iames of Hull were certaine Frenchemen that could swim saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happie for the French nauie, or else they had bene better assayled of the Englishemen, which were so amased with this chaunce, that they folowed them not. The Capitaine of this Caricke was sir Piers Morgan, and with him ix. hundred men slaine and dead: And with sir Thomas Knyuet, and sir Iohn Carow, were seuen hundred men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englishe men lay in Bartram Bay, for the French fleete was sparkeled as you haue heard.

The Carick and the Regent burned.

The Lord Admyrall called all the Capitaines together, desiring them not to be ashamed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought nowe that this was the worst fortune that coulde happen to them, therefore to studie how to be reuenged, and so they concluded all to goe to the Sea, which they did, and on the coast of Britaine tooke many shippes, and such as they coulde not carie awaye they set on fire, small and great to a great number on all the coast of Britaine, Normandy and Picardy, and thus they kept the Sea. The king of England hearing of the losse of the Regent, caused a great ship to be made suche another as was neuer seene before in Englande, and called it *Henrye grace de dieu.*

Henry grace de dieu.

The French Kyng heering that his flete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his great Caricke, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior Iohn, which had thre Galies of force, wyth diuers Foystes and Rowgalies so well ordinaunced and wyth such peces as was not sene in shippes before his comming: for he laye one the coast of Barberye, to defend certaine of the religion of the Rhodes comming to Tripoly, and at the French kinges request came into Britaine and their taried.

A parlyamēt wherein it was agreed that the king himselfe would enter Fraūce with an armie royall.

In Nouember the king called his high court of Parliament, and there was concluded that the king himselfe in person, wyth an armie royall would inuade his realme of Fraunce, with Fyre and Sworde, which thing being knowne to his Subiectes, and especially to such as shoulde go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparation was made of harnesse, weapon, artillery, banners, and all other thinges necessarie for such an enterprice.

And

And after the Purification of our Ladie, the king created Sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche following, the kinges Nauie of shippes royall, and other mete for the warre set forth to the number of. lxij. beside other Balangers: the Lorde Admirall was chiefe, and wyth hym Sir Water Deuereux Lorde Ferrers, Syr Weston Browne, Sir Edwarde Ichyngham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Iohn wallop, syr Thomas Windham, sir Stephen Bull, William Fitz Willyam, Arthur Plantaginet, William Sidney Esquires, and diuers other noble and valiant Capitaines: they sayled to Portesmouthe, and there laye abiding winde: during which time the Kyng sent into Flaunders for suche thinges as he needed, and caused them to be brought to Calice against his comming.

When the winde serued, the Nauie royall of Englande wayed anker and made saile into Britaine, and came into Bertram Bay, and there laye at Anker in the sight of the French Nauie. Now you must vnderstande, that all the great Nauie which the French kyng had prepared, laie in the Hauen of Brest, so well furnished in all thinges, that no doubt it was a wonder to see: but when they were readie to set forth, and sawe the English fleete on the coast, they determined to saue themselues in Brest hauen. Then the Englishmen determined clearely to set on them in the hauen, and so in good order of battaile sayled forwarde, but at the first entrie one shippe, whereof Arthur Plantagenet was Capitaine, fell on a blinde Rocke and brast a sunder, by reason whereof, all the other stayed to the great displeasure of all the remnaunt, and not to the litle ioye of the French men which shot at them without doyng anye harme. So the Englishe Capitaines perceyuing that the Hauen was daungerous to enter without an expert Lodesman cast about and returned to their harborough at Bertram Bay againe.

The French men perceyuing that the English men entended to assayle them, moored their shippes as nigh to the Castell of Brest as they could, and set Bulwarkes on the lande on euerie side to shoote at the Englishmen. Also they frapped together. xxiiij. great Hulckes, that came to the Baye for salte, and set them on a rowe, to the entent that if the Englishmen would haue assaulted them, they would haue set them on a fier, and let them driue with the streme amongst the English Nauy. Prior Iohn also laye still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Galies to the shore, and set his Basilyskes and other ordinaunce in the mouth of the Baye, which Baye was bulwarked on euery side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The Lord Admirall perceyuing the Nauy of Fraunce to lye this in feare and not willing nor daring to come aboard, but to lie as prisoners in a Dongeon, wrote to the king to come thether in person, and to haue the honor of so high an enterprice: which writing ỹ kings counsail nothing alowed, for putting the king in ieoperdy vpō the chaunce of the sea. Wherfore the king wrote sharpely to him to accomplish ỹ which appertayned to his duety: which caused him to take courage & to put things in aduenture as after you shal heare.

As you haue heard before, the Lorde Admirall of England laye still on the coast of Britayne in the Baye, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of him and the Englishe Nauie, neyther the great shippes in Brest hauen durst once mooue to the sea warde, nor yet Prior Iohn for all hys strong Galeies would once set out a sayle: sauyng nowe and then sende forth hys small Foystes, to make a shewe before the Englishe Nauie, which chased them to their Baye, but because the Englishe shippes were so great they could not enter the Bay, and so manned out Boates and tooke one of the best Foystes, and that with great daunger, for the Galies and the Bulwarks shot all at one time, that it was a wonder howe the Englishe men escaped. 1513 5

The Admirall of Englande perceyuing the Frenche mens pollicie, called a counsayle, and there determined first to assayle Prior Iohn and his Galies, lyng in Whitsand Baye, and after to set on the remnaunt in the hauen of Brest. Then first was appointed that Water Lorde Ferrers, Syr Stephin Bull and other Capitaynes, should go a land with a conuenient companie, to assault the Bulwarkes of Whitsand bay, while the Lord Admirall en-

tered with rowe Barges and little Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assayled both by water and lande. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsayle: But alas, this Noble Capitaine counsayled by a Spanishe knight called Sir Alphons Charant (which sayde that he might enter the Baye with litle ieopardie) called to him William Fitz William, William Cooke, Iohn Colley, and Sir Weston Browne, as the chiefe and his most trustie friends, and declared to them that the matter was litle, and the honor great, if they onely tooke on them that enterprise, and let none other know of it. They like men of haute courage and desiring honor, gladly assented: so on the. xxv. day of Aprill, the sayde Admirall put himselfe in a small rowe Barge, with three other small rowing shippes, and his awne ship Boate, and so rowed sodainely into the Baye, where Prior Iohn had moored his Galies iust to the grounde, which Galies with the Bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that they that folowed were afrayde, but assone as he came to the Galies, he entred and draue out the French men. William Fitz Wylliam within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The Baye was verie shalowe, and the other shippes could not enter, for the tide was spent, which thing the Frenchemen perceyuing, and that there coulde come no succour to the Admirall, with Moris pikes entered agayne the Galies, and fought with the Englishe men in the Galies. And the Admirall perceyuing their approching, thought to haue entred againe into his rowe Barge, which by violence of the tide was driuen downe the streme, and so with a pike was throwne ouer the boorde and so drowned, and there the forenamed Alphons was slayne; and all the other Boates and vessels scaped hardly, for if they had taried, the tide had fayled them, and then all had bene lost. The Lord Ferrers and other Capitaines much were grieued with this chaunce, and some sayde he did it without counsayle, and so he hath sped. And therefore although that they would haue set on the Nauie in Brest hauen, yet hauing no Admirall nor commission, they determined to do no farther till they knewe the kings pleasure, and so sayled into Englande. The French Nauie perceiuyng that the Englishe men made toward England, came out of their Hauens, and Pryor Iohn set forth his Galies and Foistes, and coasted Britayne and Normandie, and crossed ouer to the coast of Sussex and all hys companie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore Cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt neere, shortly raysed the Countrie, and came to the coast and droue Prior Iohn to hys Galies. This was all the hurt that this stoute Capitayne of so great fame did to Englande, sauing he robbed certayne poore Fishermen of Whytings. The king hearing of the death of his Admirall was not a little sorie, considering both the nobilitie of his birth, and the valyauntnesse of his person, but all sorrowe auayleth not when the chaunce is past. Therefore the king hearing that the French Nauie was abroade, called to him the Lorde Thomas Hawarde, elder brother to Syr Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparaunt to the Erle of Surrey, and made hym Admirall, wylling hym to reuenge his brothers death, which with great reuerence, thanked the king of the highe trust that he had put in him. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly and valyauntly did scowre the sea, that the Frenche men had no lust to keepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with them at their owne portes.

The death of sir Edwarde Haward lord Admirall of Englande.

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde made Lorde Admirall.

The king which had all things necessarie and meete for the warre, entending to passe the sea in proper person, appoynted the valiant Lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, and high steward of his houshold to be Capitaine generall of his foreward, and in his companie were Lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Darbie, Lorde Decowrey Prior of Saint Iohns, syr Robert Radcliffe, Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastinges, the Lorde Cobham, syr Rice ap Thomas, syr Thomas Blount, syr Richard Sachiuerell, syr Iohn Dighby, syr Iohn Askew, syr Lewys Bagot, syr Thomas Cornewall, and many knightes and Esquiers and souldiours, to the number of eyght thousand men, which all passed the sea to Calice in the middle of May.

The Lord Herbert called sir Charles Sommerset, chiefe Chamberlaine to the king: the

the ende of the same Moneth with. vj.M. men passed the Sea in whose companie were these Erles of Northūberland Percy, of Kent Gray, of Wilshire Stafford, the Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, syr Thomas West his sonne, syr Edwarde Husey, syr Robert Dimmoke, syr Dauy Owen, with many other Gentlemen, some with speares on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with Dimilaunces, and thys was the rereward. Such good diligence was made that these two Captaynes withall their company, furnished with artilerie, powder, tents, cariages, & al thinges necessary for the warres were landed at Calice the last day of May.

After they had soiourned certaine dayes in Calice, and that all thinges requisite were readie, they caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamation, that euery man should depart out of the towne, and so to begyn the campe. The Erle of Shrewesbury with his company first tooke the fielde, after him folowed the Lorde Herbert with his companie, in maner of a rereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt Rice ap Thomas, with fiue hundred light horse and Archers on horseback, and ioyned him to the foreward. Then was there order taken what persons should conduyte the Vittaylers, that came from Calice, and who should conduyte the Vittaylers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduyte no creature durst bring anye vittaile to the armie. These two Lordes thus embattayled remoued the. xvij. day of Iune to Sandisfielde, and on the. xviij. day they came to Margison, on the farre syde of the water, as though they would haue passed streight to Bulleyn, but they thought otherwise, for the next day they tooke another way, and coasted the Countrie with such diligence, that the. xxij. day of Iune, they with all their people, ordinaunce, and habiliments of warre, were come before the strong City of Tirwin, & pight their tents a mile from the towne, & for that night embattailed themselfe; and as certain Capitaines, were in counsaile, in the Lorde Harbertes Tent, sodainly out of the towne was shot a Gonne, the Pellet whereof slue a noble Capitaine called the Baron of Carew, sittyng there in counsaile, which sodaine aduenture dismayed much the assembly. But the Lorde Harbert valiauntly comforted them, saiyng: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you must haue beene content, a noble heart in warre is neuer afearde of death. All the Countrie of Arthoys, and Picardie, fortifyed their holdes, and made shewes as the Englishe armie passed, but they durst not once assaile them. The siege of Tirwyn.

The Citie of Tirwyn was strongly fortified with walles, rampires, Bulwarkes, with diuers fortresses in the ditches, which were so broade and so plumme steepe that was wonder to beholde. The Lorde Pountremy was Capitaine Generall, and with him were within the Citie sixe hundred horsemen furnished, and two thousand and fiue hundred Almaines, besyde the Inhabitantes of the City, the walles and towers were full of ordinaunce, which did oftentymes great displeasure to the Englishmen. The Erle of Shrewesburie layde siege to the towne, on the Northwest syde, and the Lord Harbert on the East side or ende warde, the French men issued out of the towne, and skirmished with the Englishemen, but the Archers shot so fast that they draue the Frenchemen into the Citie, and slue and tooke diuers of them. The Lord Harbert which lay in the open sight of the Towne, hauyng no hill or other thing to succor or defende him, caused great trenches to be made, and so mawger his enemyes, he approched very nere the Citie: likewise the Erle of Shrewsbury with the foreward, gat into an hollow ground or valey nere to the Citie. Dayly the Frenchemen shot at the Englishemen, and diuers tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer they lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce they hurt diuers Englishmen. Wherefore the Lordes commaunded the Pioners to rayse a great Trenche, in which they layde the great Ordinaunce, and dayly as they might they approched: Sir Rice ap Thomas with the horsemen dayly scoured the Countrie, and many tymes encountered with the Frenchemen, and slue and tooke diuers prisoners, so that the Frenchemen drewe not towarde the siege, but turned another way. Vpon the Monday beyng the. xxvij. day of Iune. xxiiij. Cartes charged with vittaile, were by the garrison of Calice conducted to Guisnes, and there the crewe of the Castell and towne of Guisnes with three

three hundred footemen; vnder the conduyte of sir Edward Belknap, all beyng in number foure hundred. lx. men, set forth to conduite the sayd vittayles to the armie lyng before Tirwin, and so they passed to Arde. And while the Cartes passed the towne, the horsemen fell a drinkyng in the way, and the footemen were all out of order. The Duke of Vandosme Capitaine generall of Picardie, which lay in a bushment in the Forest syde of Guysnes with. viij. hundred light horsemen, tooke his aduauntage; & set on the vitaylers: the Carters perceiuyng that, losed their horses and fled to the towne, which was but a myle off, and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux Capitaine of Guisnes did all he coulde, to bring the footemen in an order: but the Frenchemen set on so quickly that they coulde not set them in order, the horsemen of Guisnes which were but onely. xxiiij. tooke their Speres and ioyned with the Frenchmen: The Archers of England which passed not. lx. shot manfully, and a noble Capitaine called Baltier Delien and diuers other, but the French men were so many in number, and in good order, that they slue. viij. Gentlemen of the Garison of Guisnes, and. xxx. Archers slaine, and manye hurt, and so they distrussed the vittayles, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edwarde Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. This misaduenture fell by tariyng of the horsemen, and breakyng of array, for if the Archers had taryed together, it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that helde together, slue and hurt diuers Frenchemen: for on the fielde lay. lxxxvij. great horse, which neuer went thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemen went not quite awaye without losse. When tidynges of this misaduenture came to the Lordes at the siege, they were not a little displeased: and sir Rice ap Thomas caused hys Trompet to blowe to the stirrop, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the Countrie, which heeryng of the commyng of sir Rice, with great hast retreated backe to Bangey Abbey, where the French kinges great armie lay. Sir Rice heeryng that he was returned came the next day againe to the siege. The rumor of this skirmishe sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, where the townes fiered their Bekons, and rang *alarme*, diuers honourable men that had passed the Sea with companies of Souldiours, and were in Calice, marched forwarde in order of battaile, but hearyng of the departure of *Mounsire de Vandosme*, they rested. Then was newe prouision made for vittaile, and sent dayly from Calice to Tirwyn by suche conduyte, that the Frenche men would no more meddle, and the armie also was well vitayled out of Flaunders and Henawlde.

The king himselfe passeth into Fraunce.

The armie of England thus lay before the strong Towne of Turwin: the noble king of England not forgetting his enterprice prepared al thing redy to passe the Sea in proper person, and caused Sir Iohn Wilshire to purueye for thre hundred Hoyes to cary ouer his Artillerie and habiliments of warre and all his ships of warre were on the sea skowring euerie coast of his realme. And when all thinges were prest, he accompanied with manye noble men and syxe hundred archers of his garde, all in white gabberdines and capes, departed from his Manour royall of Grenewich the. xv. daye of Iune and so he and the Queene wyth small iorneys came to Douer Castell and there rested, and made the Queene gouernour of the realme, and commaunded William Warram then Bishop of Cantorburie and Sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to geue there attendaunce on the Queene. And commaunded the Erle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes would make any enterprice in his absence. Then the king tooke leaue of the Queene and of the Ladies which made such sorrowe for the departing of the Lordes their husbandes, that it was great dolour to behold, and so he with all his armie tooke shippe the last daye of Iune being the daye of Sainct Paule.

In the morning when the kyng was shipped and made saile, all the armye folowed to the number of foure hundreth shippes, and the winde was so that they were brought euen on the coast of Picardie open vpon Sainct Iohnes Roade, and with the flood they haled along the coast of Whitesand with Trumpets blowing and Gonnes shootyng, to the great feare of them of Bulleyne which playnelye myght beholde this passage, and so came to Calyce hauen.

The

The King was receyued into a Bote couered with Arras, and so was set on lande. He was appareled in an almaine riuet crested and hys vanbrace of the same; and on his hedde a chapeau montabin with a riche coronall, the fold of the chapeau was lined with crimsen Satten, and on that a rich brooch witht the image of Sainct George, ouer hys riuet he had a garment of whit cloth of Gold with a red crosse, and so he was receyued with procession and with his deputie of Calyce called sir Gilbert Talbotte, and all other nobles and gentelmen of the towne and countrie, and so entred in at the Lanterne Gate and passed the stretes tyll he came to Saint Nicholas Church, and there he alighted and offered, and from thence he went to the Staple Inne where he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleyce, all the banished men entered with hym and were restored to the libertie of the towne. To tell of the gunneshote of the Towne and of the shippes at the kinges landing it was a great wonder, for men of good estimacion reported that they heard it at Douer. The King liyng thus in Calyce, all his armie except a fewe of his counsaile and other that gaue their attendaunce on him, laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in which Campe about a. xj. of the clock at night there rose an escrie, so that the Towne of Calyce began *alarme*, with that the King waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yomen of the tentes, called Richard Gibson, shewed him howe that certaine horsemen and footemen of Fraunce proffered to come ouer the Hauen, and the archers that lay next the sea side entred into the water & defended the passage, with which defence the French men returned, and so the king was satisfied. But after this a Frenchman of Whitsand Bay and one of Bullain were taken, the one called Charles de Bone, the other Peter Vernowne, which confessed that from the towne of Whitsand came. lx. horsemen and two hundred footemen of the garrison of Bullayne and the countrie adioyning, entending to passe by Rice Banke at the lowe water Marke, ouer the Hauen of Calice at a certeine Foorde shewed to them by a spye which serued the yoman of the tentes with vittailes, and shewed them that the tentes were pitched vnder Calyce walles betwene the towne and the campe, so that they might burne them quickly or the towne could issue, or the campe remoue. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you haue heard that their enterprice came to none effect. The morowe after being the first day of Iuly, the noble Lorde Haward, admirall of England landed at Whitsand Bay, & entred, spoyled and brent the towne, and returned to his shippes for all the Bullonoys, and so recompenced the imagination that the Bailie of Whitsand and the Bullonoise had enterprised for the burning of the kings tentes.

On Friday at night blewe such a storme that seuered all the nauie, and some were drowned. Vpon the. viij. day of Iulye, the Lorde Marques Dorset, Erle of Essex, the Lorde Lisle rode into Flaunders, and there tooke the musters of the Lord Linny, the Lorde Walon, sonne to the Lorde of Barow, and bastard Emery which with their retinue were then admitted into the kinges wages, and the Lord Linny with a hundred and fiftie speres was appoynted to go to the Lorde Harbert: and the Lord Walon, and Bastard Emery with their bonds were appointed to go to the Erle of Shrewsbury liyng before Tirwin: These straugers were warlike persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tirwin as you haue heard, the French men diuers times issued out on horsebacke, and many a staffe was broken, and many a proper feate of armes done. Likewyse the Almaynes on foote would diuers times issue out, with Handgonnes, and Morishpikes and assaile the Englishmen, but by force of ỳ archers, they were euer driuen home againe, and euery day the Englishemen shot at the towne and did them much displeasure.

The. xxj. day of Iuly (when all thinges by counsayle had bene ordered concernyng the order of battaile) the king passed out of the towne of Calice, in goodly array of battaile, and toke the field: And notwithstandyng that the forewarde, and the rerewarde of the kinges great armye were before Tyrwin, as you haue heard: Yet the king of his awne battaile made three battailes after the fassion of the warre, the Lorde Lisle marshall of the hoste was Captaine of the foreward, and vnder him three thousand men, Sir Rychard

Carew

Carew with three. C. men was the right hand wing to the foreward, and the Lorde Darcy with three hundred men, was wing on the left hande, the scourers and foreryders of this battaile were the Northumberland men on light Geldynges. The Erle of Essex was Lieutenaunt Generall of the Speres, and sir Iohn Pechy was Vicegouernour of the horsemen: before the king went. viij. hundred Almaynes all in a plumpe by themselues: after them came the Standard with the red Dragon, next the Banner of our Ladie, and next after the Banner of the Trinitie, vnder the same were all the kinges housholde seruauntes, then went the Banner of the armes of Englande, borne by sir Henry Guilforde, vnder which Banner was the king himselfe, with diuers noble men and other to the number of three thousand men. The Duke of Buckyngham with sixe hundred men was on the kinges left hande, egall with the Almaynes, in likewise on the right hande was sir Edwarde Pownynges, with other sixe hundred men egall with the Almaynes. The Lorde of Burgaynie with. viij. hundred men, was wing on the ryght hande, sir William Compton with the retinue of the Bishop of Winchester, and Mayster Wolsey the Kinges Almoner to the number of. viij. hundreth was in maner of a rerewarde, sir Anthony Oughtred, and sir Iohn Neuell with the kinges speres that folowed, were foure hundred, and so the whole armie were. xj. thousand, and three hundred men. The Mayster of the ordinaunce set forth the kinges artillarie, as Fawcons, Slinges, Bombardes, Cartes with Powder, stones, Bowes, Arrowes, and suche other thinges necessary for the fielde, the whole number of the Cariages were. xiij. hundreth, the leaders and dryuers of the same were. xix. hundreth men, and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightyng men, there were not full. ix. thousande.

This was afterward Cardinall Wolsey.

Thus in order of battayle the king rode to Seutreyca and there lodged the first night, on Friday the garrison of Bulleyne mustered nighe to Fines Mill, and were askried by by the Northumberland men, which marched toward them, but the Frenchmen returned. On Saterday the hoste remooued to Hambwell and there rested. On Sunday, and on Monday he entered into the Frenche grounde nye to Arde, and there euery Gentleman had on hys coate of armes, and these tydings were brought to the king that the Frenche armie approched, which tidings pleased him well, for he desired nothing but battaile. Tuesday the. xxvj. day of Iulie the king passed forward in order of battayle, and euer the French men costed a farre off to take the English men at some auantage, but they kept them so close in order, that they could not finde them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the Carters that mistoke the way a great Curtall called the Iohn Euangelist, was ouerthrowne into a depe ponde of water, and could not quickly be recouered.

The king hearing that his enemies approched, leauing the Gonne (because the maister Carpenter sayde that he would shortly waye it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornham where is a fayre castell standing in a woode countrie, the Frenchmen were euer lurcking in the woods vewyng the kings conduite and order as he passed, and so he left the towne of Dornham on his right hand, and came to a Village on a little riuer where the ordinance was pitched. And when the king came to the ryuer he perceyued that many gentlemen made daunger to enter into the riuer: Wherefore he alighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the riuer, then all other entred and came ouer. Then was tydinges brought to him that the Frenchmen were neere at hande, and would fyght that night: the king still abode in order of battayle, euer looking for the comming of the Frenchmen, and at night worde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into his tent.

The noble courage and valyantnesse of a king.

Wednesday the. xxvj. daye of Iuly the releffe of the speares brought in askrie, wherefore the king commaunded to blowe to the standarde, and auaunced his banner and tooke a fayre field or banke, abidyng the comming of the Frenchmen. The Capitaynes generall of the armie of the Frenche king were the Lorde de la Palice, and the Lorde of Piens, accompanied with the Duke of Longuyle, the Erle of saint Polle, the Lord of Floringes, the Lorde Cleremound, and Richarde de la Pole Traytor of Englande, sonne to the Duke

Iohn of Suffolke: with these Captaines were comming a. xj. thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, all prest in battaile and came within two myles of the king of England, and there the footemen staied and came no farther: certayne horsemen to the number of three thousand & aboue marched forward and at the end of a wood shewed themselues open in the sight of the Englishe armie. The king perceyuing their demeanure, commaunded all his footemen not to remoue, but to stande still. The Frenchmen remoued and came somewhat neerer to a place of execution: then the maister Gonner shot of a peece of artillarie or two. As the king lay thus still abidyng his enemyes, and that the horsemen stoode still in sight, the great armie of Fraunce approched, which the Englishemen could not descry because of an hill that was betwixt them. The Northren men ranne to the Frenchmen, which manly encountered with them, and strake some of them downe, and mawger all their power brought certaine prisoners to the king of England. The Erle of Essex Capitaine of the kinges speres, with two hundred speres lay in a stale, if the french men had come nerer. Then sodainly appered in sight a great companie of horsemen, and the king knewe not what they were: but at the last it was perceyued that it was the valiaunt knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, which came to the king about noone: which gently receyued him and sent him to the Erle of Essex, which incontinently departed and compassed the hill, and came to the Erle, and whē they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hill accompanied wyth Syr Thomas Gylford Capitaine of two hundred Archers on horsebacke, to the entent to haue set on the French men, which perceiuyng that, and doubtyng a more number to come after, sodainly drew backe and ioyned them with the great battaile. Then the Erle of Essex and the Englishe horsemen folowed them till they came nere the great armie of Fraunce, and then staied, and sent light horsemen to know the conduite of the Frenche army. When the French men of armes were returned to their battaile, both the footemen and horsemen reculed in order of battaile, and went backe apace. The English stirrers perceiuyng this, folowed three leagues and returned to the Erle, makyng report of that they had seene, and then he brake vp his stale and came to the king, declaryng to him howe the Frenchmen were reculed. This day was called the drie Wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hote, and the king and his armie were in order of battaile from sixe of the clocke in the mornyng, till three of the clocke in the after noone, and some dyed for lacke of moysture, and almost in generall euery man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomacke, for drinke lacked, and water was not nere. After this, the king remoued toward Tirwyn hauyng his horsemen behind him, least the french men shoulde sodainlye set on him behinde, and as the king was settyng forward, the Lorde Walowne of Flaunders came to the king with his horsmen which were in the kinges weges, and the king declared to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a Lane, was ouerthrowne one of the kinges great Bombards of Iron, called the red Gon, and there left: When the night began to approche, the king rested and tooke his campe two miles from Saint Omers on the Northsyde.

On the Thursday beyng the. xxviij. daye of Iuly the mayster Carpenter with an hundred Carpenters and laborers without knowlege of the Marshall went to waye vp the great Gonne that was in the ponde as you haue heard, and by force of engines drewe it vp and layde it on a Cart ready to carie: But sodainely out of a wood issued eyght hundred Frenchmen with speares, crosbowes, and handgonnes, and assayled the poore labourers which valyauntly defended themselues: but oppressed with multitude, the most part was slayne, and the remnant taken, and they and the peece of ordinaunce caried to Bulleyne. This misaduenture fell, for the maister Carpenter would worke all of his awne head without counsaile, with which chaunce the king was sore displeased. The Frenchmen ioyous of this chaunce, assembled a great number to take the other Gonne that laye still in the high waye. Wherefore the Lorde Barnes beyng Capitayne of the Pioners and laborers hearing of the misaduenture, and considering that the other Gonne

was liyng behinde, prepared all maner of engines to recouer the same. The morrow after the king entending to rayse his Campe, but when he heard of the great peece of Ordinaunce that was left behinde, and that the Frenche men assembled together, he was in a great musing and so taryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retreate backe, and to succour them that went for the peece of Ordinaunce. The Almaynes went forth and staled wythin two Myle, where the peece of Ordinaunce lay, and farther they would not go. The Erle of Essex with his companye of speares, Sir Rice ap Thomas, with his companie, syr Iohn Neuell with the Northumberlande men, set forward to helpe the Lorde Barnes for recouery of the Gonne. And sodainly the Northren horsemen espied where all the great armie of the Frenche men were comming forwarde, and so reported to the Erle of Essex, that to Sir Iohn Pechy Lieutenaunt of the horsemen and speares and other Capitaines, which were in the place where the sayde Gonne was left with a hundred horsemen, which hearing thereof sent worde to Sir Rice, and he hearing thereof desired the Erle of Essex to come and to take grounde in that place where he was, which remooued in great haste: In the meane season by the diligent labor of the Lorde Barnes, the peece of Ordinaunce was raised and carted, and forth was it caryed, by thys tyme the Frenche armye appered in sight.

When the Erle of Essex saw the great number of the Frenchmen, in all haste he sent to the Lord Walon, wylling him with his companie to come to their ayde, the Lorde Walon sayde to the messenger, go tell your Capitayne that I come hether to serue the king of Englande more then one daye, and therefore I would all the English men would returne, for with the great power of Fraunce they be not able to fight, for I esteeme them. ix. or. x. thousand men at the least: with this aunswere the messenger departed and made relation to the Erle of Essex and other Capitaynes, which therewith were sore discontent: by this time the scowrers of the French part were come hard to the handes of the Englishe men: then began the light horsemen to skirmishe, there was folowyng and rescuing on both parties, and in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the whole battayle of the Frenchmen with standards, penons, and banners waueryng, and sumptuous bards, and riche harnesse glyttering, the men of armes in great number were in ranges along ready to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a man of great experience, sagely perceyued in what case the matter stood, saide to the Erle of Essex, sir we be not seuen hundred horsemen, let vs not be to folishe hardy, our commission was to fet the Gonne and none other, let vs folowe the same, the Erle agreed therto, and so softly and not in fliyng maner retreated and folowed the Gonne. The Frenchmen perceiuyng that, cryed all is ours, let vs followe, then pricked forward two thousand men of armes, and came iust to the backes of the Englishe men, then the Englishe men cryed Saint George, and cast themselfe about and made returne to the Frenche men, Sir William Tyler, and Sir Iohn Sharpe, were the first that charged and after all the other Englishe men, there was a dreadfull chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce fledde so fast, that glad was he that might be formost, the whole host seeyng their horsemen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great haste returned without any n[illegible] doyng. Then the Erle of Essex staled to an hill, and there caused his Trompet to blo[illegible] to the Standard for feare of subtyll dealyng: and when they were gathered together vn[illegible] array, he returned.

The. xxix. day of Iuly the king with his armye came to Arkus, and there embattailed himselfe in a strong grounde, and to hym came the Erle of Essex and the other Capitaines with the gonne, and made report of their aduenture, which thanked them hartily, and there he lay till Monday in which time came many noble men of Flaunders to visit him, and many of the common people came to se him.

Mundaye the first daye of August, the King remoued his campe to a village myddell way betwene Sainct Omers and Tyrwine, and there fell such a rayne that the ordinaunce coulde scarce be remoued, the erable grounde was so softe.

Thursedaie

Thursedaie the fourth daye of August, the king in good order of battaile came before the City of Tyrwyn and planted his siege in most warlike wise, his campe was enuironed with artillary, as Fawcons, serpentines, cast hagbushes, and tryed harowes, spien trestyles, and other warlicke defence for the sauegard of the campe. The king for himselfe had a house of timber with a chimney of Iron, and for his other lodginges he had great and goodlye tentes of blewe water worke garnished with yellow & white, & diuers romes within the same for all officers necessarie, on the top of the Pauilions stoode the kinges bestes holding fanes, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Greyhound, the Antelope, the Donne Kowe: within all the lodginge was poynted full of the sunnes rising, the lodging was a hundred. xxv. foote in length. Tyrwyn besieged.

The King liyng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaunce sore beate the towne walles, and they within likewise shot out of the towne ordinaunce, and slew diuers Englishmen in the trenches, among whych shottes they had one gonne that euery day and night was ordinarilie shotte at certaine howers without fayle: this gonne was of the Englishmen called the whistelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kinges field. The siege thus liyng before the Citie of Tyrwyn, Sir Alexander Baynam a Capitaine of the Miners, caused a myne to be enterprised to enter into the towne, but the Frenchmen perceyuing that, made a countermine and so destroyed the other mine, and diuers Miners slaine within the same. The French armie euer houed a farre to take the Englishmen at auantage as they went a forraging, and many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes achieued on both sides, and diuers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certayne lyght horsemen called Stradiotes, with short styrropes, beuer hattes, small speres, and swordes like Semiteries of Turkey: diuers times the Northen light horsemen vnder the conduite of sir Iohn Neuell skirmished with these stradiottes and tooke diuers of them prisoners, and brought them to the king.

While the Kyng laye thus before Tyrwyn, the Capitayne of Bullen knowyng by hys Espialles that manye of the garrison of Caleice were with the king at the siege, and also that daylie vittailes were brought out of Englande to Caleyce to succour the campe, imagined a great enterprice, and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honor they should obtayne if they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleice, the king of England being on that side the Sea. The men of warre perceyuing the good courage of the Capitayne, assented to his purpose, and so with al dilligence they to the number of a thousand men in the euening set forward, and came to Newnam bridge by three of the clocke in the mornyng and founde the Watchmen that kept the Bridge a sleepe, and so entred the Bulwarke and slewe the watchmen, and toke the ordinaunce of the Bridge and then let the Bridge fall, so that all entred that would. The Capitayne of Bulleyne kept sixt hundred men for a stale at the bridge, and sent the other into the marrishes and medowes where the cattel fed, and some of the french men came to Calice gate, and were ascried of the watche, and so rang *alarme:* the Englishe souldiours ranne to the walles, and saw the Frenchmen without the towne walles: then they knew that Newnam bridge was loste, and would haue issued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbot Deputie there, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Nowe it happened that without Calice gates were Richarde Hunnyng and Richard Bricks of the Caterie, and three or foure of the kings seruaunts which lay there to send prouisions to the hoste: which hering of this *alarme,* called to them the kings bakers, and cowpers and a fewe shipmen, which lay in the hauen, and courageously folowed the Frenchmen. The Englishe men were not past sixe score persons, and set on the Frenchmen as they were a forragyng or they might assemble together, and slue them downe right and toke no prisoners in maner, and so they came to Newnam bridge and toke it, & put the Frenchmen back. But or the English men had thus gathered themselues together, the French men had forraged all within the ryuer vp to saint Peters, and had driuen away the Cattell and the ordinance of Newnam bridge, and so passed till they came where the stale lay, and there they taried looking for

there company that were gone a forraging to Calice walles. About fue of the clock in the morning, the gate of Calice called Bulleyne gate was opened, and then issued out one Culpoper the vnder Marshall with two hundred Archers, wyth the Banner of Saint George, and with great haste came to Newnam bridge, where they founde the kings seruauntes, and the other that had wonne the bridge, and then they altogether marched towarde the Frenchmen which kept the stale. The frenchmen thought it had bene their awne company that had returned, tyll they sawe the banner of saint George, then they knew that their company were ouerthrowne, and that they must needes fight or dye. Then the Englishe men though they were the smaller number, valyauntly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last they were all discomfited, and. xxiiij. slayne and. xij. score taken prisoners and their ordinaunce and whole bootie recouered. These prisoners were brought to Calice, and there sold in open market: Among all other a Cowper of the towne of Calice bought a prisoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner a hundred Crownes for his raunsome, and when the money was paide, the Frenchman prayed the Cowper to see him safe deliuered and to conduite him out of daunger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of his friendes, all alone went with the french man till he came beyond the cawsey and there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiued that the Cowper was aged, and that no rescues were nie, by force toke the Cowper prisoner and carried him to Bulleyn, and made him pay two hundreth Crownes for his raunsome, thus through folly was the poore Cowper deceaued.

The folye of a Cowper.

The. xj. day of August beyng Thursday, the king lyyng at the siege of Tirwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian the Emperour was in the towne of Ayre. The king prepared all thinges necessary to meete with the Emperour in tryumph. The noble men of the kinges campe were gorgiously apparelled, their coursers barded of cloth of Golde, of Damaske and broderie, there apparell all Tissue, cloth of Gold and Siluer, and Goldsmithes worke, great Chaines of Bawdericks of gold, and Belles of Bullion, but in especial the Duke of Buckingham, he was in purple Satten, his apparel, & his bard full of Antelops and Swannes of fine golde Bullion & full of spangles, and little Belles of golde, marueylous costly & pleasant to beholde. The king was in a garment of great riches in Iewels, as pearles & stone, he was armed in a light armure, the mayster of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse the henxmen folowed bearyng the kings peeces of harnesse, euery one mounted on a great courser, the one bare the helme, the second his graūgard, the third his spere, the fourth his axe, and so euery one had something belonging to a man of armes: the apparell of the. ix. henxmen were whyte cloth of gold and crymsyn cloth of gold richly embrawdered w Goldsmithes worke, the trappers of the coursers were mantell harnesse coulpened, and in euery vent a long Bell of fine gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassell of fine gold in bulliō, which trappers were very rich. The king & the Emperor met betwene Ayre and the campe, in the fowlest weather that lightly hath bene sene. The Emperor gently entertayned the king, & the king likewise him, and after a litle communication had betwene them, because the weather was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperor and all his men were at that daye all in blacke cloth, for the Empresse his wife was lately deseased. After that the king was thus returned to his campe, within a day or twain there arriued in the army a king at armes of Scotland called Lion with his coat of armes on his back and desired to speake with the king, who within short time was by Garter chiefe king at armes brought to the kinges presence, where he beyng almost dismayed seyng the king so nobly accompanied, with few wordes, & meetely good reuerence, deliuered a letter of defiaunce to ỹ king, which receyued the letter & red it himselfe, & when he had red it, without any more delay he himselfe answered after this sort. Now we perceyue the king of Scots our brother in law & your maister to be the same person whom we euer toke him to be, for we neuer estemed him to be of any truth and

A letter of defiaunce sent by the king of Scottes to King Henry the eyght.

so

so now we haue found it, for notwithstanding his othe, his promise in the word of a king, & his awne hand & seale, yet now he hath broken his fayth & promise to his great dishonor and infamie for euer, and intendeth to inuade our realme in our absence, which he durst not once attempt our person beyng present. Therefore tell thy maister, first that that he shal neuer be cõprised in any league wherin I am a confederate; & also that I suspecting his truth (as nowe the deede proueth) haue left an Erle in my realme at home, which shall be able to defende him and all hys power, for we haue prouided so, that he shall not finde our lande destitute of people as he thinketh to doe: but thus say to thy mayster, that I am the verie owner of Scotlande, and that he holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much as now contrarie to his bounden duetie he being my vassall, doth rebell against me, with Gods helpe I shall at my returne expulse him hys realme, and so tell him. Sir sayde the king of Armes, I am his naturall subiect, and he my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to saye, I may boldly say with fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not, nor dare not saye to my souereigne Lorde, but your letters maye with your honor sent declare your pleasure, for I may not say such wordes of reproche to him whome I owe onely my allegeaunce and faith. Then sayde the king, wherefore came you hether, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Lyon, your aunswere requireth doing, that is, that immediatly you should returne home: well sayd the king I will returne to your domage at my pleasure, and not at thy maisters somonyng. Then the king commaunded Garter to take hym to his Tent and make hym good cheere. And foorthwith King Henry wrote to him an aunswere with verie sharpe and grieuous wordes reprouing his vntruth.

After the defiaunce declared by the king of Scottes herauld, the king of Englande wrote to the Queene and other which he had left behinde of hys counsaile, to prepare in all hast for the defence of the sayde king of Scottes, which did so with great diligence as you shall heare hereafter. While the kyng lay thus at siege before Turwyn, the Frenchmen studied all the wayes possible to vittail the Towne of Turwyn, & imagined in a night by some way to conuey vittayle to the Towne: wherefore euerie day they sent their Stradiates to espie by which way they might take their most auantage, and many times the English horsemen met with the Stradiates & slue diuers of them.

The Frenche king would in any wise that the king of England shoulde be fought with all, wherefore he sent the Duke of Vandosme, The Duke of Longuile with diuers other valiaunt Capytaynes of Blangeoy. Then was there a conclusion taken that the Duke of Alanson shoulde with fiue thousande men fight with the Erle of Shrewesburie, or else to keepe that neyther he neyther the Lord Harbert should ayde or come to the kinges battayle, and with the king should skirmish the Duke of Vandosme and Longuile, while in the meane season the cariages with vittayle might enter the towne. For accomplishing of this enterprise, the Frenchmen made great purueyaunce and all on horsebacke, this was not so secretely concluded, but the king of Englande had an inckeling thereof, and sent worde to the Emperour which lay at Ayre and knewe nothyng of this deuice: and desired him to come to the Campe to haue his aduise, which gladly aunswered that he would come the morrowe after. The king continuallye sent forth his light horses to seke the countrie and to see if any apparaunce were, and they euer brought tydinges of such thing as they saw, so that alwayes it was foreseene that the kyng nor hys people should be taken vnpurueyed, nor the Frenchmen should not come on them sodainly vnaskryed.

Maximilian the Emperour was reteyned by king Henry the eygh as his souldioure.

While these thinges were thus in communication, the Emperour Maximilian and all his seruauntes which were retayned with the king of England in wages by the day, euery person according to his degre, and the Emperour as the kinges Souldiour ware a Crosse of saint George with a Rose, and so he and all his trayne came to the kinges campe the. xiij. daye of August beyng Fryday, and there was receyued wyth great magnificence and brought to a Tent of cloth of Golde all ready apparailed according to his estate, for all the tent within was seeled with cloth of Gold and blew veluet, and all the veluet was em-

brodered with. H. K. of fine Golde, and his Cupboorde was richely furnished, and officers appoynted to geue on him attendaunce: and there he taried till Sunday, and from thence he went againe to Ayre for hys pleasure. The king and his Counsaile were enformed by their espyalles, and also it was confessed by certaine prisoners, howe the French army which lay at Blangeoy entended to vittaile the Citie of Tirwyn. Wherfore on Fryday at night the. xiij. day of August, the Duke of Buckingham, the Erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the Lorde of Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby, and diuers other Gentlemen, with sixe thousand men on foote, and the Lord Walon, and the Lorde Ligny with their horsemen, were layd at Gingate on the Southsyde of Tirwyn, where they were all night in order of battaile, awaityng the rescue of the Citie, but the English men were ascryed, and so the French men brake their purpose for that time: and so the Duke of Buckingham and his companyons returned to the campe. Monday the. xvj. day of August by infortune, without any cause knowen there fell a great debate betwene the Almaynes of the kinges fielde, and the Englishe men, insomuch that they fell to fightyng, and many men slaine, the Almaynes sodainly ran to the kinges ordinaunce and tooke it, and embattayled themselues, and bent the ordinaunce agaynst the king and his campe. The Englishe men were greatly vnquieted with this matter: insomuch that the Archers set forwarde to haue ioyned wyth the Almaynes, and they likewise prepared their Pykes, but the Capitaynes tooke suche paine that the fraye was appeased, and all thinges done for that tyme, but as this commocion was in trouble, the Emperour came from Ayre, and sawe all the demeanor of both parties, and was glad to see the discrete handlyng of the Capitaynes. After the Emperor was come to the kinges field, the king called the Emperour and all the Lordes of his Counsail together, asserteinyng them that he was credibly informed that the Frenchemen entended to rescue the Citie of Tirwyn: wherefore it was agreed that the mayster of the ordinaunce should in haste make fiue Bridges ouer the water, for the army to passe ouer, to the entent to besiege the Citie on that syde: the Carpenters did so theyr deuer that night, so that by day all the Bridges were made, so that all the horsemen passed ouer and ascryed the Countrie. On Tuesday the. xvij. day of August, the king raysed his campe, and with great ordinaunce, and all other artillarie and cariage he passed the ryuer, and to him came sir Iohn Neuell with his light horsemen, and tolde him that behinde the Tower of Gyngate was a great plumpe of horsemen. In the meane season, as Sir Iohn Neuell tolde the King these tidynges, by another waye was the Erle of Essex, sir Iohn Peche, and the kinges Speres passed and skirmished with the plumpe of Speres that Sir Iohn spake of, and there were many profers made on both sydes, but in conclusion the French men were compelled to leaue their stale and one horseman taken and sent to the king, which in hope of pardon of his raunsome, shewed howe that the Frenche armie with their full power and strength were commyng from Blangeoy the number of fiftene thousand horsemen of armes to ayde Tirwyn on ỳ syde of the water. And to the entent that the army of the Lord Stuarde, and the Lord Chamberleyne should not ayde the king, there were appoynted fiue thousand of the. xv. thousande horsemen on the other syde of the water.

As these tidynges was tolde, came one from Sir Rice, and sayde that a prisoner that he had that day taken cõfessed that the City should be rescued the same daye, & that he had ascried a number of horsmen to his iudgement vpon the poynt of sixe thousand. Then sodainlye came the Northren men which affirmed that they had seene the Frenche armie in order of battaile commyng forwarde, but they iudged them not past. xij. thousand men. Then the kinges field was pitched, and the ordinaunce set, but some counsayled the king to take downe his Tentes, but the king sayd I will this day that my fielde be made and set in as royall wyse as may be, and all my riche Tentes set vp, which was done. Then the king called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded him to keepe his fielde, treasure, ordinaunce, and other stuffe, which was loth to go from his maister but by strait commaundement. Then euery man prepared himselfe to battail resortyng to the Standard,

the

the horsmen marched before the footemen by the space of a myle, still came currours beryng tidyngs that the Frenche army approched. The king had set forward and to aduaunce his Banner in the name of God and Saint George. The Almaynes seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodainly embattayled themselues on the left hand of the king, & left the breast or front of the kinges battaile bare. As the king was thus marchyng forward toward the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with. xxx. men of armes, he and all his companie armed in one sute with red Crosses: Then by the counsaile of the Emperour the king caused certain peeces of small ordinance to be layde on the top of a long hill or banke for the out scowrers: Thus the kinges horsemen and a fewe Archers on horsebacke marched forward. The King woulde faine haue beene afore with the horsemen, but his Counsaile perswaded him the contrary, and so he taryed with the footemen accompanied with the Emperour.

The Frenchmen came on in three ranges. xxxvj. mens thicknesse and well they perceyued the kynges battayle of footemen marching forwarde: the Erle of Essex Capitayne of the horsemen, and Syr Iohn Peche with the kinges horsemen and the Burgonions to the number of a. xj. hundreth stode with banner displayed in a valley. The Lorde Wallon and the Lorde Ligny wyth bastard Emery and their bende to the number of foure hundred horsemen seuered themselues and stode asyde from the Englishmen: so then the English men were but seuen hundred, yet they with banner displayde remoued vp to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with syr Iohn Gylford a hundred talle Archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchmen. Nowe on the toppe of the hill was a faire plaine of good ground, on the left hand a lowe wood, and on the right hand a falowe field. The Lorde Wallon and the Burgonions kept them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standards displayed. Then came to the Capitaynes of the Englishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenseux and sayd in Gods name set forwarde, for the victorie is youres for I see by them they wyll not abyde, and I will goe wyth you in my coate of Armes. Then the horsemen set forwarde, and the Archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all along a Village side called Bomye: the Frenchmen came on with. xxxiij. standardes displayed, and the Archers shotte a pace and galled their horses, and the English speres set on freshly, criyng saint George, and fought valiauntlye with the Frenchmen and threw downe their standarde, the dust was great and the cry more, but sodaynly the Frenchmen shocked to their standard and fled, and threw away their speres, swordes, and mases and cut of the bards of their horses to run the lighter, when the hinder part saw the former part flye, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the English horsemen mounted vp the hyll, the stradiates were comming downewardes on the one side of the hill before the French hoste, which sodainely saw the banners of the Englishe horsemen, and the kinges battaile following vpwarde, thinkyng to them that all had bene horsemen, then they cast themselues about and fled, the Frenchmen were so fast in array that the Stradiates could haue none entrie, & so they ran stil by the endes of the ranges of the French army: and when they behind saw the fall of the standardes and their Stradiates in whome they had great confidence returne, they that were farthest of fled first, then vp prauncedthe Burgonyons and folowed the chace: this battayle was of horsemen to horsemen, but not in egall number, for the Frenchemen were ten to one, which had not bene seene before tyme, that the Englishe horsemen gate the victorie of the men of armes of Fraunce. The French men call this battaile the iourney of Spurres, because they ranne away so fast on horsebacke. This battaile was the. xvj. day of August, in the which battaile was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Erle of Dunoys, which had maryed the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the Lorde Cleremounde, and many other noble men, to the number of xij. score, and all brought to the kinges presence, and likewise all the standerds and banners, were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame went that *Mounsire de la Palayce* was by them taken and let go. The Englishemen folowed the chase

The iourney of Spurres.

chase three mile long from the fielde to a water in a valley, and there a Frenchman sayde to sir Gyles Capell, that one day they would haue a day. which answered him againe in French that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so the Englishemen returned to the king, which was commyng forwarde, who gaue them thanks with great praysings for their valiauntnesse, and there he made Sir Iohn Peche Bannaret, and made Iohn Car knight, which was sore hurt, and sir Iohn Peche had his guydehome taken, and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the king retreated to Gingate, to whome came Sir Rice, and shewed him howe hote the Frenchmen had skirmished wyth hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and howe the Erle of Shrewesbury with Banner displayed was all day prest in order of battaile to haue fought with the Duke of Alanson, and the Erle of Saint Poll, and the Lord Florenges, which with fiue thousand men as you haue heard were appoynted to rescue the towne on that syde where the Lord of Shrewsbury lay, and to let him to come to ayde the king, but howe soeuer that it happened they stoode still and came not downe, but onely skirmished with sir Rice: the Citie of Tirwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they sawe their helpers comming nere, they the same day prowdely issued out on the Lord Harbart, and skirmished with his people very valiauntly, and they within also shot out ordinaunce of all partes. The Lorde Harbert and his Capitaynes couragiously defended them, and so sore they set on the French men, that they draue them by force to their gates for all their succours, and many of them were slaine: this night the king sent for the Duke of Longuile, and the Lord Cleremounde, and diuers other noble men, and the Duke supped at the kinges boorde that night.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy. xij. mile from the coste and there talked of their losses, and because they knew not who were taken, and who were slaine, therefore they sent an Herault to the King to knowe the number of prisoners, the kings counsayle according to their desire sent to them the names. The king beyng assertayned that the French kinges purpose was yet agayne to geue him battayle, commaunded the best of the prisoners should be conueyed to the towne of Ayre in Flaunders: but when the English men had brought them thether, the Capitayne denied that the Englishe men should enter the towne with prisoners of Fraunce, with whom he & his Countrie had peace: but if the Frenchmen would desire lodging for their ease, they should be permitted to enter. But the Englishe men in a furie aunswered, that if you will not suffer vs to keepe our prisoners, we will slay them: then the frenchmen meekely prayed the Capitayne to suffer the English men to enter, and sware to their keepers to be true prisoners, and so they entered, and after were conueyed into England. The Lorde Powntremy of the house of Bresquy Capitayne generall of Tyrwyn perceyued the discomfiture of the Frenche partie, and perceyued how the Erle of Shrewsburie and the Lord Harbert had brought thether great ordinaunce so nere the towne, that neerer it could not be brought, and that in the walles was such batterie that it was not like to continue, yet he manfully defended the Citie and shot Gonnes euery day as he was accustomed and neuer was in dispaire, till the. xviij. daye of the sayde moneth, he saw the king remoue his Campe from Gyngate and layde his Campe on the South side of the towne betweene their rescue and the towne: then when he sawe this, and considered that his succours were put back, and that the towne was sore feebled, and that the kings greatest ordynance was bent agaynst the towne, he therefore by the aduise of other Capitaynes sent to the Erle of Shrewesburie and the Lord Harbert a Trumpet, desiring abstinence of warre for a day, they incontinent sent to the king to knowe his pleasure, the king aunswered that he would not graunt till he knewe the consideration: then the Capitaine sent worde that with safeconduyte he would come and speake with the kings counsayle, which to him was graunted, then he sent certaine Commissioners which offered to delyuer the towne with all the ordinaunce and munitions without anye fraude, so that the townes men that would there dwell might haue life and goodes safe, and that the men of warre might depart with horse and harnesse, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse

and

and harnesse was of little valure to so great a prince. After that the king and his counsaile had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners, that although the king knewe their penurie of vittayle and the dayly mortalitie among them, and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resist, yet because they asked mercie he would not extend rigor, and graunted their request: so that they delyuered the towne with all the ordynance, as they had promised, to the which all they were sworne, and so returned. And the same night the Erle of Shrewsburie entred the towne and had the walles and towres and the Banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victorie, and the Lord Powtremy with all the garrison departed with horse and harnesse according to the appointment. Then the Lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie, with three hundred men serched the towne for feare of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he sawe all thing sure, he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be true to the king of England. When all this was done, the king on the. xxiiij. day of August entred into the Citie of Tyrwyn at. ix. of the clock before noone with great triumph and honour, his person was appareled in armure guylt and grauen, his garment and barde purple Veluet full of borders, & in all places trauersed wyth braunches in runnyng worke of fyne Golde, the braunches were of hawthorne wrought by Goldsmithes craft, wound with a braunche of Roses, and euery flower, leafe, and Burie, were enbossed: after whom folowed his Henxmen with the pieces of armure accustomed. Thus with great glorie this goodly Prince entered and tooke possession of the towne of Tyrwyn, and was receaued at the Cathedrall Church with procession, and there dyned in the Byshops palace, and at after noone returned to his Campe leauing in the towne the Erle of Shreswesburie with his retinue. The. xxvj. day of August the king remooued agayne to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarkes and towres of Tyrwyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe: of which conclusion the Emperour sent worde to saint Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng ioyous of that tydings (for Tyrwyn was to them a scourge) sent thether Pyoners with all maner of instruments, and so they and the Englishe Pyoner brake downe the walles, gates, and towres of the foundation, and filled the diches and fired the towne, except the Cathedral Church and the Palace, and all the ordinaunce was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to hys vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should lay his siege to the Citie or towne of Turney wherfore he set forward three goodly battayles, the first was conduyted by the Erle o Shrewesburie, the seconde battayle the king led himselfe with whome was the Emperour The rerewarde was conduyted by the Lorde Harbert: and so the first night they lay i Campe beside Ayre, which night vitayle was scant, diuers English men taried in Tyrwyn when the king was past for pillage, and fired certaine houses, on whom came sodainly the French Stradiates, and some they slue, and some they cast into the fire, they that fled scaped narrowly.

The Citie of Tyrwyn yeelded to King Henry.

King Henry the eight entreth into Tirwin.

Tirwyn burned.

Wednesday the. xiiij. day of September the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plentie of all thinges, and on the morow he with his army passed forwarde and came to a straite, where was a foorde and all the cariages must nedes come downe a stepe hill to the foord and so to the streyt where as one Wagon scarce alone night passe and the weather was hot, and the beastes had not dronke all daye: wherfore at the foord the horses would drinke mauger their leaders, and so the cariages went not all whole together which was a doubtfull case, but yet by wise order they passed the strayt, and so did the armie, and came to a place betweene Cauon and Cambline, and there lodged that night in a plaine barrein grounde, and the next day he remoued his Campe, and the forewarde passed a bridge called pount Auandien into Flaunders syde, and there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys side, and the rerewarde lay in a fayre ground behinde the king.

Saterday the. xvij. day of September, tidynges came to the king how the Frenchemen had assembled a great puyssaunce, and would fight with the king, wherefore the king

caused his foreward to remoue farther, and sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage. Then the great ordinaunce passed the bridge of pount Auandien, and the king was remoued from thence, and as his tents were taking vp, an ascrye was made that the enemyes were in sight, which noyse was sodainly seased, & sir William Sandes with seuen hundred Englishemen and straungers was appoynted to keepe the Bridge, and certaine ordinaunce was to him appoynted.

When the king and all the cariages were passed, then the Lord Harbert remoued ouer the Bridge, and encamped him behinde the king by a fayre Hyll, when the king was encamped and all thinges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the Lorde Rauesten, which after hys humble reuerence done, shewed the king that the yong Prince of Castell Charles, and the Ladie Margaret gouernesse of the sayde Prince, most hartily desired him for his pastyme after his long trauaile, to come and repose in his towne of Lisle, and to see his brother the Prince, and the Ladyes of the Court of Burgoin, saiyng that it became not Ladies to visit him in his martiall campe, which to them was terrible. The king gently graunted hys request, and then he sent his officers thether to make prouision, and appoynted the Duke of Buckingham, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Essex, and the Lorde Lisle, and dyuers other to geue their attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsaile. Then he mounted on a Courser, hys apparell and barde were cloth of siluer of small quadrant cuttes, trauersed and edged with cut cloth of golde, and the border set full of red Roses, his armure freshe and set full of Iewelles, the Mayster of his horse Sir Henrye Guilforde, and the Henxmen folowed as you haue heard before, and the Coursers richely apparayled, and so were many Capitaines that wayted on the king: by the way met the king, the Lord Rauesten with many noble men, and a myle without the towne, there met with him the Burgesses of Lisle, and presented to him the keyes of the towne, saiyng, that the Emperor their souereigne Lorde had so commaunded them to do. The king praysed their obedience to their souereigne, and thanked the Emperour and them for so high a present as the keyes of such a towne. Neuerthelesse he had such confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then his awne subiectes, and so deliuered the keyes to the Prouost of the towne which was well accompanied: then met the king a great number of Nobles of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Henawde, which nobly receyued him. After them came the Countie Palatine, or Paulsgraue, one of the electours of the Emperor, with. xxx. horses, all his men gorgiously apparayled after the fassion of his Countrie, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the Capitaine of the towne stood with a garrison in armure well appointed, all the streetes were set on both sydes with burnyng Torches and diuers goodly Pagiants pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thorowe the towne with his sworde and maces borne before him, and alighted at the hall doore with his sworde borne, where met with him the Emperour, the Prince of Castell, and the Ladye Margaret, and humbly saluted him: Then for reuerence of the Emperour, the King caused his sworde to be put vp and his Maces to be layde downe, then was the King and all other Nobles lodged and feasted accordyng to their degrees.

In the towne of Lisle was a noyse that three Gonners with Handgonnes should haue slaine the king: For which rumor many were attached, but nothing proued, but when this tidynges came to the campe they were neuer mery till they sawe the king againe, great was the cheere with Bankettes, Playes, Commodies, Maskes and other pastymes, that was shewed to the king in the Court of Burgoyn, and so in solace he soiourned there Sunday, and Munday, the. xix. day of September: the. xx. day he sent worde that his armie should remooue toward Tournay, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betweene Tournay and Lisle, and certaine Capitaynes were appoynted to kepe the passage at the Bridge of Auandien.

After that the king had taryed at Lisle three dayes, and had well reposed himselfe, he toke his leaue and thanked the Emperour, & the yong Prince and the Ladie Margaret, & al

al the Ladyes, of al his high chere and solace, & about sixe of the Clock at night, he departed out of Lisle, and the noble men brought the king foorth and so returned, and then the Capitayne shut the Gates.

When the king was a myle and more out of the towne, he asked where his campe lay? and no man there could tell the way, and guide had they none, the night was darke and mistie: thus the king taryed a long while and wist not whether to go, at last they met with a vittayler comming from the campe, which was their guyde and brought them thether. The maister of the ordinaunce shot diuers pieces of ordinaunce but they were not heard, but in safetie the king with all his company returned.

The. xxj. day of September the king remoued his campe toward Tournay, and lodged within three myles of the Citie, on a corne ground by the ryuer. The which night came to the king the Emperour, and the Paulsgraue, which were lodged in riche Tentes, and noblye serued of all vyandes and thinges necessary. The people about Tournay were with their goodes fled to the Citie, and yet the Citie had no men of warre to defende it, but wyth multitude of Inhabitauntes the Citye was well replenished, the King commaunded Sir Rice and his horsemen to vewe one quarter, and the Erle of Essex and his companie another quarter, and the Lorde Walowne and the Lorde Ligny the other quarters: so the. xxij. daye of September these foure Capitaines at one time were seene openly with banners displayed before the towne, and there made a long stale and returned. The king sent Gartier king of armes, and a Pursiuant of armes wyth a Trumpett to sommon the City, which declared that the king of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yeeld to him his Citie and to receaue him as their naturall Lorde, or he would put them and their Citie to sworde, fyre and bloud. To whome they prowdely aunswered, that they tooke no Citie of him to keepe, nor none would they render, with which aunswere he departed. Then they fortefied their walles, and made prouision for vitaile, corne, wyne, and artilarie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the Citie of it selfe was strong, well walled, and turryted with good Bulwarkes and defences: But when they sawe the king with such a puyssaunce draw neere their City, they were sore abashed, and called for a generall counsayle: then the Prouost sayde, brethren you knowe how that the king of Englande sent an Heraulde to sommon vs to render to him this Citie, or else he would put it and vs to the sworde, fire, and bloud, we aunswered we would be at defence: nowe he is come in our sight to fulfill the message sent by his Heraulde, and nowe is come the time of our defence, and in this matter standeth three mischiefes, one is our bounden duetie and allegeaunce that we owe to our souereigne Lorde king Loys of Fraunce, the seconde the lyues of vs, our wyues, children and neighbours, the thirde how to defend the finall destruction of this auncient Citie, which is lykely to fall, which Citie was neuer conquered, and now our Citie is whole (your lyues in safetie, your goodes your awne) determine whether you will haue warre or peace. Then the common people eryed all warre, warre, warre, then sayde the Prouost take compassion of wyues and children and of the olde folke, consider if you haue no quick rescue, you cannot continue against yonder puyssaunce, although your courages were as good as Hectors or Achilles, this the wisest of the Citie & I haue considered. Then sodainely was there in the counsaile a vauntparler, a botcher which hearing this, called a great number of his affinity & went out of the counsayle, and so out of the gates and set fire of the suburbes on all sides. When the counsayle sawe the mindes of the commons and that their wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and maintayned them for their defence. The king raysed his campe and came in array of battayle before Tournay, the Erle of Sbrewesburie with the forewarde was a litle space on the right hande brest with the kings battayle, and the Lorde Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke maner, the daye was fayre and the harnesse glistered and banners waued, that they of the Citie was sore affrayde: thus stoode the kinges battailes in arraye before Tournay. Then the king commaunded his great ordinaunce to be caryed in the waye passyng towarde the citie,

King Henry besiegeth the Citie of Tournay.

and so euery thing according to his commaundement was accomplished. Then the king himselfe with a fewe persons rode betweene his ordinaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so neere the walles, that he might vewe the walles and the towers verie well: they shot out of their towres peeces of ordinaunce and hurt suche as came wythin their leauell. Then they rong the *alarme* Bell, which was hearde well in the fielde. Then the Cityzens issued oute at the gate by the ryuer and manfully proffered to skirmishe, but they with archers were sone driuen back to their gates. The Englishe cariers that came with the hacbushers to take ground, ranne to the gates of Tournay, and toke certayne Wagons with beere and vitayle, and yet the Turnoyes durst not resist, although they were in greater number then the men of cariage. In this skirmishe the horse of the Lorde Iohn Gray brother to the Marques Dorset, which went to defende the Cariours was slayne with a Gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in ieopardie auentured himselfe and vewed the towne, he caused immediatly. xxj. peeces of great artillerie to be brought in a plaine field before the towne, and when they were charged, they were immediatly shot, and the most part of the stones fell within the Citie, and so they shot dyuers shots one after another.

Then the King with all hys battayle planted his siege on the Northe part of the Citie: the Erle of Shrewesburie with his battayle warded towarde the southside of the ryuer and there lay that night. The Lorde Harbert with the rereward planted his battayle on the West side of the City, and with great ordinaunce daylie bet the walles and towres of the City. On the morowe beyng the. xxiij. day: the Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesburie accompanied with the noble men of his battayle whose names you haue heard at his first passyng the sea, passed ouer the ryuer of Tournay, and planted his siege on the Southside stretching to the East ende of the Citie, and bent his artillerie against the walles of the Citie. Thus was the Citie of Tournay besieged on all partes, and euer in hope of rescue valyauntly defended her selfe.

Nowe must I leaue the Kyng at the siege of Tournay, and diuert to thinges done in England in his absence, and declare how the king of Scots inuaded the realme of England, and how he was defended and fought withall, and in conclusion slayne the seuenth day of this moneth of September.

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde was appointed in the kinges absence to prouide to withstande the malice of the deceitfull Scottes.

When the kyng of Englande was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the sea, in proper person for the recouerie of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaile forgate not the olde prankes of the Scottes which is euer to inuade the realme when the king is out of the realme: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in Zelande the Scottes dayly shipped long speres called Colleyne Clowystes, armour and artillerye, whych dealing made his grace and his counsaile to doubt: notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the Sacrament to kepe the peace, yet for voyding all doubtes, the king appoynted the Lorde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey sonne to the Lord Iohn Hawarde Duke of Norffolke and high Tresorer and Marshall of England, to be his Lieutenant in the North partes against the sayd king of Scottes, if he fortuned to inuade (as he did in dede) according to the olde Traytorous accustome of his Progenitors, and that the sayde Erle should rayse the powers of the countrie of Chesshire, Lancasshire, Northumberland, Westmerland, & Comberland, besides other ayd, to be appointed by the Queene. And when the king should take shipping at Douer he tooke the Erle by the hande, and saide, my Lorde I trust not the Scots, therfore I pray you be not negligent, then sayd the Erle I shal so do my duety, that your grace shall finde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shall be my gladnesse. After the departure of the Kyng, the Queene returned to London, and the Erle of Surrey attended vpon her, and shortely sent for his Gentelmen and Tenauntes, which were fiue hundred able men, which mustered before Sir Thomas Louell knight, the. xxj. day of Iuly, and the. xxij. day he rode through London northward, and came to Doncaster, and there commaunded Syr William Bulmer knight to make haste to the Marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the Castels and Fortresses on the Frontiers with two hundred Archers

on horsebacke: For the Erle by open tokens daylye perceyued that the Scots entended warre. Then the sayd syr William with all spede departed and came to the Borders, and the Erle came to Pomfret, the first day of August, & there taried. After that syr William Bulmer was come to the Borders, one day in August, the Lord Chamberlayne and Warden of Scotlande with seuen or eyght thousand men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent and haryed a great praye in Northumberland: that hering, Sir William Bulmer called to hym the Gentelmen of the borders wyth his Archers, and all they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought themselues into a Brome field, called Mylfield, where ỹ Scots should passe. And as the Scots proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake out, and the Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the Archers shotte so wholy together, that they made the Scottes geue place, and fiue or syx hundred of them were slaine, and foure hundred and more taken Prisoners, & the praye rescued beside a great number of Geldinges that were taken in the countrye, and the Lord Hume, Lord Chamberlayne fled, and his banner taken. This was the first open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, which called this iourney the ill Roade.

The Erle of Surrey beyng at Pomfrete, called to him the most part of the Gentlemen of the Coũties to him appoynted as is before rehersed, declaring to them the kinges high commaundement, shewing them, that he beyng there the kinges Lieutenaunt must nedes haue ayde and counsaile: Wherefore he sware the most wisest and expert Gentelmen in such causes of the kinges counsail and his for that time, for the better complishing of his charge and purpose, and for to bring euery thing in due order: Fyrst they tooke a determination wyth syr Philip Tilney knyght, Treasurer of the warres, how the charges should be payed, and secondarily with syr Nicholas Applyard, Maister of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the kynges royall ordynaunce, pouder, and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case should require, which syr Nicholas by William Blacknall Clercke of the kinges spycerie, sent the sayd ordinaunce and artillerye to Durham before, so that all thinges, concerning that office were in a redinesse. The Erle forgat not to send to all Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, knightes, Gentelmen, or other which had Tenauntes, or were Rulers of Townes or liberties (able to make men) to certefie what number of hable men horsed and harnessed, they were able to make with in an howers warning, and to geue their attendaunce on hym, and also he layed Postes euery way, which Postes stretched to the Marches of Wales to the counsayle there, by reason whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euerye coast.

The Erle was informed by the Lorde Dacers, of the numbring and preparing of men in Scotland, and proclamations sounding to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Road made by the Lord Chamberlaine of Scotland into England, being distrussed by syr William Bulmer as is afore rehersed, was an open brech of the perpetuall peace: yet the sayd Lorde Dacers auised the Erle for many and wayghtie causes, not to raise or styrre the powers of the country, to him appointed, till he might perceiue and openly knowe the subtyll purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesayd, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishmen redie to fight, they would haue desisted of their purpose for that time, tyll the Englishmen were returned to their countries, and then sodaynely to rise agayne.

Then the Erle knowing that the towne of Barwick was strong ynough, sent to the Capitaine of Norham, certefiyng him that if he thought the Castell in any daunger or debilitie, he woulde put hymselfe in a redinesse to rescue it, if it were besieged, the Capitaine wrote to the Erle, thanking him and prayed God that the king of Scottes would come with his puyssaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the time that the king of Englande came out of Fraunce to rescue it, which aunswer reioysed the Erle much.

After the Kyng of Scottes had sent hys defiaunce to the kyng of Englande, liyng before Tyrwyn, as you haue heard, he daylye made hys musters, and assembled hys people

ouer

ouer all his realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred M. but for a suerty they were an hundred thousand good fighting men at the lest, & wyth all his host and power entered into Englande (and threw downe Pyles) the two and twentie day of August, and planted his siege before the Castell of Norham, & sore abated the walles. The Erle hard tidinges thereof the fiue and twentie daye of August.

Then he wrote to all the Gentelmen of the shiers aforesayd, to be with him at Newcastell, the first daye of September next with all their retinewe according to the certificat. On the morrow, he with his fiue hundred men came to Yorke, and the. xxvj. daye he went towarde Newcastell, and notwithstanding that he had the fowlest daye and night that coulde be, and the wayes so deepe, in so much that his guide was almost drowned before him, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iourney to geue example to them that should folow. He being at Durham was aduertised how the king of Scots with his great ordinaunce had rased the Walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made three great assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valiauntly defended him, but he spent vainely so much of his ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes, and other munitions that at the last he lacked, and so was at the sixt day compelled to yeld him simply to ỹ kings mercy. This Castell was thought impregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scots by the vndiscrete spendyng of the Capitaine, toke it in sixe dayes: this chaūce was more sorowfull to the Erle then to the Bishop, owner of the same. All that night the winde blewe couragiously, wherefore the Erle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde his sonne great Admirall of England should perish that night on the sea, who promised to land at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompanie his father, which promise he accomplished.

The Erle the. xxx. day of August came to Newcastell: thither came the Lorde Dacres, Sir William Bulmer, sir Marmaduke Constable, and many other substanciall gentlemen, whome he retayned with him as Counsaylors, and there determined that on Sunday next ensuyng, he would take the fielde at Bolton in Glendale, and because manye Souldiours were repayring to him, he left Newcastel to ỹ entent that they that folowed should haue there more rowme, and came to Alnewicke the thirde day of September, and because hys Souldiours were not come, by reason of the foule way he was faine to tarye there all the fourth day beyng Sunday, which day came to him the Lorde Admirall his sonne, with a companie of valiaunt Capytaynes and able Souldiours and Marinars, which all came from the Sea, the commyng of him much reioyced his father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of great credence and experience. Then the Erle and his Counsail with great deliberation appoynted his battayles in order with winges and wyth Ryders necessary.

The order of the battaile made by the Erle of Surrey in the absence of king Henrie agaynst Iames king of Scottes.

First, of the forewarde was Capitaine the Lorde Haward, Admirall of England, with such as came from the sea, and with him Sir Nicholas Appleyarde, sir Stephen Bull, sir Henry Shereburne, sir William Sidney, sir Edward Echyngham, the Lorde Clifforde, the Lorde Conyers, the Lorde Latimer, the Lorde Scrope of Vpsaile, the Lorde Egle, the Lord Lomley, sir William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprike of Durham, sir William Gascoyne, sir Christopher Warde, sir Iohn Eucryngham, sir Thomas Metham, sir Water Griffith, and many other.

Of the wing on the right hande of the forewarde, was Capitaine Sir Edmond Haward knight Marshall of the hoste, and with him Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Iohn Laurence, Richard Bolde Esquiers, and syr Iohn Bothe, sir Thomas Butler knightes, Richard Donne, Iohn Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Iohn Claruys, Bryan Stapleton, Robert Warcop, Richard Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the Kings tenauntes of Hatfielde, and other.

Of the wing of the left hande, was Capitaine, sir Marmaduke Constable with his sonnes, and kinnesmen, sir William Percy, and of Lancashire a thousand men.

Of the rereward was Capitain the Erle of Surrey himselfe, and with him the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Tylney, sir George Darcy, syr Thomas Barkebey, sir Iohn Rocliffe,

Rocliffe, sir Christopher Pikeryng, Richarde Tempest, sir Iohn Stanley with the Bishop of Elyes seruauntes, sir Brian Stapulton, Lionell Percy, with the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Christopher Clapham, sir William Gascoine the yonger, sir Guy Dawney, maister Magnus, maister Dalbyes seruauntes, sir Iohn Normauile, the Citizens of Yorke, sir Ninian Markanuile, sir Iohn Willoughby with other.

Of the wing on the right hande in the rerewarde was Capitaine, the Lorde Dacres with his power.

On the left hande wing in the rerewarde, was sir Edwarde Stanley knight, with the residue of the power of ŷ County Palantine & of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted, and knewe what to do: The Erle and his Counsaile concluded and determined among other thinges, to sende Rouge Crosse, Pursiuaunt of armes with a Trompet to the King of Scots, with certaine instructions, and willed him to shewe the sayd king, that where he contrarie to his othe and league, and vnnaturally agaynst all reason and conscience hath entered and inuaded this his brothers Realme of England, and done great hurt to the same, in castyng downe Castelles, Towers, and houses, brennyng, spoylyng and destroyng the same, and cruelly murtheryng the kyng of Englande his brothers subiectes. Wherefore he the sayde Erle will be redie to trie the rightfulnesse of the matter with the king in battaile by Friday next commyng at the farthest, if he of his noble courage will geue him tariyng, and abode: And the same the sayd Erle promiseth as he is true knight to God, and the king of England his maister. And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the sayde instructions, the sayde Lord Admirall gaue him in credence to shew the sayde king of his commyng, and part of his companie on the sea with him: and that he had sought the Scottishe nauye then beyng on the sea, but he coulde not meete with them, because they were fled into Fraunce, by the coast of Irelande. And in asmuch as the sayde King had dyuers and manye times caused the sayde Lorde, to bee called at dayes of truce, to make redresse for Andrewe Barton, a Pyrate of the Sea, long before that vanquished by the same Lorde Admirall, hee was nowe come in his awne proper person to be in the Vauntgarde of the field, to iustifie the death of the sayde Andrewe, agaynst him and all his people, and woulde see what coulde be layde to his charge the sayde day, and that he nor none of his company should take no Scottish noble man prisoner, nor any other, but they should die if they came in his daunger, onlesse it were the kinges awne person, for hee sayde he trusted to none other curtesy at the handes of the Scottes.

And in this maner he should finde him in the vauntgard of the fielde, by the grace of God, and Saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the departyng of Rouge Crosse with the saide instructions and credence, it was thought by the Erle and his Counsaile, that the sayd king would faine and imagine some other message, to send an Herault of his with the same, only to view, and ouersee the maner and order of the kinges royall army, ordinaunce and artillarie, then beyng with the Erle, whereby might haue ensued great daunger to the same, and for the eschuyng thereof, he had in commaundement, that if any such message were sent, not to bring any person, comming therewith, within three or two mile of the fielde at the nighest, where the said Erle would come, and here what he would say: And thus departed Rouge Crosse with his Trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes. A good pollicie.

On Monday the fift day of September, the Erle tooke his field at Bolton in Glendale, as he had appoynted, where all the noble men and Gentlemen met hym with their retinues, to the number of. xxvj.M. men, and about midnight next ensuyng, came the Trompet, which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared howe the king of Scottes, after the message done to him by Rouge Crosse accordyng to his instructions, the sayd king detayned him, and sent one Ilay a Herault of his with him vnto the Erle, to declare to hym the sayde Kinges pleasure, to whome the Erle sent Yorke Herault at armes, to accompany the

sayde

sayde Ilay, at a Village called Mylo, two myles from the fielde, vntill the commyng thether of the sayd Erle the next morow.

The sixt day of September, early in the mornyng, the Erle accompanied with the most part of the Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the field, euery man hauyng with him but one man to holde his horse, and so the sayde Herauld met with the Erle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from his mayster the king of Scottes which would knowe whether the Erle sent any such message by Rouge Crosse, the Erle iustifyed the same, saiyng farther, that Rouge Crosse had the same message of him in writyng signed with his awne hande, wherevnto the sayd Ilay sayde. As to the abidyng for battaile betwene that and Friday, then next folowyng, the king his maister bade him shewe to the Erle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the same king, and that if he had bene at home in his towne of Edenbourgh, there receiuyng such a message from the sayde Erle, he would gladly haue come and fulfilled the sayde Erles desyre: And the Herauld assured the Erle on the king his maisters behalfe, that the same king would abide him battail at the day prefixed, whereof the sayd Erle was right ioyous, and much praysed the honourable agreement of the sayd royall king, & estemed the same to procede of an high and noble courage, promisyng the Herauld that he and good suretie with him, should be bound in ten thousand pound sterlyng to kepe the sayde daye appoynted, so that the king would find an Erle of his, and thereto a good surety with him to be bound in lyke summe for the performance of the same: And furthermore, the Erle bad the Herauld to saye to his Mayster, that if he for his part kept not his appoyntment, then he was content, that the Scottes should Baffull him, which is a great reproche among the Scottes, and is vsed when a man is openly periured, & then they make of him an Image painted reuersed, with his heeles vpwarde, with his name, wonderyng, criyng, and blowyng out of him wyth hornes, in the most dispitefull maner they can, in token that he is worthie to be exiled the companie of all good creatures.

Baffullyng what it is.

Then Ilay delyuered to the Erle a little Cedule, written with the kings secretaries hande vnsigned, the tenor whereof foloweth.

¶ As to the causes alleged of our comming into Englande, agayne our bande and promise (as is alleged) thereto we aunswere, our brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to him. And when we sware laste before hys Ambassade, in presence of our counsayle, we expressed specially in our othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else, we sweare our brother brake first to vs, & sithe his breke, we haue requyred dyuers times him to amend, and lately we warned our brother as he did not vs, or he brake, & this we take for our quarell, and with Gods grace shall defende the same at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide.

And for as much as the king kept still Rouge Crosse with him, who was not yet returned, the same Erle caused the sayde Ilay to be in the keping of Sir Humfrey Lysle and Yorke Heraulde, in the same Vyllage, vntill the time that a seruaunt of the sayde Ilay might ryde in all haste to the King of Scottes, for the deliuering of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the Erle ioyous of the kinges aunswere, returned to his Campe, and set forwarde fiue mile, to a place called Woller Hawgh, in such order of battayle, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scottes, and betwene the king and him was a goodly and large corne field, called Mylfelde, which was a conuenient and fayre ground for two hostes to fight on, there euery hoste might perceyue other.

The morowe beyng Wednesday, the. vij. day of that Month, the king of Scots caused his great ordinance to be shot at the English army, but it hurt neither man nor beast. When the king of Scots saw ý Ilay was detayned, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the Erle, by whom, and other of the borderers he was aduertised ý the king lay vpon the side of a high mountaine, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narow field for any man to assend vp the sayd hill to him, & at the fote of the hill lay all his ordinance.

On the one side of his armie was a great Marrish, and compassed with the hils of Cheuyot, so that he lay to strong to be approched of any side: except the Englishe men would haue desperatly runne on his ordinaunce, which matter well considered by the Erle and his sonne, and other of the counsaile there they called to them Rouge Crosse, and sent him the next daye to the king of Scottes, wylling him to shewe the king, that the sayde Erle, with dyuers of the kings nobles and subiectes had auaunced themselues to geue battaile to his grace, trusting that according to his promise, he would auaunce himselfe and his armie to ioyne the battayle, which as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desired the king that he might haue knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage would discend the hill where he laye, and to geue battayle or not: and if he say that I shall not knowe his intent, or wyll, say that he wyll kepe the ground: then shew him that he perceyueth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for two armies to fight, and therefore I will looke for no more of his delayes. The same day beyng our Ladie daye the Natiuitie, Rouge Crosse departed to the king of Scottes, which would not heare him speake, but sent one of his seruitours to heare his message. Which seruitour after he had disclosed the same to the king, made aunswere, that it besemed not an Erle, after that maner to handle a king, and that he would vse no sorcerie, nor had no trust of any ground.

You haue heard before how Ilay the Scottish Herauld was returned for Rouge Crosse, and assone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an English Herauld making good chere, and was not returned that morning that Rouge Crosse came on his message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and his Trompet were detayned by the seruaunt of Ilay, which the day before went for Rouge Crosse, assuryng them that if Ilay came not home before noone, that he was not lyuing, and then they should haue their heades striken off, then Rouge Crosse offered that his seruaunt should go for Ilay, but it would not be accepted, but as hap was Ilay came home before noone, and shewed of his gentle entertainment, and then Rouge Crosse was deliuered, and came to the Englishe armie, and made report as you haue heard.

Then the Englishe men remooued their field on the water of Tyll, and so foorth ouer many hilles and streytes, marching towarde the Scottes on another side, and in their sight the Scottes burned certayne poore Villages on the other side of the Marishe.

The Englishe men alwayes leauing the Scottishe armie on the left hande, tooke their field vnder a wood side, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two armies was the ryuer of Tyll, and there was a little hill that saued the Englishe men from the Gonneshot, on which hill the Lorde Admirall perfitely sawe and discouered them all.

In the euening of the same day it was concluded betwene the Erle and hys counsayle, and most parte of the armie thereto agreed, that the Vauntgard with the ordynaunce should passe ouer agayne to the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the. ix. day of September, and the rereward to passe ouer at Mylford, putting themselues as nigh as they could betwene the Scottes and Scotlande, and so to geue battayle to the Scottes on the hyll, called Floddon hyll. Friday the sayde ninth day, the Lorde Admirall, lyke a valyaunt knight passed ouer Twysell bridge wyth the Vantgarde, marchyng towarde his enimies, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for passyng ouer at Mylford with the rerewarde, saiyng to his Capitaines, now good felowes, doe lyke Englishe men this daye, take my part lyke men, which part is the kings part, and I wiste you would not, I will in my awne person fight with the king of Scottes, rather to die honorably by his crueltie, then to lyue in shame, or that any reproch should be layd to me hereafter. To whome they aunswered, that they would serue the king and him truely that day. The Englishe army that day had no vitayle and were fasting, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and could scarce get any other sustenaunce for money, Floddon fielde.

and yet they kept array on horseback from fiue of the clock in the morning, till foure of the clock at after noone, and were alwayes in the sight of the Scottes.

The king of Scottes perceyuing the Englishmen, marching toward Scotland, thought that they would haue entered into Scotland, and burne and forray the plentifull countrey called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englishman named Gyles Musgraue which was familiar with the king of Scottes, and did it for a pollecie to cause him to come downe from the hill: wherefore the sayd king caused his Tentes to be remoued to an other hyll in great hast least the Englishmen should haue taken the same hyll: And at their departing they set fyer on their litter & other fylthy ordure according to their costome, and of the fyer and smolther did rise such a smoke so thick and so darke, that y one host could not perceiue the other, for the wind did driue the smoke betwene the two armyes, the Scottes euer keping the heigth of the hyll on the edge of the Cheuiot, and the Englishmen passed forward styll in the lowe ground, and euer in the couert of the smoke, insomuch that both the hostes were very nere together, wythin the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them could perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishmen had passed a litle brooke, called Standyfforde, which is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the ayre fayre and clere, eche armie might playnely see one another at hand. Then the Lord Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with long speres lyke moorish pikes: which Scots furnished them warlike, and bent them to the foreward, which was conducted by the Lord Admyrall, which perceyuing that, sent to his father the Erle of Surrey hys *Agnus dei* that honge at his brest that in all hast he would ioyne battaile euen with the brunt or brest of the vantgarde: for the forewarde alone was not able to encounter the whole battaile of the Scottes, the Erle perceyuing well the saiyng of his sonne, and seing the Scottes readye to discende the hyll aduaunsed himselfe and hys people forwarde, and brought them egall in grounde with the forewarde on the left hande, euen at the brunt or brest of the same at the foote of the hill called Bramston, the Englishe armie stretched East and West, and their backes North, and the Scottes in the South before them on the foresayd hill called Bramstone. Then out brast the ordinaunce on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noyse, and the maister Gonner of the Englishe part slew the maister Gonner of Scotlande, and beate all his men from their ordinaunce, so that the Scotishe ordinaunce did no harme to the Englishmen, but the Englishmens artillery shot into the mydst of the kings battaile and slew many personnes, which seing, the king of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more hast to come to ioyning, & so all the foure battailes in manner discended the hyll at once. And after that the shot was done, which they defended with Pauishes, they came to handstrokes, and were encountred seuerally as you shall here.

First on the English side next the West, was sir Edmond Haward knight Marshal of the host chiefe Capitain of a wing of the right hand of our vantgarde, and was encountered with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth his battaile of speres on foote, to the number of. x. M. at the least, which fought valyantly, so that they by force caused the litle wing to flye, and the same Syr Edmond thre times felled to the ground, and left alone, sauing his standard berer, & two of his seruants, to whom came Iohn Heron bastard sore hurt, saiyng there was neuer noble mans son so like to be lost as you be this day, for all my hartes I shall here liue and dye with you, and there the saide Sir Edmond Haward was in a great daunger and ieoperdy of his life, & hardely escaped, and yet as he was going to the body of the vantgard he met with Dauie Hume, and slew him his owne hande, and so came to the Vantgard.

Secondly, Eastward from the sayde battaile was the Lorde Admyrall with the Vantgarde, with whome encountred the Erles of Crafforde and Mountroos accompanied with many Lordes and knightes and Gentlemen all with speres on foote, but the Lorde Admyrall

myrall and his company acquyted themselues so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to ground a great number, and both the Erles slaine.

Thirdly, Eastward from the Lord Admyrall was the Erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standard the kyng of Scottes in his owne person marched, being accompanied with many Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, knightes and Gentelmen of the realme, with a great number of Commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, which were the most assuredly harnessed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodliest personages withal, and he aboad the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it did them no hurt. After the shotte endid, the battaile was cruell, none spared other, & the king himelfe fought valiauntly. O what a noble and triumphant courage was this for a king to fight in a battail as a meane souldier: but what auayled his strong harnesse, the puyssaunce of his mightie Champions with whome he discended the hyll, in whome he so much trusted that with his strong people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that daye the greatest Prince of the world, if he had bene there as the Erle of Surrey was, or else he thought to do such an high enterprice himselfe in his person, that he should surmount the enterprises of all other Princes: but howsoeuer it happened God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore Souldiour, for all went one way. So that of his awne battayle none escaped, but Sir Wyllíam Scot knight his Chauncelour, and syr Iohn Forman knight, his Searjeaunt Porter, which were taken prisoners, and with great difficultie saued. This may be a great mirror to all Princes, how that they aduenture themselues to such a battayle.

The king of Scottes slaine, and all his Nobles taken or slaine.

Fourthly, Eastward was syr Edward Stanley knight, Capitayne of the left wyng with the sayde Erle, which clame vp to the top of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste, and with him encountered the Erles of Huntley, Lennoux and Arguile, with a great number of Scottes, which were sore fought withall, which perceyuing the Erle of Huntly toke a horse and saued himselfe, if he had taried he had bene lykely to haue gone with his companie: such as fled, the sayde Sir Edward and his people folowed them ouer the same ground, where the Erles battayle first ioyned, & found there the Scottes, which were by the Erles battayles slayne before, and sodainely left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the king of Scottes, and many that were slayne in his battaile, but they knewe him not, and found a crosse and certayne thinges of his, by reason whereof some sayde that he was slayne by that wyng, which could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the Kinges battayle fought onely with the Erles battayles, but for a truthe this wyng did verye valyauntly: wherefore it was thought that the sayde syr Edward might that day not haue bene missed.

All these foure battayles in maner fought at one time, and were determined in effect, little in distance of the beginning and ending of anye of them one before the other, sauyng that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came vp to the top of the hill, and there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chased them downe the hill ouer that place, where the kings battayle ioyned. Besyde these foure battayles of the Scottes were two other battayls, which neuer came to hand strokes.

Thus through the power of God on Fridaye, beyng the. ix. daye of September, in the yere of our Lorde. 1513. was Iames the fourth king of Scottes slayne at Bramstone (chiefely by the power of the Erle of Surrey, Lieutenaunt for king Henry the eyght, King of England, which then lay at the siege before Tournay) and with the sayde king were slayne.

The victorie at Flodden field against the Scots.

The Archbishop of saint Androwes, the kings Bastard sonne.
The Byshop of the Iles.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.
¶ Erles.
The Erle Mountroos.
The Erle of Crafford.

The Erle of Arguyle.
The Erle of Lennoux.
The Erle of Glencarre.
The Erle of Catnes.
The Erle of Castelles.
The Erle of Bothwell.
The Erle Arrell Constable of Scotland.
The Erle Addill.
The Erle Athel.
The Erle Morton.

¶ Lordes.

The Lord Louet.
The Lorde Forbos.
The Lorde Elueston.
The Lorde Roos.
The Lorde Inderby.
The Lorde Sentclere.
The Lord Maxwell, and hys foure brethren.
The Lorde Daulney.
The Lorde Seympyll.
The Lorde Borthick.
The Lorde Bogony.
The Lorde Arskyll.
The Lorde Blakkater.
The Lorde Cowyn.

¶ Knights and gentlemen.

Sir Iohn Dowglasse.
Cutbert Home Lord of Fastcastell.
Sir Alexander Seton.
Sir Dauy Home.
Maister Iohn Graunt.
Sir Dunkyn Caufelde.
Sir Saunder Lowder.
Sir George Lowder.
Maister Marshall.
Maister Key.
Maister Ellot.
Maister Cawell Clark of the Chauncerie.
The Deane of Ellester.
Mack, Kene.
Mack, Clene, and many other Gentlemen, which be vnknowne, because no officer of armes of Scotlande would come to make serch for them: and if the day had bene longer by three houres, (for it was foure of the clock at after noone or the battayles ioyned) or that the English men had had vitayles so that they might haue bidden still together, they had not alonely made the greatest distresse of Scots by death and taking, that the lyke hath not beene sene in one daye: but also within a little while might haue put the realme of Scotlande in such a miserie & trouble, that for euer they shoulde haue bene ware howe to enter the realme of Englande, and specially the king being absent: for the Englishe men wanted no good will, for of the Scottes they slue twelue thousand at the least of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotlande, and of the Englishe syde were slayne and taken not fiftene hundred men, as it appered by the booke of wages when the souldiours were payde. Thus the Erle of Surrey accomplished his promise at his daye prefixed with the king of Scottes, to hys great fame and honor.

After that the field was fought and the Scottes fled, many Englishe men folowed them into Scotland, & were so farre that they wist not which way to returne, and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the two battailes that fled first and neuer fought. Also diuers were taken by the Lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande, which fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried with him to the number of three score. Of the Scottes that fled, some passed ouer the water of Twede at Caudestreme foorde, and other by the drie marches, during the time of the fight, and the night after, many men lost their horses, and such stuffe as they left in their tents and pauilions by the robbers of Tyndale and Tyuidale.

The Lorde Dacre with his companie stood still all day vnfoughten withall. When the field was done and the scoute watch brought worde that there was no more appearaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. The Erle thanked God with humble hart, and called to him certayne Lords and other Gentlemen and them made knights, as syr Edmond Haward his sonne, and the Lorde Scrope, syr Wylliam Percy and many other. Then the Erle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wood, and appoynted syr Phylip Tylney knight with the companie of the Lorde Admirall and the companie of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the Lorde Latimer, olde syr Marmaduke Constable, syr Wyl-

liam

liam Percy, Sir Nycholas Applyard, and their companies, and a fewe other to keepe the place where the field was, for sauyng of the Englishe ordynaunce, and the ordinaunce that was taken from the Scottes, which was fiue great Curtalles, two great Culuerings, foure Sacres, and sixe Serpentynes, as fayre ordinance as hath bene sene, beside other small peeces. Well knowne it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prisoners of Scotlande, that their king was taken or slayne, but his body was not founde till the next daye, because all the meane people as well Scottes as Englishe were stripped out of their apparell as they laye on the field, yet at the last he was founde by the Lorde Dacres who knew him well by his priuie tokens, in that same place where the battaile of the Erle of Surrey and his first ioyned together.

This king had diuers deadly woundes, and in especiall one with an arowe, and another with a Bill as appered when he was naked. After that the bodie of the king of Scottes was founde and brought to Barwicke, the Erle shewed it to syr Wylliam Scot hys Chaunceller, and syr Iohn Forman his Sergeant Porter, which knewe him at the first sight, and made great lamentation. Then was the body bowelled, embawmed and sered, and secretly amongst other stuffe conueyed to Newcastell. But the same day the Lorde Admirall came to the field, and there some Scottes appeered on an hill: But Wylliam Blackenall which was the chiefe doer and ruler of all the ordinaunce shot such a peale, that the Scottes fled, or else the Lorde Admyrall had bene in great ieopardie: and then all the ordynaunce was brought in safetie to the Castell of Cytell, and there remayned for a time. After thys noble victorie the Erle wrote first to the Queene (which had raysed a great power to resist the sayde king of Scottes) of the wynnyng of the battayle, for then the body of the king of Scottes was not founde, and she yet beyng at the towne of Buckyngham, had worde the next daye after that the king of Scottes was slayne, and a part of his coate armure to her sent, for which victorie she thanked God, and so the Erle after that the North part was set in a quietnesse, returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottishe king, and brought it to Richemond.

Now let vs retourne to the King of Englande liyng before Tournay which the. xxv. daye of September receyued the Gauntelet and letters of the Erle of Surrey, and knew all the dealing of both parties. Then he thanked God and highly praysed the Erle and the Lorde Admirall and his sonne, and all the Gentelmen and commons that were at that valiaunt enterprice: Howbeit, the king had a secret letter that the Chesshire men fled from sir Edmond Haward, which letter caused great hart burning and many words, but the king thankfully accepted al thing, and would no man to be dispraysed. So on the Mundaye at night the six and twentie daye of September, the Lorde Harbert and the Erle of Shrewesburie made great fiers in their armies in token of victory & triumph: and on Tuesday the. xxvij. day, the Tent of cloth of Golde was set vp, and the kings Chapel sang masse, & after that *Te Deum*, and then the Bishop of Rochester made a Sermond and shewed the death of the king of Scots and much lamented the yll death and periurie of him.

The king of England liyng thus before Tournay, caused his great ordinaunce to be planted rounde about the Citie, and diuers trenches were caste and rampyers made, and the Lorde Lysle, and the Lorde Wyloughby were appoynted to maintaine the ordinaunce, with their bendes, and the Erle of Kent was lodged before the Gate called port Valencien, so that the Citizens could not issue out, nor no ayde could come in. The ordinaunce dayly bet the gates, towers, and Walles, which made a great batterie: and a fewe Englishemen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were to fewe in number, and if they had bene mo in number, they had taken the towne as the Tournasyns confessed after. The Citizens of Tournay consideryng their estate, came together to counsaile, and there the Prouost sayd, frendes and brethren of this noble Citie, I can not to much prayse your truth and fidelitie to your souereigne Lorde the King of Fraunce, consideryng howe manfully you haue defended this Citie sith the beginnyng of this siege, but alas, althoughe it bee

bee written on the Gates grauen in stone, *Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage*, that is to say, thou hast neuer lost thy maydenhed: yet if this Citie had not beene well furnished, and euer at the day appoynted sure of rescue, it could not haue continued: now you see that rescue faileth, our Gates be. rased, our Towers beaten downe, our chiefe Tower lyke to fall, so that if this perillous siege continue, or else if our enemies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherfore nowe, all these thinges considered, I would knowe whether you wyll treate with the king of England or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsaile cryed warre, warre, nowe cryed peace peace, yet all were not agreed: Then one wise man sayde, sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, surely it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force who is there that can say he is sure of his lyfe: but by entreatie, the king of England is so mercifull, that he may fortune to saue both life and goodes. Then finally all agreed to treate. Then the Prouost sent to the king a Trompet, desiryng safe conduyte for him, and certaine other to come & to speake with him, which request was to him graunted. Then the Prouost of the City accompanied with a. xj. with him of the best of ỹ City, came to the army and spake with the lords of the counsaile, and after they were brought to the kings presence, the Prouost kneeled downe and all his companie, and sayde: Right high and mighty Prince, although the Citie of Tournay is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, vittayles, artillary, yea and the people in feare and dreade of nothing, yet we knowe that against your great puyssaunce it cannot continue long, although it were ten tymes as strong as it is, wherfore we knowyng by report your honour, your wisedome, your iustice, and noble heart, are content to become your subiectes and vassals, so that we may haue and enioy our olde lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you as we haue before this done vnder other Princes. Then the king aunswered, we haue well heard your peticion, we will common with our Counsaile, and make you aunswere: and when he had commoned with his counsaile, he aunswered saiyng: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs shall not be denyed, seyng you come to treate, we remit you to our Counsaile. Then they went into the Tent of counsaile, and there the Tournasyns fell at a poynt, and in conclusion, they yelded the Citie, and ten thousand pound sterlyng for the redemption of their libertyes, and so departed to the Citie, making relation of the king and hys noble courage. On Thursday the. xxix. day of September, the king was in his riche Tent of cloth of Golde vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the Citizens of the Citie, & were sworne to him & became his subiects. Then the king appoynted the Lord Lisle, the Lord Burgayny, the Lord Willoughby to take possession, which with six thousande men entered the Citie, and tooke the Market place and the walles, and serched the houses for feare of treason: and then maister Thomas Wolsey the kinges Almoner called before him all the Citizens yong and old, & sware them to the king of England, the number wherof was foure score. M. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the Citie of Tournay: On Sunday the second day of October, the king entered the Citie of Tournay at Porte Fountaine, and foure of the chiefe of the Citie ouer him bare a Canapie with al the armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, the Ladyes and Gentlewomen lay in the windowes beholdyng the king and his nobilitie, euery Citizen had in his hand a staffe Torche, the king himselfe was richly apparayled in riche armure on a barded courser: thus the king with his nobilitie all richely apparayled with his sworde borne before him, his Heraulides and sergeaunts of armes with Trumpettes and Minstralsie entered the Citie, and came to our Lady Church, and there *Te deum* was song. Then the king called to his presence, Edward Guildford, William Fitzwilliam, Iohn Dauncy, William Tiler, Iohn Sharpe, William Huse, Iohn Sauage, Christopher Garnish, and diuers other valiant Esquiers, & gaue to them the order of Knighthood, and then went to his lodging, & at after noone he came to the Market place, where was prepared for him a place; then he caused a Proclamation to be made in his name, king of England & of Fraunce, that no man should grieue the Citizens, during which Proclamation ỹ Turnasins

The Citie of Tournaye yelded to the King.

scarce

scarce loked vp, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance which was much marked: the crie finished, the king departed to his campe leauing the citie in safe keping. This weeke the king rode to see the Castell of Morton, and there his grace tooke great pleasure. The king remembring the great cheere that the prince of Castell, and the Ladie Margaret had made him at Lisle, which was but xij. mile English from Tournay, desyred the sayd Prince and Ladie with diuers other to come to him to his Citie of Tournay, and made preparation for the same, and appoynted a iustes whereof he himselfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the Market place. While these thinges were preparyng the king and his Counsaile ordered for the sure keepyng of the Citie of Tournay, and there ordeyned sir Edward Pownyngs knight of the order of the Garter, to be his Lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with Capitaines, horsemen, and artillary conuenient, and to haue ayde of Henawde and other the kinges friendes adioyning, and of his garde he left there foure hundred Archers, and ordinance was appoynted for the defence of the same. Monday the. xj. day of October, the king without the towne receyued the Prince of Castell, the Ladie Margaret and diuers other Nobles of theyr Countries, and them brought into Tournay with great triumph. The noise went that the Lorde Lisle made request of mariage to the Ladie Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the king with many riche giftes & money borowed, but whether they proffered mariage or not, she fauored him highly: ther the Prince and Duchesse soiorned with great solace by the space of ten dayes. Duryng which tyme, the. xviij. day of October, began the iustes, the king and the Lorde Lisle aunswered all commers.

The Ladie Margaret receaued and welcommed by king Henry the eyght into Tournay.

A Iustes.

The twenty day of October, the Prince of Casteli and the Lady Margaret with manye great gyftes to them giuen retourned to Lyle wyth all their trayne, After that the king was enformed that all directions were taken and put in order for the sure keping of the Citie of Tournay, he tooke the same to sir Edward Pownyngs knight which valiauntly kept it in good order and iustice.

The king and his counsaile before this had considered that the Frenchmen would geue them no battail, and that winter approched, which was no tyme to lie at siege at other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay safely, and to breake vp his campe for that Winter, and to begin againe warre in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the king and his coūsaile, and so the king and all his people (except such as were appoynted to be with sir Edward Pownyngs) departed out of Tournay the. xx. day of September: and the king and the noble men made such speede, that shortly they came to Calice, and thether came the Lord Admirall, whom the king hartily thanked of his paynes, and there euery man was payed of his wages and conduyte money, and ships prepared for the passage, and so the. xxiiij. day of September the king with a priuy company tooke ship, and the same day landed at Douer, and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small companie rode to Richemonde in post to the Queene, where was such a louyng meetyng that euery creature reioysed. This season began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people dyed: All this Winter the kinges nauie kept the seas, and robbed and spoyled the Frenchemen on their coastes.

The king returneth into England.

A great death or mortalitie in England.

When the king was thus returned he forgat not the good seruice that many a Gentleman did at the battaile of Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them his louyng letters, with such thankes and fauourable words, that euery man thought himselfe well rewarded. And on the day of the Purification of our Ladie at Lambeth, the King created the Erle of Surrey Duke of Norffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon Vicont Lisle, he created Duke of Suffolke, and the Lorde Hawarde high Admiral he created Erle of Surrey, & sir Charles Sommerset Lorde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberleyn, he created Erle of Worcester: and after that at another day he made sir Edward Stanley for his good seruice, Lorde Montaygle, and in Marche folowyng was mayster Thomas Wolsey the kinges Almoner consecrate Bishop of Lyncolne,

The discription of Thomas Wolsey which afterwarde was made Cardinall.

colne, which thereto was named on Newyeres day before: this man was borne at Ipswich, and was a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit, but in pryde, couetousnesse, and ambicion, he excelled all other as you shall heere hereafter.

In the tyme of king Henry the seuenth, father to king Henry the eight, It was concluded betwene the sayd king, and king Philip of Castell, sonne to Maximilian the Emperour, and king of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne shoulde marry the Ladie Mary daughter to the king of England with a dowry to her appointed, at which time they were both yong: Nowe at the kinges returne from Tournay, he made preparation to sende the sayd Ladie his sister to the Prince of Castell. But the Counsaile of Flaūders aunswered, that concernyng her selfe they would gladly receyue to be espoused to their Prince, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the world: but as concernyng the articles of her dower, they could not fulfyll without the assent of the king of Arragon and the realme of Castell (which as was sayde, minded to haue him maryed in Spaine.) The king like a louing brother would not send his sister wildely without a dower assured, toke the first agreement betwene the king her father, and king Philip his father to be of none effect, sith the Spanyardes would not confirme the same, and the cause was, by reason that king Philip was not naturally borne to be their king, but was king in the right of his wife, and so they were not bounde to his agreements made without their consent. So thus the king of England reteyned still his syster and all the preparation that he had done for her conueyaunce, which was very costly.

This season the Lady Margaret Queene of Scottes late wife to Kyng Iames the fourth slayne at Bramstone, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the king to haue compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare least he would haue inuaded her realme. The king moued with brotherly compassion, sent her word that if the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, if they would haue war he would likewise haue war, & so with that aunswer the messenger departed. In the spring time of the yere the king wrote hys letters so all the noble men and Gentilmen saiyng that he would shortely passe again into Fraunce in his awne person, wherefore euerie man prepared him selfe meete for that iournay: the Flemmynges heryng thereof, made perueyaunce for wagons, vittaile, and other thinges which tourned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shall heere.

All this season Sir Richard Whethill and syr Iohn Tremayle kept so the English Pale that the Frenchmen durst not medle, and yet they spoyled to base Bollen.

Closures made of the common fieldes about London.

Before this time the townes aboute London as Islington, Hoxston, Shordyche and other, had so enclosed the common fieldes with hedges and diches, that neyther the young men of the Citie might shoote, nor the auncient persons might walke for their pleasure in the fieldes, except eyther their bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substanciall persons arrested or indited, saiyng that no Londoner should goe oute of the Citie but in the high wayes. This saiyng sore grieued the Londoners and sodainly this yere a great number of the Citie assembled themselues in a morning, and a Turnar in a fooles coate came criyng through the Citye, shouels and spades, and so many people folowed that it was wonder, and within short space all the hedges about the townes were cast downe, and the diches filled, and euery thing made playne, the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsaile hering of this assemblye came to the Gray Fryars, and sent for the Maior and the counsaile of the City to know the cause, which declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them, & though they would not, yet the commonalty and yong persons which were damnified by the noysaunce would plucke vp and remedy the same. And when the kinges counsaile had heard the aunswer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the Maior to see that no other thing were attempted, and to call home the Citezens, which when they had done their enterprice, came home before the kings counsayle & the Maior departed without anye more harme doing, and so after the fieldes were neuer hedged.

The Closures sodainly ouerthrowen.

The

The king at this season sent againe into Flaunders for the performance of the mariage of the yong Prince of Castell and the fayre Ladye Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all thinges necessarie and conuenyent for such an high estate. The counsayle of Flaunders aunswered that they would not receyue her that yere, with many subtill argumentes, by reason whereof the perfite loue betweene Englande and the lowe countries was much slaked. 1514 6

The nintene daye of May was receyued into London a Cappe of maintenaunce and a sword sent from Pope Iuly, with great company of nobles and Gentelmen, which was presented to the king on the Sunday then next ensuing with great solemnity in the Cathedrall Church of saint Paul. The Cap of maintenance. About thys tyme, the warres yet continuing betweene England and Fraunce, Prior Iohn (of whome you haue heard before in the fourth yere) great Capitaine of the French nauy, with his Galeis and Foystes charged with great Basilyskes and and other great Artyllerye came on the borders of Sussex and came a lande in the night at a poore village in Sussex called Bright Helmstone, and or the watch could him ascry he set fier on the towne and toke such poore goodes as he found: then the watch fiered the beakons and people began to gather, which seyng, Prior Iohn sowned his Trompet to cal his men abord, and by that time it was daye: then six Archers which kept the watch followed Prior Iohn to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beate the Galimen from the shore, and Pryor Iohn himselfe waded to his Foyst, and the Englishmen went into the water after, but they were put backe with pikes or else they had entred ỹ Foyst, but they shot so fast, that they wounded many in the Foyst and Prior Iohn was shot in the face wyth an Arrowe, and was likelye to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax before oure Lady at Bolleyn with the English arrowe in the face for a myracle.

When the Lord Admyrall of England had heard these newes he was not content and sent syr Iohn Wallop to the sea incontinent with diuers English ships, which sayled to the coast of Normandy and there landed and brent. xxj. villages and townes with great slaughter of people, and brent shippes and boates in the Hauens of Traport, Stapils &in euerie place. Sir Iohn Wallop a valiaunt Capitaine. This sir Iohn Wallop quyt himselfe so, that men maruelled of his enterprises, considering he had at the most but eyght hundred men and toke land there so often.

In the moneth of Iune the Lorde Powntremy that was Capitaine of Tyrwyn with banner displaied and great ordinaunce, with a great armye came into Pycardy nere to Arde. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitaine of Guysnes considering that the Frenchemen had such ordinaunce thought that they woulde haue besieged Guysnes, and wrote thereof to the king which incontinent prouided a great army for the rescue. And when euerie thing was redye and the armie forward, the Lorde Pountremie rayséd his campe and departed wythout any more doing, but for all that the king sent ouer Sir Thomas Louel knight with six hundred men to Calice for the more strength of that Towne and other townes and Castelles beyng within the Englishe Pale and the Marches there.

The French king this yere appoynted to Richard de la Pole traytor of England & banished the realme. xij.M. Lanceknights to kepe Normandy, and also to enter into England & to conquer the same, where they made such a ryotte that many of them were slayne and he was fayne to carye them to Saynt Malos in Britaine to take shippe: for the French men would fayne haue ben rydde of them they cared not how, their condicions were so vile and shamefull, but by the reason that the French kyng suyde for the peace this iourney toke none effect. Richard de la Poole, Traytor to England.

The French King by an Herauld wrote to the king of England, that he marueled greatly why he made hym so sore warre, and brent and toke hys townes, slew and robbed his people without any cause geuen on his part, wherefore he required the king to graunt safe-condite to his Ambassadours, which should entreate the cause: wherevpon in Iune the French king sent a commission with the President of Roan and certayne other Nobles of Fraunce to entreat peace and allyaunce betwene both the Princes: and farther because

they knew that the mariage was broken betweene the Prince of Castell and the Ladye Mary (as you haue heard) they desired the sayde Lady to be espowsed to the French king, affirming a great dower of suerties for the same, with great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his counsaile, and especially by the Bishop of Lincolne Wolsey, consented vpon condicion that if the sayde Frenche king Loys dyed, then shee shoulde if it pleased her, retorne into England againe with all her dower and riches: after such entreatie, the Indentures were sealed and the peace proclaymed the seuenth day of August, and the king in presence of the French Ambassadoures sworne to kepe the same, and likewise there was sent an Ambassade out of Englande to se the French king swere the same.

The Duchmen hering these newes were sorye, and repented them that they receyued not the Ladye, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feble old and pocky man should marry so fayre a Lady, but the voyce of people let not Princes pourposes.

The Ladie Marie sister to king Henry the eight affied to the French king.

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longuyle and other prysoners deliuered, paiyng their Raunson, and the said Duke affied the Lady Mary in the name of king Lewys his Maister. This Duke was highlye intertayned in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they came into Fraunce with the Queene he would scarce knowe them. Then when all thinges were ready for the conueyaunce of this noble Lady, the king her brother in the moneth of September with the Queene his wife and hys sayd sister and all the court came to Douer and there taried, for the winde was troublous, and the weather fowle, in so much that a ship of the kings called the Libeck of. ix. hundred Tonne was driuen a shore before Sandgate and there brast, and of sixe hundred men scantly escaped thre hundred, and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the weather was fayre then all her wardrobe, stable, and ryches was shypped, and such as were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Byshop of Durham, the Erle of Surrey, the Lorde Delawar, the Lorde Barnes, the Lorde Montaigle, the Marques foure brethren, syr Morice Barkeley, syr Iohn Peche, syr Wylliam Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, syr Iohn Carre & many other knights, Squires gentlemen and Ladies, all these went to ship, and the sayde Ladie tooke her leaue of the Queene in the Castel of Douer, and the king brought her to the sea side and kissed her and betooke her to God, and the fortune of the sea, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husband. Thus the second day of October at the houre of foure of the clock in the morning thys fayre Ladie tooke her ship with all her noble companie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the sea, the winde rose and seuered some of the shippes to Calice, and some into Flaunders, and her ship with great difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great ieopardie at the entring of the hauen for the maister ranne the ship hard on shore, but the boates were ready and receyued this noble Ladie, and at the landing Sir Christopher Garnishe stood in the water, and tooke her in his armes, and so caried her to lande, where the Duke of Vandosme and a Cardinall wyth manye estates receyued her, and her Ladies, and welcommed all the noble men into that Countrie, and so the Queene and all her trayne came to Bulleyn, and there rested, and from thence shee remoued by dyuers lodgings till she came almost within three Myle of Abuyle beside the Forrest of Arders, and there King Loyes vppon a great courser met with her, and shee would haue alighted but he would not suffer her, and welcommed her into his Countrie, and when he had sene her bewtie (which he so long desired) and talked with her a little space, then he returned to Abuile by a secret waye, and shee was with great triumph, procession, and Pagiantes receyued into the towne of Abuyle the eyght day of October by the Dolphyn, which receyued her with great honor, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in Goldsmithes worke verie richely. After her folowed. xxxvj. Ladies, all their Palfreys trapped with crimosyn Veluet, embrawdered: after them folowed one Charyot of cloth of Tissue, the second cloth of gold, and the third crymosyn Veluet embrawdered with the kings armes and hers full of Roses. After

them

them folowed a great number of Archers, and then Wagons laden with their stuffe. Great was the ryches in plate, iewels, money, apparell, and hangyngs that this Lady brought into Fraunce. The Monday next folowyng, the same king Lewys maried the Lady Mary in the great Church of Abuyle, both appareled in Goldsmithes worke. After the masse was done, there was a great banket and feast, and the Ladyes of Englande highly enterteyned.

The Tuesday beyng the tenth daye of October all the Englishe men except a fewe that were officers wyth the sayde Queene were discharged, which was a great sorrowe for them, for some had serued her long in hope of preferment, and some that had honest romes, left them to serue her, and nowe they were without seruice, which caused them to take thought, in so muche some dyed by the waye returning, and some fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the Englishe Lordes had done their commission the Frenche king wylled them to take no longer payne, and so gaue to them good rewardes, and they tooke their leaue of the Queene and returned. Then the Dolphyn of Fraunce called Lorde Frauncys Duke of Valoys, and by hys wyfe Duke of Britayne, for the more honour of the mariage, before the Englishe men departed from Abuyle, caused a solempne Iustes to be proclaymed which shoulde be kept at Paris, in the Moneth of Nouember next ensuyng, and that he wyth hys. ix. aydes shoulde aunswere all commers, beyng Gentlemen of name and of armes, first to runne fiue courses at the Tylt with peeces of auantage, and also fiue courses at Randon wyth sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. First sixe foynes with hande speares, and after that eyght strokes to the most auantage if the speare so long held, and after that twelue strokes with the sworde, & if any man be vnhorsed or be felled with fighting on foote, then his horse & armure to be rendred to the officers of armes, and euery man of this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon an arche triumphant, which shall be made at the place where the iustes shall be, and farther shall write to what poynt he will aunswere to one or to all. When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset and hys foure brethren, the Lorde Clynton, syr Edward Neuell, syr Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knightes prepared all thing necessarie for their enterprise, and shipped their horses and harnesse, and did so muche by iournay, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the Moneth of October, which were hartily welcomed of the king and the Dolphyn: but most of all, of the French Queene, which then lay at saint Denyce, and was not yet crowned nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphyn of Fraunce caused a solempne iustes to be proclaymed.

The Dolphyn desired the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques Dorset, whose actiuitie he knew well by report, to be two of his immediat aydes, which thereto assented. Therefore was erected an Arche of wydenesse at the Tournels beside the streete on saint Anthony, directly before the Bastell, on the which were set foure Targets or scutchions, the one siluer, and he that set his name vnder that shield, to runne at the Tylt according to the articles: he that put his name vnder the golden Target, should runne with the sharpe speares and fight with sharpe swordes: they that put their names to the black shield, should fight a foote with speares and swordes for the one hande. And he that touched the tawny shield should cast a speare on foote with a Target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword: on this arche about stood the armes of the king and the Queene, and beneth them stood the armes of the Dolphyn and his aydes, and vnderneth stood the foure scochions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of such as set their names to any of the sayde foure scochions. While all these things were preparing, the Lady Mary of England the fift day of Nouember then beyng sunday, was with great solempnity crowned Queene of Fraunce in the monasterie of saint Denice, and the Dolphyn all the season held the crowne ouer her head, because

it was of great waight to her greeuaunce, at which coronation were the Lordes of England, and according to their degrees well entertayned.

The maner of the receyuyng of the Queene into Paris, and of her coronation.

Monday the sixt day of Nouember, the sayd Queene was receyued into the Citie of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the Garde of the Citie met with her without saint Denice, al in coates of Goldsmithes worke with shippes guilt, and after them met her all the priestes and relygious, which were esteemed to be three thousand. The Queene was in a Chayre couered about (but not ouer her person) in whyte cloth of Golde, the horses that drewe it couered with cloth of Golde, on her head a coronall all of great Pearles, her neck and brest full of Iewels, before her went a Garde of Almaynes after their fassion, and after them all noble men, as the Dolphyn, the Duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longeuyle, and the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, fiue Cardinals and a great number of estates, & about her person rode the kings garde which were Scottes. Thus was this Queene receyued into Paris and so conueyed into the Cathedrall Church and there offered, & from thence to the Palace, and from thence shee went to her lodging for that night, for whome was prouided a great supper, and the Heraulds cryed a larges, and had to them geuen a ship of siluer and guilt, and other Plate to the value of two hundred marke, and after supper began daunsing and pastime. On the morow began the iustes, and the Dolphyn with his aydes entered the field, their apparell and bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of siluer and crymsyn Veluet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed themselues before the king and Queene who were in a goodly stage, and the Queene stood so that all men might see her and wondered at her bewtie, and the king was feeble and lay on a couche for weaknesse. Then entred the counter part by a rayle for combring the place. These iustes continued thre dayes, in the which were aunswered three hundred and fiue men of armes, and euery man ranne fiue courses, and with sharpe speares, dyuers were slayne, and not spoken off: the Englishe Lordes and knightes did as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a Gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques stroke Mounsire Grew an Albanoys with his speare and piersed his head peece and put him in ieopardie: the Duke of Suffolke in the tornay ouerthrewe a man of armes horse and man, and so did the Lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his ayde in his rome, the next day after began the fight at the barriers, and because the Dolphyn was not present, the Duke of Suffolke and the Lorde Marques Dorset that day began the field, and toke the barriers with speares in hande abyding all commers. The Dolphyn brought a man secretly, which in al the Court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, and he was an Almayne, & put him in the place of an other person, to haue had the Duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fiercely with face hid, because he would not be knowne, and bare his speare to the Duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the Duke him receyued, and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the speare strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for all that the Almayne strake strongly and hardly at the Duke, and the iudges suffred many mo strokes to be foughten then were appointed, but when they sawe the Almayne reele and staggar, then they let fall the rayle betweene them. The Lord Marques Dorset at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his speare, & in maner withdrewe: When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put vp their vysers and tooke ayre, and then they tooke swordes with poynt and edges abated, and came to the barriers, and the Almayne fought sore with the Duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the Duke by pure strength tooke him about the neck, & pomeled him so about the head that the bloud yssued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Almayne was conueyed by the Dolphyn least he should be knowne. These two noble men of Englande that day fought valiauntly

valiauntly dyuers foates, and the French men likewise nobly them defended, but it happened the Lorde Marques one time to put for his ayde his yongest brother called the Lorde Edward Gray of the age of xix. yere, and to him was put a gentleman of Fraunce of great stature and strength to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong Lorde was of such strength, power and pollecie, that he so strake hys aduersarie that he disarmed him, all the face bare. Thus was these enterprises finished to the laude of all parties, and the Englishe men receyued much honor and no spot of rebuke, yet they were priuily set at and in manye ieopardies: for the declaration of this triumph, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the coursers trotted, bounded and quickly turned: Howe valyauntly the men of armes behaued themselues and howe the Duke of Bourbones bende was appareled and bassed in tawny Veluet, and cloth of siluer clowdye, the bende of the Erle of Saint Polle appareled and barded in purple Veluet all to cut on purple Satten, the infaunt of Arragon, sonne to Fredericke last king of Naples, and his bend all in cloth of Golde and siluer paled. This Lord was but yong but was very toward. The Duke of Vandosme & his bend in cloth of Golde, and plunket Veluet. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery day newe appareled at his coste, one day in siluer and Golde, another in Crimesyn Veluet and yelowe Veluet, and another daye in white Veluet and grene, some daye myxed with Satten, some daye embrawdered, some daye pounced with Gold, and so euerye day in chaunge as the workers fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrye: at thys triumph the Countye Galeas came into the place on a Ienet trapped in blew Satten and he hym selfe lykewise appareled and ranne a course with a speare, which was at the hed fiue inches on euery side square, that is twenty inches about, and at the but nine inches square, that is sixe and thirtie inches, this spere was massy tymber and yet for all that he ranne cleane along course and slightly auoyded it to his great honour.

Also there was another Gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the fielde all armed, and on his bodie brought in sight ten speares, that is to wit, three speres set in euery stirroppe forwarde, and vnder euery thigh two speres vpward, and vnder his left arme was one spere backward, and the tenth in his hande, and when he came before the Queene he let hys horse ronne, and neuer stopped till he had taken euery spere after other and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horse till all were broken, this Gentleman was highly praysed, and so he was worthie: when all this great tryumph was done, the Lordes of England tooke their leaue and were highly thanked of the king, Queene, Dolphyn, and all the Lordes, and so departed & came into England before Christmasse. In Nouember the Queene was deliuered of a Prince which liued not long after.

This yere in December there was one Richard Hun, a marchant Taylor of London in Lollers Tower, by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Richard Fitziames, and Doctor Horsey his Chauncelor. And shortly after, the sayd Hun was found dead hangyng by the necke in a girdle of silke, within the sayde Tower: Of this story ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monuments of the Church. Richard Hun cõmitted to the Lollers Tower and murdered.

This yere and the fourth day of October, the king began his high court of Parliament, and sir Thomas Neuell was then speaker, in this Parliament was diuers actes made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of, the one was the act of apparell, and the other the act of labourers, of these two actes was much commonyng and much businesse arose, for the labourers would in no wise labour by the day, but all by taske and in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the Court, and in especiall in haruest tyme, for then husband men could scase get workemen to helpe in their Haruest. This Parliament continued till Easter, in the which diuers subsidies were graunted to the king toward his great costes and charges, that he had bene at in his voyage royall in Fraunce. This yere dyed at Rome by poyson, as was reported the Archebishop of Yorke and Cardinall, called Doctor Benbricke, which was the kinges Ambassador there: this was a wise man, and of a ioly A Parliamẽt. Cardinall Benbrick poysoned at Rome.

Thomas Wolsey made Archbishop of Yorke.

a ioly courage. The king then gaue the sayd Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincolne, which at that tyme bare all the rule about the king, and what he sayd was obeyed in all places. And when he was once Archebishop, he studied day and night how to be a Cardinall, and caused the king and the French king to wryte to Rome for him, and at their requestes he obtayned his purpose as you shall here afterward.

At this tyme was much commonyng, and verily as it appered it was entended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calice, and there on the marches of the same, the French king & Queene to come and see the king their brother, and for the same iourney many costly workes were wrought, and much riche apparell prouided for, and much preparation made agaynst the next spring: but death, which is the last ende of all thinges let this iournay, for before the next spring, the French king dyed at the Citie of Paris, the first day of Ianuary, when he had bene maryed. lxxxij. dayes. And when the king was aduertised of the death of the French king, he caused a solemne obsequie to be song for him in the cathedrall Church of Saint Paule with a costly Herse, and many noble men beyng present.

The death of Lewys the french king.

And after he sent a letter to comfort the Queene his sister, requiryng to knowe her pleasure whether she would continue still in Fraunce or returne into England againe. And when he was aduertised of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the Duke of Suffolke, sir Rycharde Wingfield, and Doctor West, with a goodly band of yomen, all in blacke to Parys, which were well receyued of the newe Frenche king Fraunces the first of that name, and declared to him, that accordyng to the couenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene king Loyes and the Lady Mary, sister to the king of England, they demaunded to haue the sayde Queene deliuered to them with her dower, and shewed their commission for the receypte of her: the Counsayle of Fraunce accordyng to the appoyntment assigned to her a dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then shee was by indenture deliuered to the Duke, which behaued himselfe so to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her husband, and therevpon he wrote to the king her brother, meekely besechyng him of pardon of his request, and humbly requiring him of his wil and consent, at which thing the king a while stayed, and at the last by the meane of the Frenche Queene her selfe, and other great friendes on the Dukes part: After long suyte it was agreed that the Duke of Suffolke should bring her into England vnmaryed, and at his returne to marry her in England: but for doubt of chaunge he maryed her secretly in Parys as it was sayde.

Fraunces the first of that name french king.

The Duke of Suffolke marieth the Ladie Marie ye French Queene and sister vnto King Henry the eyght.

After that the Duke of Suffolke had receyued the French Queene with her dower appoynted, and all her apparell, iewels, and housholde stuffe deliuered, he with the Queene tooke their leaue of the Frenche king, leauyng Doctor West, nominate Bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the king of England, and the newe Frenche king called Fraunces the first, and so passed through Fraunce to Calice, where she was honourably enterteyned. And after with great honour maryed to Lorde Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some sayd he was maryed priuily before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Agaynst this mariage many men grudged, and sayde it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maried to the Prince of Castell: but the wisest sort was content, consideryng that if she had bene maryed againe out of the realme she shoulde haue caryed much rychesse with her, and nowe she brought euery yere into the realme. ix. or. x. thousand markes: but whatsoeuer the rude people sayd, the Duke behaued himselfe so, that he had both the fauour of the king and of the people, his wit and demeanor was such.

The king goeth on his progresse.

This Sommer the king tooke his progresse Westward, and visited his townes and Castelles there, and heard the complaintes of his poore commonaltie, and euer as he roade he hunted and liberally departed with venyson: and in the middest of September he came to his Manor of Okyng, and thether came to him the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartily welcommed, and shewed him great pleasures: And while he soiourned there, a

letter was brought to the Archebishop from Rome, certifiyng him howe he was elected to be a Cardinall, which incontinent shewed the same to the king, disablyng himselfe in wordes, though his entent was otherwyse, and so the kyng did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him my Lord Cardinall, but his Hat, Bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

In the Moneth of Nouember, the king assembled hys highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, and diuers actes made in the Parliament the sixt yere amended and altered, and especiallye the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainlye appereth. And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebishoppe of Cauntorburye perceiuyng that the Archebishoppe of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelorship then it became him to suffer, except he would aduenture the kinges displeasure, and seyng also that the sayde Bishop of Yorke coueted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole auctoritie, consideryng also his awne great age, gaue vp into the kinges handes his rowme of Chauncelor, and deliuered to the king the great Seale, which deliuered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chauncelor. And assoone as he was Chauncelor, he directed commissions into all Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of laborers in execution. And he himselfe one day called a Gentleman named Simon Fitzrichard, and tooke from him an olde Iacket of Crymosyn Veluet, and diuers brooches, which extreeme doyng caused him greatly to be hated, and by his example many cruell officers for malice, euill intreated diuers of the kinges subiectes, insomuche that one Shinnyng Maior of Rochester, set a yong man on the Pillory for wearyng of a riuen shirt.

A parliament. Statute of labourers. Statute of army

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinals Hat, and receyued by Gentlemen of Kent, and brought to London with such tryumph, as though the greatest Prince of Christendome had bene come into the realme. And on a Sonday at Saint Peters Church at Westminster, he receyued the Habite, Hat, and Piller, and other vaine glorious tryfles, appertaynyng to the order of a Cardinall. And when he was once a perfite Cardinall, hee looked then aboue all estates, so that all men almost hated him, and disdayned hym.

The Cardinalles Hatte receyued.

Then after the Parliament sir Edward Pownynges laboured to bee discharged of the kepyng of the Citie of Tournay, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt Lorde Mountioy was sent thether. And for Marshall there was appoynted sir Sampson Norton. And when the Lorde Mountioy was come thether, and syr Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the Citie was in great ieopardie, the very cause was vnknowen, but all the Souldiours, except such as were of the kinges garde rebelled, and put the Lord Mountioy in ieopardie of his life. And in conclusion to appease the people, sir Sampson Norton was banished the towne for euer. And after the Citie was appeased, and euery thing thought to be forgotten, diuers were executed & diuers banished the towne and some fled and were banished both England and the towne.

This yere was the newe league betwene the king and the French king openly proclaymed thorough the Citie of London with a Trompet. Thys yere also, Margaret Queene of Scottes, wife to Iames the fourth, slaine at Bramston the fift yere of the king, and eldest sister to the king, after the death of her late husband married Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus, without the king her brothers assent, or the Counsaile of Scotland, for the which he was not well pleased. But after that, there fell such a strife betweene the Lordes of Scotlande, that she and her husband like banished persons came into England, and wrote to the king for mercie and comfort. The king euer enclyned to mercy, sent them apparell, vessell, & all things necessarie, willyng to lye still in Northūberland, till they knew farther of his pleasure: And so they lay still at Harbottell, and the Queene was deliuered of a fayre Lady called Margaret, and all the Countrey were commaunded by the king to do them pleasure.

Margaret the Queene of Scottes and eldersister of Kyng Henrye the eight maried vnto Archibald Douglas Erle of Angus.

Margaret ye daughter of ye Queene of Scottes begotten by the Erle of Angus.

This

The birth of Ladie Mary which afterward was Queene of England.

This yere the. xviij. of February, at Greenewiche was borne a fayre Princes, and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

This yere dyed the king of Arragon father to the Queene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequie in the Cathedrall Church of Paules.

1516
8

Ye haue heard the last yere howe the Queene of Scottes with her husband was come for succor into England, and lay at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kinges pleasure was to sende for them. So he like a naturall brother sent for her & her husband to come to his Court for their solace. For the which kindnesse the Erle humbly thanked the king, and promysed to geue his attendaunce on the Queene his wife to the Court: wherevpon the king sent William Blacknal Esquier, Clerke of the Spicery, with siluer vessel, plate and other thinges necessary for the conueyaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate conuenient. And when she was redy to depart, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland and left her alone, nothing remembring his promise, which sodain departing much made her to muse: howbeit the Lords of England greatly encouraged her to kepe her promise with ỹ king her brother: and so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in euery towne she was well receiued, & so on the third day of May she made her entry into London, ridyng on a whyte palfray (which the Queene of England had sent to her) behynd sir Thomas Par richely beseene, and with great companie of Lordes and Ladies, shee rode through the citie to Baynardes Castell, and from thence she was conueyed to Grenewich, and there receyued ioyously of the King, the Queene, the French Queene her sister, and highly was she feasted. And when the king heard that ỹ Erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This Queene sometyme was at the Court, and sometime at Baynardes Castell, and so she continued in England all this yere.

The Erle of Angus sodainly flieth from the Queene his wife into Scotland.

The great costes that the king bestowed on Tournay.

This moneth of May were sent out of England. xij. hundred Masons, and Carpenters, and three hundreth labourers to the Citie of Tournay: for the king and his Counsail considering that the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, and therefore it was determined that there should be buylded a Castell to chastice the City if they rebelled, and to minishe the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thether, which this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

Iustice ministred by Cardinall Wolsey.

This yeare by the Cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupiyng of the kinges money in the warres or else where, not to euerye mans contentation, for some were found in arrerages, and some saued themselues by pollecy and briborye, and waxed riche, and some innocentes were punished. And for a truth he so punished periurye with open punishment and open papers wering, that in his time it was lesse vsed. He punished also Lordes, Knightes, and men of all sortes for ryots, beryng and mayntenyng in their countries, that the poore men lyued quyetly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonement: The poore people perceyued that he punished the riche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexation. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceyued their vntrew surmises and fayned complaintes for the most part, he then wexed wery of hering their causes, and ordayned by the kings commission, diuers vnder Courtes to here complaintes by byll of poore people. The one was kept in white Hall, the other before the kinges Almoner Doctor Stokesley, a man that had more learning, then descretion to be a Iudge. The thirde was kept in the Lorde Treasorers chamber besyde the Starre Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolles at the after noone. These Courtes were greatly haunted for a time but at the last the people perceyued that much delay was vsed in these Courtes, and fewe matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the lawe, then euery man was wery of them and resorted to the common law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew Bishop of Sedonon and Cardinall, called commonly the Cardinall of Swyshes, from the Emperour Maximilian. This Cardinall was a wise man and of great boldnes, and was well entertained in the Court &

of

of the king. And at his contemplation and for olde loue, the king lent to the Emperor Maximilian a great somme of money: wherof the company of Friscobald, and Anthony Caueler Geneuoy vndertooke the exchaung, but they payed not the Emperour at his day, notwithstanding they had receyued the money of the king. This Friscobald and Anthony Caueler by meanes of rewardes, geuen to great Lordes of the Counsaile borrowed of the kyng. xxx. thousande pounde and had long dayes for the payment: but Friscobalde was shortly consumed, and Anthony Caueler could not be sene, and so the king was not payed at his dayes, and many English Marchants were by these men vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goods.

In this season the Genowayes, Frenchmen and other straungers sayd and boasted themselues to be in suche fauour with the King and hys counsayle, that they set naught by the rulers of the Citie: and the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the poore Englishe artificers could scarce get any lyuing: And most of al the straungers were so prowde, that they disdayned, mocked and oppressed the Englishmen, which was the beginning of the grudge. For among all other thinges there was a Carpenter in London called Wylliamson, which bought two stocke Doues in Chepe, and as he was about to pay for them, a Frenchman tooke them out of his hande, and sayde they were not meat for a Carpenter: well sayde the Englishe man I haue bought them, and now payde for them, and therefore I will haue them, nay sayde the Frenchman I will haue them for my Lorde the Ambassador, and so for better or worse, the Frenchman called the Englishe man knaue, and went away with the stock Doues. The straungers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, and surmised a complaynt against the poore Carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my Lorde Maior, and sayde so much, that the Carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kings counsayle, that the kings commaundement was layde on him. And when syr Iohn Baker knight and other worshipfull persons sued to the Ambassadour for him, he aunswered by the body of God that the Englishe knaue should loose his lyfe, for he sayde no Englishe man should denie that the Frenche men requyred, and other aunswere had they none. The pride of French men.

Also a Frenchman that had slayne a man, should abiure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodainely came a great sort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them sayde to the Constable that led him, syr is thys crosse the price to kill an Englishe man. The Constable was somewhat astonied and aunswered not. Then sayde another Frenchman, on that price we would be banished all by the masse, thys saiyng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alonly oppressors of the Englishe men, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mans wyfe in Lombarde streete to come to his Chamber with her husbandes plate, which thing she did. After when her husband knew it, he demaunded hys wyfe, but answere was made he should not haue her, then he demaũded his plate, and in like maner answere was made that he should neyther haue plate nor wife. And when he had sued an action agaynst the straunger in the Guyldehall, the straunger so faced the Englishe man, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombard arrested ỹ poore man for his wyfes boord, while he kept her from her husband in his chamber. This mocke was much noted, & for these & many other oppressions done by them, there encreased such a malice in the Englishe mens hartes: that at the last it brast out. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Iohn Lyncolne, which wrote a bill before Easter, desiring Doctor Standiche at hys sermon at saint Marie Spittell the Monday in Easter weeke, to moue the Maior and Aldermen, to take part with the commonaltie against the straũgers. The Doctor aunswered that it became not him to moue any such thing in a sermon. From him he departed, and came to a Chanon in saint Mary Spittel, a Doctor in deuinitie, called Doctor Bele, & lamentably declared to him, how miserably the cõmon artificers lyued, & scarce could get any worke to find them, their wifes and children, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that toke away all their liuing in maner. And also how Iohn Lyncolne the first author of the insurrection of euill May day.

the English Marchants could haue no vtteraunce for their marchandice, for the Marchaunt straungers, bring in all silkes, cloth of Golde, Wine, Oyle, Iron, and such other marchaundise, that no man almost byeth of an English man, And also outwarde they carrie so much Englishe Wolle, Cloth, Tynne, and Leade, that Englishe men that auenture outwarde, can haue no lyuing: Which things sayde Lyncolne hath bene shewed to the counsayle, and cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungers compasse the Citie rounde about, in Southwarke, in Westmynster, Temple barre, Holborne, Saint Martins, Saint Iohns streete, Algate, Towre hill, and saint Katherynes, and forest all the market, so that no good thing for them commeth to the market: which is the cause that Englishe men want and sterue, and they lyue habundantly in great pleasure. Wherfore sayde Lyncolne maister Doctor, sith you were borne in London, and see the oppression of the straungers, and the great miserie of your awne natiue Countrie, exhort all the Citezens to ioyne in one against these straungers, rauener̄s and destroyers of your Countrie. Maister Doctor hearing this, sayde he much lamented the case, if it were as Lyncolne had declared, yes sayde Lyncolne that it is and much more, for the Dutchmen bring ouer Iron, Tymber, Leather and Weynskot readie wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskets, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, Girdels, with Poyntes, Sadels and painted clothes, so that if it were wrought here, the Englishe men might haue some worke and lyuing by it. And beside this they grow into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Sunday this Lent sixe hundred straungers shooting at the Popyngay with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make such a gathering to their common boxe, that euery Botcher will holde plee with the Citie of London: well sayde the Doctor, I will doe for a reformation of this matter as much as a priest may doe, and so receaued Lyncolnes byll and studied for his purpose. Then Lyncolne very ioyous of his enterprise went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they should heare newes, and daylie excited yong people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter came and Doctor Bele should preach, the Tuesday in Easter weeke, he came into the Pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pittifull byll, and red it in this wise. To all you the worshipfull Lordes and maysters of this Citie, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neyghbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof proceedeth the exstreme pouertie to all the kinges subiectes that inhabite within thys Citie and suburbes of the same, for so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the breade from the pore fatherlesse children, and take the lyuing from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all marchauntes, whereby pouertie is so much encreased that euerye man bewayleth the miserie of other, for craftes men be brought to beggerie, and marchauntes to needinesse: wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knyt and vnyte to one part, as the hurt and dammage greeueth all men, so must all men set to their wylling power for remedie, and not to suffer the sayde alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of this region to come to confusion. Of thys letter was more, but the Doctor red no farther, and then began *Cælum cæli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*, and vpon this text he intreated, that this lande was geuen to Englishe men, and as byrdes would defend their nest, so ought English men to cherishe and defende themselues, and to hurt and greeue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Gods lawe it was lawfull to fight for their Countrie, and euer he subtilly moued the people to rebell agaynst the straungers, and breake the kings peace, nothing regarding the league betwene Princes and the kings honor. Of this sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynst straungers. And as the Deuill would, the Sunday after at Grenewiche in the kings Gallery was Fraunces de *bard*, which as you harde kept an English mans wyfe and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie, and with him were Domyngo, Anthony Caueler, and manye mo straungers, and there they talkyng with syr Thomas Palmer knight, iested and laughed howe that Fraunces kept the Englishe mans wyfe, saiyng that

A bill put vp by Iohn Lincolne to a Preacher at the Spittle.

A Sermon made by doctor Bele.

if

if they had the Maiors wyfe of London, they woulde keepe her: Syr Thomas sayde, syrs you haue to muche fauour in England. There were dyuers Englishe Marchaunts by, and hard them laugh, and were not content, in so much as one William Bolt a Mercer sayde, well you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one day haue a day at you, come when it will, and that saiyng the other Marchaunts affirmed. Thys tale was reported about London, and the yong and euill disposed people sayde, they would be reuenged on the Marchaunt straungers, as well as on the artificers straungers.

On Monday the morrow after, the king remoued to his manour of Richemonde.

Vpon this rumour the. xxviij. daye of Aprill, diuerse young men of the City assauted the Aliens as they passed by the strets, and some were striken and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Maior sent diuerse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley Skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diuerse other, some to one Counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodainly was a common rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the Citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, insomuch as diuers straungers fled out of the Citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsaile, insomuch as the Cardinall being Lorde Chauncelor, sent for Iohn Rest Maior of the Citie, and other of the counsaile of the Citie, and demaunded of the Maior in what case the Citie stoode, to whome he aunswered that it was well and in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinal, it is informed vs that your yong and ryotous people will rise and distresse the Straungers, heare ye of no such thing? No suerly sayd the Maior, and I trust so to gouerne them that the kinges peace shal be obserued, and that I dare vndertake, if I and my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Well sayd the Cardinall, go home and wisely foresee this matter, for if any such thing be you may shortely preuent it. The Maior came from the Cardinal at foure of the clock in the after none on May euen, and demaũded of the officers what they heard, diuers of them answered that the voyce of the people was so, and had bene so two or three dayes before. This heering the Maior sent for all his brethren to the Guyldehall in great hast, and almost seuen of the clocke or the assemble was sette. Then was declared to them by Maister Brooke the Recorder how that the kinges counsaile had reported to them that the Comminaltie that night woulde rise, and distresse all the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the Citie of London: the Aldermen answered they hard say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde it was well done to foresee it. Then sayd the Recorder, it were best that a substanciall watch were set of honest persones, housholders, which might withstand the euill doers. An Alderman sayd, that it was euill to raise men to harneis, for if such a thing were entended, they could not tell who would take their part. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the yong men a sunder and euery man to shut his dores, and to kepe his seruauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinall before eyght of the clocke, and then he with such as were of the kinges counsaile at his place, commaunded that in no wise watch shoulde be kept, but that euery man should repaire to his awne house, and there to keepe him and his seruauntes tyll seauen of the clocke of the morning: with which commaundement, the sayd Richard Brooke Sergeaunt at the lawe and Recorder, and sir Thomas Moore, late vnder shriue of London, and then of the kinges counsaile, came to the Guilde hall halfe hower and before nine of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement of the kinges counsaile. Then in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should stirre after nine of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shutte, and his seruantes within tyll seauen of the clocke in the morning. After this commaundement, syr Iohn Mondye Alderman came from his warde, and found two yong men in Chepe playyng at Bucklers, and a great company of yong men loking on them for the commaundement was then scace knowne, for then it was but nine of the clocke. Maister Mondy seing that, bade them leaue, and the one yong man asked hym why? and then he sayde thou shalt knowe, and toke him by the arme to haue had him

1517 9

Iohn Rest Maior of London.

Euill May daye.

to the Counter. Then al the yong men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from maister Mondy, & cryed Prentyses and clubs. Then out of euerie dore came clubs and weapons and the Alderman fled, and was in great daunger. Then more people arose out of euery quarter, and out came Seruingmen, and Watermen, and Courtiers, and by a. xj. of the clocke there were in Chepe six or seauen hundred. And out of Paules Churchyarde came thre. C. which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the Counters, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Maior had thether committed for hurting of the straungers, and came to Newgat and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Maior and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamation in the kinges name, but nothing was obeyed. Thus they ran a plumpe through Saint Nicholas Shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desiring them to go to their lodginges: And as they were intreating, and had almost brought them to a stay. The people of Saint Martines threw out stones and battes, and hurte diuers honest personnes, that were perswading the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade them hold their handes, but still they threw out brickes and hoate water. Then a Sergeaunt of Armes called Nicholas Dounes, which was there with Maister Moore, entreating them, being sore hurt, in a fury cryed downe with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the doores and windowes of saint Martins, and spoyled all that they found, and cast it into the strete, and left fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlyng into Cornehill by Leaden Halle, to the house of one Mutuas a Frenchman or Picarde borne, which was a great bearer of Frenchmen, were they Pyckpursses, or how euill disposicion soeuer they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled diuers Frenchmen that kalendred Wôrsted, contrary to the kings lawes: and al they were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst meddle with them, wherefore he was sore hated, and if the people had founde him in their fury, they would haue striken of his head: but when they found him not, the Watermen, and certain yong persones that were there fell to ryflyng: some ranne to Blanchchapelton, and brake the straungers houses, and threw shooes and bootes into the strete: Thus from ten or a leauen of the clock, continued these royotous people, duryng which tyme a knight called syr Thomas Parre, in great haste went to the Cardinall and tolde him of this ryot which incontinent strengthned his house with men and ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Richmond, and made the report more then it was: Wherefore the King hastely sent to London, and was truely aduertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceassed, and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued, Sir Richard Cholmely knight Liuetenaunt of the Towre, no great friende to the Citie in a frantike fury losed certayne peeces of ordinaunce, and shot into the Citie, which did litle harme howbeit his good will appered. About thre of the clock, these ryotous persons seuered themselues and went to their places of resort, and by the waye they were taken by the Maior and the Heds of the Citie, and some sent to the Tower, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of thre hundred, some fled and especialls the Watermen, and Seruingmen, but the poore prentises were taken. About fiue of the clocke, the Erles of Shrewsbury and Surrey, which had heard of this ryot, came to London with such strength as they had, so did the Innes of Courte, and diuers noble men: but or they came, all the ryot was ceassed, and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of Doctor Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Tower, and so was Iohn Lincolne: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the fourth day of May was an Oyer and determiner at London before the Maior, the Duke of Norffolke, the Erle of Surrey and other. The Citye thought that the Duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slaine in Chepe, insomuch the Duke then in his fury sayde, I pray God I may once haue the Citizens in my daunger: and the Duke also thought that they bare him no good will, wherefore he came into the Citie with. xiij. hundreth

men in harnesse to kepe the Oyer and determiner. And vpon examination, it could neuer be proued of any meetyng, gatheryng, talkyng or conuenticle at any day or tyme before that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepensed of any creature sauyng Lyncoln, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamations were made that no women should come together to babble and talke, but all men should kepe their wyues in theyr houses. All the stretes that were notable stood full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the Citizens, which grieued them sore: and if they would haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worse, for the Citezens were two hundred to one: but lyke true subiects they suffered paciently. A Oyer and determyner.

When the Lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in through the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some children of. xiij. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and friendes for their children and kinsfolke. Among the prisoners manye were not of the Citye, some were priestes and some husbandmen and labourers, and they were all arreigned of Treason. The cause of the Treason was, because the King had amitie with all christen Princes, that they had broken the truce and league contrary to the statute of king Henry the fift. Of this treason diuers were endited, and so for that tyme the Lordes departed. And the next day the duke came againe, and the Erle of Surrey with two thousand armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Maior, the Duke, and the Erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and. xiij. founde guiltie of high treason, and adiudged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, & for the execution hereof, were set vp a. xj. payre of Gallowes in diuers places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leaden hall, and before euery Counter one, and at Newgate, at Saint Martyns, at Aldersgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight sore grieued the people to see Galowes set vp in the kings Chamber. Then were the prisoners that were iudged, brought to the places of execution, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the Lorde Edmond Haward, sonne to the Duke of Norffolke, and knight Mershall shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie, to the poore yonglynges in their execution, and likewyse the Dukes seruauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the Citie on fyre, but all was suffered.

On Thursday the. vij. day of May was Lyncolne, Shyrwyn, and two brethren called Bets, and dyuers other adiudged to dye. Then Lincolne sayde, my Lordes, I meant well, for, and you knewe the mischiefe that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedie it, and many times I haue complayned, and then I was called a busye felowe: now our Lorde haue mercy on me. Then all the sayde persons were layde on the Hardelles, and drawne to the standard in Chepe, and first was Iohn Lyncoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the king to respite execution. Then the people cryed, God saue the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another day and the prisoners sent againe to warde, and the harnessed men departed out of London, and all thinges quiet. Iohn Lincolne with other put to death.

The. xj. day of May the king came to his Manor of Grenewich, where the recorder of London, & dyuers Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all ware Gownes of blacke coulor. And when they perceyued the King comming out of his priuie Chamber into his Chamber of presence, they kneled downe and the Recorder said: Our most natural, benigne, and souereigne Lorde, we know well that your grace is displeased with vs of your Citie of London for the great ryot late done: we assertaine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condiscendyng to that enormitie, and yet we, our wyues, and children, euery houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs, and forasmuch as light and ydle persons were the doers of the same, we most humbly besech your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offenders for their offence and trespasse.

Truly

Truly sayd the king, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, and ye ought to waile and be sory for the same, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which you say were so small a number of light persons, wherefore we must thinke, & you can not denie, but you did winke at the matter, but at this tyme, we will graunt to you neyther our fauour nor good will, nor to the offenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall oure Chauncelour, and he shall make you an answere, and declare our pleasure, and with this answere the Londoners departed and made relation to the Maior.

The Quene of Scottes returneth into Scotland to her husband.

The. xviij. day of this Moneth the Queene of Scottes, which had bene at the Court, and at Baynards Castell, a whole yere at the kinges charge, and was richly appoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Iewels, Plate, Tapistry, Arras, Coyne, Horses, and all other thinges of the kinges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London towarde Scotlande wyth great riches, albeit she came into England with much pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the. xiij. day of Iune, whom her husband receyued at Barwick: but the English men smally him regarded. All her charges within the realme, commyng to the Court and returnyng, were of the kinges pursse.

King Henry the eight came to Westminsser hall, and there sat himselfe in iudgement.

Thursday the. xxij. day of May, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a cloth of estate, and the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke the Erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex, Wilshire and of Surrey, with manye Lordes and other of the kinges Counsale. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the chief of the City were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinall had them appoynted) by. ix. of the clocke. Then the king commaunded that all the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore yonglings and olde false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirtes, and euery one a Halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and. xj. women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the Cardinall sore layd to the Maior and commonaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offence: Then all the prisoners together cryed merey gracious Lorde, mercy. Then the Lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the king pardoned them all. And then the Cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation to the great gladnesse of the heerers. And when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners showted at once, and altogether cast vp their Halters into the Hall rooffe, so that the king might perceyue they were none of the discretest sort. Here is to be noted that dyuers offenders which were not taken, heeryng that the king was inclined to mercye, came well apparayled to Westminster, and sodainlye stryped them into their shirtes with halters, and came in among the prisoners willyngly, to be partakers of the kinges pardon, by the which doyng, it was well knowen that one Iohn Gelson yoman of the Crowne, was the first that beganne to spoyle, and exhorted other to do the same, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, & so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the Galowes within the Citie taken downe, and many a good prayer sayde for the king, and the Citizens tooke more heede to their seruants.

The king pardoneth all the rebels.

The sweating sickneese.

After this, sodainly there came a plague of sicknesse, called the swetyng sicknesse. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within two houres, some mery at dinner, and dead at supper. Many dyed in the kinges Court, the Lord Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many Knightes, Gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned, and because that this maladie continued from Iuly to the middes of December, the king kept himselfe euer with a small companie, and kept no solempne Christmasse, willyng to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one town halfe the people dyed,

and

and in some other towne the thirde part, the Sweate was so feruent, and the infections so great.

In the beginning of this yere, Trinitie terme was begon at Oxenford, where it continued but one daye, and was againe adiourned to Westmineter. This yere came to Calice from Pope Leo, a Legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Campeius, for to exhort the king to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the sayde Leo sent three other Legates foorth at that time for the sayde purpose, one into Fraunce, another into Spaine, and the thirde into Germany. 1517

9 The terme kept at Oxenford. Cardinall Campeius sent into England.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knew that there was comming a Legate into England, which should haue a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambition was neuer satisfied, caused a Byshop and certayne Doctors to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome him, and to shewe to him that if he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effect in Englande, he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the sayde Cardinall of Yorke to be Legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with him, which thing was done (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and fiue dayes, the Bull was brought to Calice. During which time the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, red cloth to clothe his seruauntes, which at their comming to Calice, were but meanely apparelled. And when all things were readie, he passed the Sea and landed at Douer, and so kept forth his iorney toward London. At euery towne as they passed, he was receyued with procession, and accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheth, there met him the Duke of Norffolke, with a great number of Prelates, knightes and Gentlemen, all richely apparcled. And in the waye he was brought into a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, where he shifted hymselfe into a robe of a Cardynall, edged wyth Ermynes, and so tooke his Moyle ryding toward London.

The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the cariages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue Mulets with emptie Cofers couered with red, which twelue Mulets were led thorough London, amongst the Mulets of Campeius, which were but eyght and so these twentie Mulets passed through the streetes, as though they had bene full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulets brake from her keeper, and ouerthrewe the Chestes, and ouerturned two or three other Mulets cariages, which fell with such a violence, that dyuers of them vnlocked, and out of some fell olde hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted Fleshe, peeces of bread, Egges, and much vile baggage: at which sight the boyes cryed, see, see, my Lorde Legates treasure, and so the Muleters were ashamed, and tooke vp all their stuffe, and passed forth. And about three of the clock at after none, on the. xxix. daye of Iuly the sayde Legate entred the Citie, and in Southwarke met him all the Clergie of London, with Crosses, Sensers, and Copes, and sensed him with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupations of the Citie in their best lyueries stoode in the streetes, and him highly honored: to whome syr Thomas Moore made a briefe oration in the name of the Citie: And when he came to Paules, there he was receyued by Byshops Mitred, and vnder a Canapie entred the Church: which Canapy his seruaunts tooke for their fees. And when he had offered he gaue his benediction to all the people, and tooke agayne hys Mule, and so was wyth all hys traine aforesayde, conueyed to Bathe place, and there rested: where he was welcommed of the Cardinall of Yorke. And on Sunday next ensuyng, these two Cardinalles as Legates, tooke their Barges and came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their Crosses two pillers of Siluer, two little Axes guylt, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinals hats borne before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the king royally apparelled and accompanied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome, and so brought them both vp into his Chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oration made by an Italian, declaryng the cause

A foule defacyng of the Cardinals honour.

cause of the Legacie to be in two articles, one for ayde agaynst Gods enemies, and the second for reformation of the Clergie. And when masse was done, they were had to a Chamber, and serued with Lords and knightes, with much solemnitie: and after dinner they tooke their leaue of the king and came to London, and rode through the Citie together in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings.

The Cardinalles court called the Court Legantyne.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a Legate, he set vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, and proued Testamentes, and heard causes to the great hinderaunce of all the Byshops of the realme. He visited Byshops and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder couler of reformation he gat much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischiefe: for by example of his pride, priestes and all spirituall persons waxed so prowde, that they wore Veluet, and silke, both in Gownes, Iackets, Doblets, and shoes, kept open lecherie, and so highly bare themselues by reason of his auethorities and faculties, that no man durst once reproue any thing in them, for feare to be called heretike, and then they would make him smoke or beare a Faggot. And the Cardinall himselfe was so prowde, that he thought himselfe egall with the king: and when he had sayd Masse, he made Dukes and Erles to serue him of Wyne with a saie taken, and to holde the Bason at the Lauatories. Thus the pride and ambition of the Cardinall and Clergie was so high, that in maner all good persons abhorred and disdeyned it.

Thys yere the Frenche king wrote to the King of Englande, that if it were his pleasure, he would send an Ambassade into Englande, to common with the king and his counsayle for the redeeming of the Citie of Tournay, and other things: which aunswered the messenger, that the Ambassade of the French king should be right hartily welcome to him. And so the French king sent into Englande the Lorde Boneuet, high Admirall of Fraunce, and the Byshop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors accompanied with many noble men, and yong freshe Galaunts of the court of Fraunce, to the number of. lxxx. and more, and then came a great number of rascall Pedlers, and Iuellers, and brought ouer Hattes and Cappes, and dyuers Marchaundise vncustomed, all vnder the colour of the trussery of the Ambassadours.

Ambassadors sent out of Fraunce to the king of England.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, they were receyued by the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Countrey, and so conueyed from lodging to lodging till they came to Blackheth, and before them went their cariages and people in great number, to the summe of twelue hundred one an other, which was thought to be to many for an Ambassade. These Gentlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

The Erle of Surrey receyueth the Ambassadors.

Monday the. xxvij. daye of September, the Erle of Surrey high Admyrall of Englande, in a coate of rich Tissue cut on cloth of siluer, on a great courser richely trapped, and a great Whistell of Golde, set with stones and pearle, hangyng at a great and massy Chayne baudrick wise, accompanied with an hundred and. lx. Gentlemen, richly appareled, on goodly horses came to Blackheth, and there amiably receaued the Ambassadors of Fraunce. The yong galants of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue partes verie richely to beholde: and so all the Englishe men accoupled themselues with the French men louingly together, and so roade to London. After the two Admyralls followed. xxiiij. of the Frenche kinges Garde, whome accompanyed. xxiiij. of the kings Garde. And after them a great number of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And in thys order they passed thorough the Citie to Taylers hall, and there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, and the remnaunt in Marchaunts houses about. When these Lords were in their lodgings, then the French harder men open their wares, and made Taylers hall lyke to the paunde of a marte. At thys doyng many an Englishe man grudged, but it auayled not. The last daye of September, the French Ambassadors tooke their Barge, & came to Greenewiche. The Admyrall was in a Gowne of cloth of siluer raysed, furred with ryche Sables, and all his company almost were in a newe fassion garment, called a Shemew, which was in effect a Gowne, cut in the middle. The Gentlemen of Fraunce were brought to the kings presence, where the Bvshop of Parvs made a solempne

lempne oration, which beyng ended, and aunswere made thereto, the king highly enterteyned the Admirall and his company, and so did all the Englishe Lordes and Gentlemen. The Ambassadors beyng daylie in counsayle at Grenewiche, the other Gentlemen daunced and passed the time in the Queenes chamber with Ladies and Gentlewomen. After long counsayling and much desiring of the French king and his counsayle, it was agreed that the Citie of Tournay should be delyuered to the French king, he paiyng sixe hundred thousand Crownes for the Citie, and foure hundred thousand Crownes for the Castell, the which the king had buylded, but it was not fully performed: and also he should pay. xxiij. thousand pound Tourneys, the which summe the Citizens of the Citie of Tourney ought to the king of Englande for their liberties and fraunchises.

An agremēt that the City of Tournay should again be deliuered to the french men.

Vpon these agrementes to be performed it was concluded that the City of Tourney should be deliuered to the French king. The Frenchmen the soner to come to their purpose, made a pretence of mariage to be had, betwene the Dolphin, sonne and heyre to the French king and the Ladye Mary the kinges daughter, which was agred vpon this condicion, that if they both consented at lawfull age, then to be firme and stable, or else not: for then they were both very yong. And so all matters were concluded, and the Erle of Worcester and the Bishop of Ely appoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliuery of the Citie of Tourney, and performing of the other agrementes. And for the sure payment of the summes of money to be paide to the king of England vpon the sayd agrements, there were foure Gentelmen of the realme of Fraunce, left in England for hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Mounsier Monpesart, Mounsier Moy, Moūsire Morret. Of the which foure the two first named were of noble bloud, but the two last were but of meane houses. And because they were yong, there was auncient Gentlemen appoynted gouernors to them.

When all thinges were concluded and sealed, the King and all the Ambassadours richely appareled, and the two Legates roade solempnly to the Church of Saint Paul from the Bishop of Durhams place: and there was made from the West doore to the Quere doore of the Church, egall with the highest step, a haute pace of timber twelue foote broad, that the king and the Ambassadours might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sang high Masse, and had his cloth of estate of Tyssue: his Cupbord set with Basons all guilt couered: his place was fiue steppes high. At the first lauatory, thre Erles serued him, and at the second two Dukes and a Marques, and with the assay taken, they gaue hym wine, and after water. And when the Masse was done, the Cardinall Campeius and he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done, Doctor Pace the kinges Secretary a man verie eloquent, made a goodly Oracion in praise of peace: and that done, the king and all his Nobles and Ambassadours went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner, the king roade againe to the Bishop of Durhams place.

After diuerse Iustes and feastes made, the sayd Ambassadours by the king and the Lordes: Sir Thomas Exmew Maior of London, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmithes hall, which dinner they highly praysed, it was so well ordered.

And when time came, they tooke their leaue of the king, the Queene, and the kinges Counsaile, and deliuered into the kings possession their foure hostages as you haue heard before: at which departing the king gaue to the Admirall of Fraunce a garnish of guilt vessell, a payre of couered Basons guilt, twelue great guilt Bowles, foure payre of great guilt Pottes, a standing Cup of Gold, garnished with great Perle: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some Cheines of Gold, to some rich apparell, and to some great horses with rich bardes, so that euery gentleman was wel rewarded: which liberalitie the straungers much praysed: and after that all their trusses were ready they departed towarde the sea, and tooke ship and landed at Boleyn.

Great and riche giftes geuen by the king to the Ambassadours of Fraunce.

Sone after their departing, the Erle of Worcester being the kinges Chamberlayn: The Bishop of Ely, the Lorde of Saint Iohns, sir Nicholas Vauxe, sir Iohn Pechy, Sir Thomas

Ambassadours sent from the king of England vnto the french king.

Thomas Bulleyn as Ambassadours from the king of England accompanied with. lxx. knights and gentelmen and yomen, to the number of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea with some stormes, and came to Calice, and passed through Picardie with great and kinde entertaynment in all places tyll they came to Paris, where they were noblye receyued, euery man matched with a like pere: and after they were brought to the French kinges presence, where the Bishop of Elye made a solempne Oration, as concerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with such a bold spirite that the Frenchmen much prayse-ed his audacitie.

Peace concluded.

The conclusyon of thys peace was this, that Henrye king of England, Fraunces king of Frenchmen, and Charles king of Castell had sworne a perpetuall peace, during their liues. And if it should happen any of the thre to violate the league in any poynt and to moue warre: then the other two shoulde ioyne together and make warre against the violater or breaker of the peace.

After all thinges concluded, the Erle of Worcester, and with him Sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Iohn Pechy, sir Edwarde Belknap, with many other knightes tooke their leaue of the French king, and roade to Tournay, where they were well receyued. Then began the Capitaynes and the Souldiours to mourne, knowing that the towne should be yelded to the French king, and many a yong Gentleman, and many a tall yoman, wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayde Erle discharged sir Richard Iernyngham of his office of Capitaine, and commaunded euery man to be obedient to the Kinges pleasure, and to prepare to returne into England. The viij. day of February, the Lord Chastileon came nere to the Citie of Tournay with. xxj. hundreth men in harnesse. The Erle of Worcester sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he shewed him his Commission, which was to receiue the Citie of Tournay. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to send his commission to the Erle of Worcester, which he refused to do, saiyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayde sir Edward Belknap you must vnderstand that we haue a commission from the king our Maister to deliuer you the Citie at a day appoynted: wherefore we must shew the king of England both your commissiō that you had authoritie to receiue it frō the french king, & also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes, shall cōfesse ẏ you receyued the Citie as a gift, & not rendred as a right to the King your Maister, or else be you sure that the Citie shall not be deliuered. Then the Lord Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleued: And so dayly were great messages sent to the Citie from him to the Erle of Worcester, and aunsweres were sent of the Englishe part. But when the day approched, he had full aunswere that he must deliuer his commission, and also seale the indenture, or else the Englishmen would not put him in possession of the towne, for their commission was otherwise. The French Capitaynes perceiuyng that if they disagreed at the day, that doubtes might follow: wherefore they sent their commission, and sealed their indenture, and sent it likewise in the mornyng, and came forward with their Banners displayed: whereof heeryng the Erle, he sent word that the Citie was neither yelded, nor gotten, but deliuered for confederation of maryage, and therefore they should not enter with Banners displayed. Then were the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedie but to rolle vp theyr Standardes and Banners. And when they came to the Gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemply read openly: and then the french men entered with Drumslades, and mynstrelsie without any Banner: And then to *Mounsire Chastileon* was deliuered the Castell, and there he ordeyned watch and warde in euery part. Thus was the Citie of Tournay delyuered the viij. day of February in the tenth yere of the reigne of the king, and many a tall yoman that lacked liuyng fell to robbyng, which would not labour after their returne.

The maner of the delyuerye of Tournay.

Duryng this tyme remayned in the French Court, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, and dyuers other of the yong Gentlemen of England, and they with the French king roade dayly disguised through Parys, throwyng egges, stones, and other foolishe tryfles as

at the people, which light demeanor of a king was much discommended and gested at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eatyng, drinking and apparell, yea and in French vices and bragges, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the Ladies and gentlewomen were dispraysed, so that nothing by them was praysed, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displeasure as you shall heere.

After the kinges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay deliuered to the French men, vpon the condicions aforesayde, the hostages that were here left for the payment of the great sommes and performaunce of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was, that if the mariage tooke none effect, then the Citie of Tournay should be redeliuered vpon repayment of the same somme) the sayd hostages knewe not in what case they stood, but when they knewe it, they were very heauy and sorowfull: howbeit they dissimuled the matter in the best wise they could.

In the end of March the king sent for al the yomen of the gard that were come from Tournay, and after many good wordes geuen to them, he graunted to them foure pence by the day without attendaunce, except they were specially commaunded: and yet for all this the commonaltie sayde that the king was euill counsayled to geue away the Citie of Tournay, because the maintainyng of a garrison there should haue nourished and brought vp men and yonger brethren in feates of warre to the great strength and defence of the Realme.

This yere the. xij. day of February died the Emperour Maximilian, for whom the king caused a solempne Obsequie to be done at Paules Church, all the Nobles of the realme, and knightes of the Garter beyng present, of which order the sayd Emperour was one. The death of Maximilian Emperor.

In the beginnyng of thys yere, the king with all the knightes of hys order beyng in Englande, road on double horses, with the Henxcemen folowyng the king, from Colbroke to Wyndsore in gorgious apparell, and there he kept with great solempnity the feast of Saint George, and dyned in the hall. And the Bishop of Winchester Prelate of the order sat at the bordes ende alone. The king was solemnly serued, and the surnap cast lyke the feast of a coronation. All thinges were plenteous to straungers that resorted thether. At the Masse of *Requiem* was offered, the banner and other hachementes of honour belongyng to Maximilian the Emperour late deceassed. After this feast ended, the king came to Richemond, and so to Grenewich, and there lay all May. 1519 xi

In which moneth the kinges Counsaile secretly commoned together of the kinges gentlenesse and liberalitie to all persons: by the which they perceyued that certaine yong men in his priuie Chamber, not regardyng hys estate nor degree, were so familiar and homely with him, and played suche light touches with him, that they forgat themselues: Which things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not reproued it: yet the kinges Counsaile thought it not meete to be suffered for the kings honour, and therfore they altogether came to the king, besechyng him all these enormities and lightnesse to redresse. To whome the king aunswered, that he had chosen them of his Counsaile, both for the maintenaunce of his honour, and for the defence of all thing that might blemish the same: wherefore if they sawe any about him misvse themselues, he committed it to their reformation. Then the kinges Counsaile caused the Lord Chamberleyn to call before them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therefore shall not at this tyme be named) with diuers other also of the priuie Chamber, which had bene in the frenche Court, and banished them the Court for diuers considerations, laiyng nothing perticularly to their charges. And they that had offices were commaũded to go to their offices: which discharge out of the Court grieued sore the heartes of these yong men, which were called the kinges Minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kings priuie Chamber, whose names were sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Richard Iernyng-

ham, sir Richarde Weston, and sir William Kingston: and diuers omcers were chaungeu in all places.

Then sir Iohn Pechy was made deputie of Calice, and sir Richarde Wingfield thereof discharged, and Nicholas Carew made Capitain of Rice banke, and commaunded to go thether, which was sore to him displeasaunt. These yong minions which was thus seuered from the king, had beene in Fraunce, and so highly praysed the French king and his Court, that in a maner they thought little of the king and his Court, in comparison of the other, they were so high in loue with the French Court, wherefore their fall was little moned among wyse men.

This was Charles the fift of that name.

This yere in the moneth of Iune was elected to be Emperour Charles king of Castell, and nephew to the Queene, by the whole assent of the electors of the Empyre: Although the Frenche king sent his great Mayster to cause him to be elected to the high maiesty of the Empire: yet his Ambassador and great mayster of hys housholde called Gonffier Lord of Boisy, and brother to William Gonffier Lord Boneuet Admiral of Fraunce, which was Ambassador in England the last yere as you haue heard, did not so his message that it tooke any effect. The king which had sent Doctor Pace his Secritory for the aduauncement of his nephew the King of Castell to the dignitie Emperiall, because he had the Duchy of Ostrik, and many other seignioryes in Almaine, was very ioyous of this election, and caused a solempne Masse to be song at Paules the. vij. day of Iuly: at which Masse was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckingham, of Norffolke, and Suffolke, with the Ambassadours of Spaine, Fraunce, Venice, and Scotland. And after Masse was done, the Quiere sang *Te deum*, and then all the Lordes departed to Baynardes Castell to dinner, and that night were solempne fieres made through London, and great pleutie of Wine geuen by Italians, Duchemen, and Spanyardes, for these newes.

This Sommer the Queene desired the King to bring to her Manor of Hauerying in the Bower of Essex, the Gentlemen of Fraunce beyng hostages. And for their welcommyng she purueyed all thinges in the most liberallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng such a sumptuous banket, that the king thanked her hartily, and the straungers gaue it great prayse. The King liyng there did shote, hunte, and runne dayly with the hostages, to their great ioy.

In the Month of Nouember, the king came from Lambeth to Westminster hall, & so to the starre chamber, & there were before him the Lord Ogle, the Lord Haward, sir Mathew Browne, sir William Bulmer, & Iohn Scot of Camerwell, for dyuers riottes, misdemeanors and offences, and especially the king rebuked Sir Wylliam Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kyngs seruaunt sworne, refused the kings seruice, and became seruaunt to the Duke of Buckingham, saiyng: that hee would none of hys seruauntes should hang on an other mans sleeue, and that he was as well able to maintaine him as the Duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his departing, and what might be supposed by the Dukes retayning, he would not then declare. The knyght kneeled still on hys knees, criyng the king mercie, and neuer a noble man there durst entreate for him, the king was so highly displeased with him. Yet at the last when other matters were heard, the king moued with pittie forgaue the saide syr Wylliam his offence, saiyng, that we wil that none of our seruaunts shall belong to any other person, but to vs, nor we will not that our subiectes repine or grudge at such as we fauour, for our pleasure we will haue in that case as vs lyketh, for one we will fauour nowe, and another at such time as vs shall like: and therefore Sir Wylliam, if you serue vs hartily, you shall not be forgotten, and for this time we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lord Edmond Haward, and Syr Mathewe Browne their offences, which were indicted of ryottes, and maintenaunce of bearinges of diuers misdoers within the Countie of Surrey: but the Lorde Ogle humbly beseched the king of hys mercie, to whome he aunswered. Sir your matter concerneth murther of our subiect, which great offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfore

therfore we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the way he made Iames Yarfford Maior of the Citie of London knight, and so he with all his counsayle came to Lambeth.

The foure Gentlemen hostages of Fraunce, dayly resorted to the court and had great cheere, and were well entertayned, and euery time they moued, stirred and required the king to passe the Sea, and to meete with the French king their maister, whome they praysed highly, affirming that if the king and he might once familierly common together, that there should such a constaunt loue rise and encrease betweene them, which afterward should neuer faile. This request was oftentimes heard and little regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of Februarie it was agreed that the king in person should passe the sea to hys Castell and Lordship of Guisnes, and there in Maye next comming betweene Guisnes and Arde, the king and the French king should meete. When thys was fully concluded, the king wrote letters to all suche Lordes, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen as should geue their attendaunce on him and the Queene: which incontinent put themselues in a readynesse, after the most costliest fassion, for the furniture of the same meeting.

Then were sent to Guysnes vnder the rule of syr Edward Belknap thre thousand artificers, which buylded out of the earth on the playne before the Castell of Guysnes, the most goodlyest Palace of tymber that euer was wrought in the same place, and so curiously garnished without and within. Beside thys prouisions were made within the realme of Englande and in Flaunders for vittayle, wyne and all other thinges necessarie for the same. And yet beside all this Orleaunce king at armes in Fraunce came into the Court of Englande and made Proclamation, that the king of England and the French King, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes, with. xviij. aydes in Iune next ensuyng, should abide all commers beyng gentlemen, at the Tylt, at Torney, and at barriers, and lyke proclamation was made by Clarenseaux king at armes in England, and in the Court of Fraunce, and in the Court of Burgoyne, and in dyuers other Courtes and places in Almaine, and Italye. For furnishing of the Iustes, there was deuysed a Tylt, and all things necessarie for that enterprise, in a goodly playne betweene Guysnes and Arde.

Duryng the time of these preparations, newes were brought to the king that Charles his Nephewe elected Emperour of Almayne woulde shortly depart out of Spaine by sea, and come by Englande to go into Germany to receyue hys first Crowne at Acon. Wherfore the king caused great prouisions to be made at euery Hauen, for the receyuing of hys welbeloued Nephew and friend, and daylie prouisions were made on all sides for these noble meetings of so high princes: and especially the Queene of Englande and the Lady Dowagar of Fraunce, made great cost on the apparell of their Ladies and Gentlewomen.

In this yere the King being informed that his realme of Ireland was out of order, discharged the Erle of Kildare of his office of Deputy and thervnto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was appointed the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall, to Whome the Cardinall did not owe the best fauour. Wherefore the sayde Erle of Surrey in the beginning of Aprill tooke leaue of the king, and the Duke of Norffolke his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diuers Gentelmen, that had bene in the garrison of Tourney, and one hundred yomen of the Kinges gard, and other to the number of a thousand men. Where he by his manhood and wisdome, brought the Erle of Desmond and diuers other rebelles to good conformitie and order: and there he continued in great hardnesse two yere and more, in which space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wilde Irish.

When it was concluded that the kinges of England and Fraunce should mete, as you haue heard, then both the kings committed the order and maner of their meting, and how many dayes they should mete, and what preheminence eche shoulde geue to other, to the Cardinall of Yorke.

The

1520
12

The king intending and perseuering in purpose to mete with Fraunces the French king, great and rich prouisions were made, wherfore the noble King and the Queene wyth all the noble Courte, remoued the. xxj. daye of May being on Mondaye, from their Manor of Grenewhich, toward the Sea side, and so on Fridaye being the. xxv. day of May, arriued at the Citie of Cauntorbury intending there to kepe his Whitsontyde.

Charles Emperour landed in England.

Sone after his comming to Cauntorburie, tidinges were brought that Charles Emperour elect, was on the Sea, in sight of the coast of Englande, wherefore officers of the king were sent with great diligence to the Castell and Towne of Douer, to be there in a readinesse against the arriuall of the Emperour.

The Lord Cardinall came to the towne of Douer in haste with a noble repaire, abiding the comming of the Emperour, which Emperour, the Saterday, being the. xxvj. day of May arriued with all his nauy of ships royall on the coaste of Kent, direct to the towne or port of Hieth the sayde daye by noone, where he was hailed by the noble knight sir William Fitzwilliam, vice Admirall of Englande, with six of the kinges shippes well furnished, which laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Calice, at the coste and charges of the king of England: Calmenesse of the wether and lacke of winde caused that the Emperour might not so sone take land at the port of Douer, as he woulde haue done. Notwithstanding towardes the euen he departed from his shippes, and entered into his boate comming towardes the lande, where in his comming to land: on the sea the Lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate met and receaued him with suche reuerence as to so noble a Prince appertayned. Thus landed the Emperour Charles, vnder the cloth of hys estate of the blacke Egle all splayed on riche cloth of Golde. In his retinue with him, were manye noble men, and many fayre Ladies of his blood, as princes and Princesses, and one Lady as chiefe to be noted, was the princes of Auinion with many other Nobles which landed with him in high & sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell: great ioye made the people of Englande to see the Emperour, and more to see the bening maner and mekenesse of so high a Prince.

When the Emperour had thus taken lande, the Lorde Cardinall was as conduyt to the same noble Emperour from the shore of Douer vnto the Castell there: then were all persones chered with the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departing of the Emperour to the lande from his Nauie, the apparell of euerie ship then shewed, as Flagges, Banners, Stremers, and Targetes, then the mightie ordynaunce of euery of them brake out by force of fier as though the sea had brent, marueilous was the noise of the gonnes.

The Emperor being thus in the Castell of Douer, with hastie tidinges came to the king where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted him towards the noble Emperor. And so came ridyng early in the morning to ỹ Castell of Douer, within which Castel the king alighted: the Emperor hering ỹ king to be come, came out of his chamber to meete with the king, and so met with him on the stalers or he could come vp: where eche embraced other right louingly: then the king brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there comming was of gladnesse.

Sone after these two noble Princes on the Whitsondaye early in the morning tooke their horse and roade to the Citie of Cauntorburie, the more to solempne the feast of Penticost, but specially to se the Queene of England his Aunt was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of Englond and the Queene with her beautifull trayne of Ladies receyued and welcomed the same Charles elect Emperor, whose person was by the king conueighed to a faire and pleasaunt chamber where the sayde Emperor appareled him right richely. Then the noble retinue of the sayd Emperor aswell of Lordes as of Ladies were lodged, aswell as there might be, with ioy and much gladnesse, & there in Cauntorburie soiorned the Emperor and all his trayne with the king, vntyll the Thursday in the same weeke.

The

The last daye of May being Thursday, the Emperor tooke leaue of the king and all the Ladies, and gaue great thankes, and so roade to Sandwiche, and there tooke his shippes, the winde to him was liking, whereby he sailed into Flaunders.

Then the same day, the king of England made saile from the port of Douer and with a goodly nauie landed at Calice at the houre of a. xj. of the cleck and with him the Queene and Ladies and many Nobles of the realme. And so was the king receyued into the Checker and there rested: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Calice from the French Court, to see the king and to salute him, which were of his grace, Princely entertayned.

Mondaye the fourth daye of Iune the kinges grace with all the nobles and the Queene with her traine of Ladyes as other, remoued from Calice to his Lordship royall of Guisnes, which was so Noble and royall a lodgyng as before had not beene seene, for it was a Palace: the Palace was quadrant, and euerye quadrant of the same Palace was three hundred. xxviij. foote long of a syse, which was in compasse. xiij. hundreth, and. xij. foote about. This Palace was set on stages by great cunnyng and sumptuous worke. At the entryng into the Palace before the Gate, on the plaine greene was buylded a fountaine of embowed worke, gylte with fyne golde, and Bice, ingrayled wyth anticke workes, the olde God of Wyne called Baccus birlyng the wyne, which by the conduytes in the earth ranne to all people plentiously with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whose head was written in letters of Romaine in golde *Faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.*

The description of the newe palace made by the king of England at Guynes for the receauing of the french king.

On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a piller, which was of auncient Romaine worke, borne with foure Lyons of Golde, the pillers wrapped in wreathe of Golde curiously wrought and intrayled, and on the sommet of the sayd Pyller stoode an Image of the blind God Cupide, wyth hys Bowe and arrowes of loue readie by his seemyng, to stryke the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mighty masonrie by sight was arched, with a Tower on euery syde of the same portered by great craft, and inbatteled was the gate and Tower, and in the fenesters, and windowes were Images resemblyng men of warre redie to cast great stones: Also the same gate or Tower was set with compassed Images of auncient Princes, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled worke, richly limned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warely was made ouer the gate loupes, and enforced with battailmentes, and in the same gate a lodge for the Porter: which there appered and other, sumptuously apparayled lyke vnto kinges officers.

By the same gate all people passed into a large Court fayre and beautifull, for in this Court appered much of the outward beautie of this palace, for from the first water table to the raysyng or resun pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery syde mixed with cleere Storyes, curiously glased, the postes or monyelles of euery wyndow was guilt. Thus the outwarde part of the place delighted the eies of the beholders, by reason of the sumptuous worke. Also the Tower of the Gate as seemed, was builded by great masonry, and by great engyne of mans wit, for the sundrie countenaunces of euery Image that their appered, some shootyng, some castyng, some readie to strike, and firing of Gonnes, which shewed very honourably. Also all the sayd quadrants bayes, and edifices, were royally entraled, as farre as vnto the same Court appertayned. And direct agaynst the Gate was deuised a halpas, and at the entry of the stayre was Images of sore and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of Argentine. The bay of the same halpas pendant by craft of trymmer, & vnder the trimmer, anticke Images of gold enuyroned with verdour of Olyffes cast in compasse, moūstring their countenances towards the enteryng of the palace. The stayre of the sayd halpas was cast of passage by the wentes of broade steppes, so that from the first foote or lowest step, a person myght without payne go vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euery hande was there Chamber doores and enterynges into the Chambers of the same Palace, which were long and large and well proporcioned, to receyue light and ayre at pleasure:

pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and Chamber to Chamber were siled and couered with cloth of Silke, of the most fayre and quick inuention that before that tyme was sene, for the ground was white engrayled, inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of Silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundrie newe castes, that the same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fyne burned Golde, and the Roses in lossenges: that the same roofe, was in kindely course, furnished so to mannes sight, that no liuyng creature might but ioy, in the beholdyng thereof, for from the iawe piece of the sayde silyng: which piece was gylte with fyne golde, were workes in paan paled, all the walles to the creast encounteryng the clere storyes, the same creast which was of large depenesse, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast & wrought with more cunnyng then I can wryte, all which workes and ouerages were gylte: and to set it the more to the glory, the flourishyng Bise was comparable to the rich Amell.

Also to the same Palace was rered a Chapell with two closettes, the Quiere of the sayd Chapell siled with cloth of Golde, and thereon frete ingrayled bent clothes of Silke, all was then Silke and golde. The aulters of this Chapell were hanged with rich reuestures of cloth of golde of Tissue, embroudered with pearles. Ouer the high aultar was hanged a riche Canaby of marualous greatnesse, the aultar was apparayled with fiue payre of Candlestickes of golde, and on the aultar an halpas, and thereon stood the Sacrament all of fyne golde, and on the same halpas stood. xij. Images of the bignesse of a childe of foure yeres of age all golde: And all the Copes and Vestmentes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the Citie of Florens, for all the Copes and Vestmentes were but of one peece, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with red Roses purled with fine gold: the Orfrys set with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and deskes of this Chapell were hanged with right cloth of golde, and three rich great Crosses were there readie to be borne at festiuall tymes, and Basyns, and Sensers, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewets, holy water vesselles, and other ornamentes all of golde.

Also in the first Closet was a trauerse for the kinges person of cloth of Golde: And within that the Kinges place and Chaire, with Cushins of cloth of Golde: before the trauerse was an altare of presence, which altare was adourned with cloth of brouderie and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in Goldsmithes worke of fine Golde. On the aultar was a deske or halfpace, whereon stood a Crucifix of fine Golde, with an Image of the Trinitie, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all of fine Gold and precious stones, two payre of Candelstickes of fine Gold, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes: the sayde Closet was hanged wyth Tappets embraudered with riche worke, fret with pearles & stones, the rooffe of the same Closet was sieled with worke of Inmouled, guilt with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The second Closet was for the Quenes person, the which was as well trimmed and bewtified as the other Closet was.

And from this palace or place into the mightie and strong fortresse and Castell royall of Guisnes, was a Galerie for the secret passage of the kings person into a secret lodging within the same castell, the more for the kinges ease. And finally to this palace was ioyned all houses of offices, that to such an honorable court should appertaine. In this palace as ye haue heard, was the kings grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the towne of Guysnes was little, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, they set vp tentes in the field, to the number of twentie and eyght hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a goodly sight. Thus was the king in his Palace royall at Guysnes.

Fraunces the French king was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the towne of Arde, where was prepared for his comming, many tentes, hales and paulions, & the same were set and pight in the field. On the Frenche partie also, there was at the same towne of Arde buylded the French kings lodging full well, but not finished, much was the prouisions in Picardie on euerye part through all. The French king commaunded

his lodging to be made, a little out of the towne of Arde in the territorie of an olde castle, which by the warre of olde time had bene beaten. On the same place was reedified a house of solace and sport, of large & mightie compasse, which was chiefely sustayned by a great mightie maste, whereby the great ropes and takell strayned, the same mast was stayd. All the rooffe of the same house hong on the same maste, and with takell was strayned and borne, by the supporters of the same maste or tree, the colours of the same was all blewe, set with starres of Golde foyle, and the Orbes of the heauens by the craft of colours in the rooffe, were curiously wrought in maner like the skie, or firmament, and a cressant strayned sumdeale towards the towne of Arde, this cressant was couered with frets and knottes made of Iuie Bushes, and boxe braunches and other things that longest would be greene for pleasure.

In thys time Lorde Thomas Wolsay Cardinall and Legate a Latere as the kings high Ambassadour rode with noble repaire of Lordes, Gentlemen and Prelates to the towne of Arde, to the French court where of the french king, the same Lord Cardinal was highly entertayned. Of the noblenesse of this Cardinal, the frenchmen made bokes, shewing the tryumphant doings of the Cardinals royalty. The number (as they write) of the Gentlemen, knightes and Lordes, all in crimosyn Veluet, with the marueylous number of chaines of Golde, the great horse, Mules, coursers, and cariages, that there were, which went before the Cardinals comming into Arde with sumpters & Cofers. Of his great crosses and pillers borne, the Pillow bere or case broudered, the two Mantels, with other the Ceremoniall offices, with a great and honorable number of bishops geuing their attendance, the mightie and great number of seruauntes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet, who so readeth of the French booke, shall finde the same wonderfully set foorth.

The pompe and pride of Cardinall Wolsey.

The king of England beyng at the Castell of Guisnes in the newe palace, many noble men of the French court resorted to his grace, to see hym and the Queene, and to salute them: who of the king were wel enterteyned.

When the Lorde Cardinall had soiourned at Arde in the French court by the space of two dayes, and the high and vrgent princely causes in counsaile declared, the Lorde Cardinall tooke his leaue of the French king, and of all the French court, and repaired vnto the Castell of Guysnes, where he founde the king of Englande his souereigne Lorde. And the same king by his letters patents, had geuen full power and auctboritie to the same Lord Cardinall, concerning all matters to be debated, touchyng the king and the realme, and also gaue vnto the same Cardinall, full strength, power, and auctboritie, to affirme and confirme, binde and vnbinde, whatsoeuer should be in question, betweene him and the French king, as though the king in proper person had bene there presently.

When the Lordes of the French counsayle, sawe the high and great authoritie that the Cardinall had, they shewed it vnto the French king, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of lyke power and auctboritie, that the king of Englande had geuen vnto the sayde Lorde Cardinall: the same power and auctboritie had the sayd Cardinall, geuen to him by Fraunces the french king, and affirmed by the counsail roiall of Fraunce. Then hastily was sent to the king of Englande the French kings patent, for the Lorde Cardinall sayd humbly to the French king, that he would no such power receyue, without the consent of the king of Englande his souereigne Lord: but when the king of England and his counsayle had sene and vewed the french kings patent, and it well considered, then he sent the same patent of power to the Lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the Lorde Cardinall the power receyued with much gladnesse. It was highly estemed and taken for great loue that the french king had geuen so great power to the king of Englandes subiect.

The great credite and authoritie that was committed to Cardinall Wolsey both by the King of Englande and ye french king.

Thursday the seuenth day of Iune, in the Vale of Andren, within the Lordship royall of Guysnes, before daye, was set and pight a royall riche Tent, all of cloth of Golde,

and riche embroudery of the king of Englands, and dyuers other hales and pauilions: the same riche Tent of Golde, was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly contriued and made, that euer before was seene, and a presence of the kinges estate, with two Chayres and riche Cushyns therein: the ground was spred with Carpets of new Turkey makyng all full of bewtie.

At the houre of meeting appoynted, the Lordes of Englande set their people and seruaunts in good array of battayle, in a playne field directly before the Castell of Guysnes. The king of Englande commaunded that hys Garde should be set in the brest of the battayle, or bend of footemen and so it was done. This battaile of footemen conducted themselues so in order, that from the first to the last, neuer a person of the fotemen brake his place or array, but kept themselues so well, that neuer seruingmen themselues better demeaned. The seruingmen thus set in order in the field, on the left hand of the king of England, somewhat toward ỹ Marres, long while thus abiding, in which time the castel of Guisnes shot a warning peece to ỹ towne of Arde, and in lykewise the towne of Arde gaue warning to the castell of Guysnes.

The metyng and encounter of the king of England and the French king.

And forthwith the king of Englande with all the court of the nobles of the realme mounted on horseback, and marched towardes the Valey of Andern in honorable order, all gentle men, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the king and Byshops also, the Dukes, Marques and Erles gaue attendaunce next the king.

The French king on his partie marched towarde the encounter wyth all the ruffelers and gallantes of the French Court. In which time came to the Frenche king some report, that caused him to tarry, and a light from hys horse, then the French men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Lorde of Fraunce called Mounsire Morret, the sayde Morret came to the French king, and shewed him the verie fidelitie of the king of Englande, wherby he French king mounted on horseback, and the better encouraged, marched towards the place appoynted of encounter.

Thus in marchyng the one king to the other, to the king of England came Lorde George Neuell Lorde Aburgheny, and openly sayde, sir ye be my king and souereigne, wherefore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truth, and not to let for none, I haue bene in the French partie, and they be mo in number, double so many, as ye be: with that was ỹ Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde Steward readie and sayde, syr whatsoeuer my Lorde of Burgheny sayth, I my selfe haue bene there, and the Frenchmen be more in feare of you and your subiects, then your subiects be of them: wherefore sayde the Erle, if I were worthie to geue counsaile, your grace should marche forwarde, so we intende my Lorde saydē the king: then the officers of armes cryed on afore, then in short whyle was the king on the banke of Anderne: then euery gentleman as they roade tooke his place, and stoode still side by side, theyr regarde or face towardes the Vale of Andern.

Then the king of England shewed himselfe somedeale forward in bewty & personage, the most goodliest prince ỹ euer reigned ouer the realme of England: his grace was apparelled in a garment of cloth of siluer of Damaske, ribbed with cloth of Golde, so thicke as might be, the garment was large, and plited verie thick, and canteled of verye good intaile, of suche shape and making, ỹ it was marueilous to behold. The courser which his grace roade vpō, was trapped in a marueilous vesture of a new deuised fassion, the trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and set with antique worke of Romaine Figures. Attending on the kings grace of Englande, was the maister of his horse, by name syr Henry Guylford, leading the kinges spare horse, the which horse was trapped in a Mantellet bront and back place, all of fine Golde in Scifers, of deuise with tasselles on cordels pendaunt, the Saddell was of the same sute and worke, so was the Hedstall and raynes. After folowed. ix. henxmen, ryding on Coursers of Naples the same yong Gentlemen were appareled in riche cloth of Tissue, the coursers in harnesse of marnaylous fashion, scaled in fine Golde in Bullion, and all the same horse harnesse were set full of trembling spangles that were large and faire. The Lorde Marques

ques Dorset bare the kings sworde of estate before the kings grace, the Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in little time, abidyng the comming of the French king and his, the which in short time came with a great number of horsemen, freshly appareled, the French king and his retaine, put themselues in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholding euery other of both nations, the French men mused muche of the battayle of the footemen, and euerye of the French men to other spake of the multitude of the Englishe men which seemed great, yet were not they so many as the French partie.

When the French king had a little beholden the Englishe men, he put himselfe somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearing a naked sworde vpright, the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, & the Countie Cosmen Galias, Maister of the french kings horse, and no mo persons gaue their attendance in passing with the Frenche king: when it was perceyued that the french kings sworde was borne naked, then the king of England commaunded the Lorde Marques Dorset to draw out the sword of estate, and beare it vp naked in the presence, which was so done.

Then vp blewe the Trumpets, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrels on both sides, and the kinges discended downe towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of both the nations and on horseback, met and embraced the two kings eche other: then the two kinges alighted, and after embraced with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with sweete and goodly wordes of greeting: and after fewe wordes, these two noble kinges went together into a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose: thus arme in arme went the french king Fraunces the first of Fraunce, and Henry the eyght king of England and of Fraunce, together passyng with communication.

When these two princes were in the Tent before rehearsed, the french king sayde, my deare brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauayled to see you personally, I thinke verily that you esteeme me as I am. And that I maye to you be your ayde, the realmes and seigniories shewe the might of my person: Sir said the the king of England, neither your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regard, but the stedfastnesse and loyall keeping of promise, comprised in Charters betwene you and me: that obserued and kept, I neuer sawe Prince with my eyen, that might of my hart be more loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to see you presently, the which doing now gladdeth mee. And then were the two kings serued with a banket, and after mirth, had communication in the banket time, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

After the two kings had ended the banket, they came forth in open sight and there departed with their companie, the king of Englande to Guysnes, the French king of Arde. And sundrie dayes were kept sundrie and royall Iustes and other pastimes: the perticulers whereof I omit because mention is before made of sundrie of them.

The meting of both the Queenes of England and Fraūce.

Mondaye the. xj. daye of Iune, the two Queenes of England and of Fraunce came to the Campe, where eyther saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, and specially there was for the Queene of England, a Tapet all of pearle called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynesse of the same.

Gifres geuen by the french king and the king of Englande.

And after sundry metinges of the sayde two kinges many dayes, and sundry great feastes and banquets, that the one king had made to the other. They in the ende gaue vnto eche other sundry rich and costly giftes and Iewels, as first. The king of England gaue to the French king a Collor of Iewels of precious stones, called Balastes, the Sanker, furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The French king gaue to the king of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Iewels and fayre, and so departed the sayde two noble kinges, the sayde. xxiiij. daye of Iune, which was Sonday and Midsomerday.

Duryng thys triumph so muche people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Guysnes

to se the king of Englande and his honor, to whome vittailes of the court were in plentie, the Condette by the gate ranne wyne alwayes, there were Vagaboundes, Plowmen, Laborers and of the Bragarie, Wagoners and Beggers that for drunkennesse lay in routes & heaps, so great resort thither came, that both knights and Ladies that were come to see the noblenesse, were fayne to lye in haye and strawe, and helde them therof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flaunders, Brabant, nor Burgoyne, came neuer a person to aunswer to the chalenge: By that it seemed that there was small loue betwene the Emperor and the French king: Moreouer Mounsire Fayot Capitaine of Bullein with Mounsire Chattelon did their deuoire to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the Emperour.

A meting concluded to be had in England betweene the Emperour and king Henry.

Monday the. xxv. daye of Iune, the king of Englande and the Queene and all the courte remoued from Guysnes to the towne of Calice and there made the king his abode, where was concluded the meetyng of the Emperor with the king, wherefore was made newe and great prouisions.

In the time of the triumph there was a muttering that the towne of Calice should be rendered into the French kings hands, & for truth the Frenchmen so spake and sayde, wherewith many Englishmen were grieued.

King Henry dischargeth a great part of his traine.

While the king laye thus in Calice he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse number of seruauntes would now serue them for the time of his abode, and so caused the Cardinall to call al the Gentelmen before him which in the kinges name gaue to them thankes with much commendations, and for eschewyng of cost, because the king tarried but the Emperours comming, he licensed them to sende home the halfe number of their seruaunts and bade them after their long charges to liue warely, this terme warely was amongst the most parte taken for barely, at which saiyng the Gentlemen sore disdeyned.

The King rydeth to Graueling to visit the Emperor.

Thus in Calice rested the king and the Queene vntill the tenth daye of Iuly. Then the kinges grace with goodly repaire roade to the towne of Graueling in Flaunders there that night to rest and see the Emperour, on the king were waighting the Lorde Cardinall, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, Bishops, Barons, Knightes, and Gentelmen. The noble Emperor passed the water of Graueling, and at a place called Waell, there he met and receyued the king of England, the Emperor made such semblant of loue to all the court of Englande that he wan the loue of the Englishmen, and so passed the Emperor and the king of England to Graueling, where the king lodged the best that might be, all Lordes, Gentelmen, yomen and all sortes of Englishmen from the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so louing manner that much they praysed the Emperors court. In Graueling was the Emperors Aunt Margaret, she welcomed the king and other noble men of the realme.

When the French king and his Lordes had knowledge of the meting of the Emperor and the king of Englande in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatly grieued, as by many thinges appered, for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdayned, and in there suites there greatly deferred and had litle right and much lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hart brenning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betweene the two realmes.

The Emperour cõmeth to Calice.

Wednesday the. xj. day of Iuly, the Emperor and the Lady Margaret came with the king of England to the towne of Calice, the Emperor and the Lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hall, and all Gentelmen and other lodged in other places right wel prepared of all necessaries for their cõming: and for solas was builded a banqueting house. lxxx. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpon Mastes of shippes in such maner as I thinke was neuer seene, for in it was the whole spere portrated, which by reason of the great wind that blewe, could not be achieued, the same day at night were sondry riche Maskes and goodly shewes both of noble men and of Ladies.

Tewsday

Tewsday the. xij. day of Iuly, because the banquet house coulde not be finished, the Emperor and the Ladye Margaret supped with the king and the Queene at the Checker, where the same night after Supper reuelled. lxxxvj. Maskers: after the reuels was a banquet: After which banquet the king brought the Emperor and the Lady Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

Fryday the. xiij. day of Iuly, the Emperor did intende to haue departed from Calice, but the counsaile was such that he departed not that night. The charters before time concluded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared all the whole articles of high peace and league tripertite, to which the French king had assented and fully contented, and for the more exemplification of the same, he sent the Lorde *de Roche* with letters of credence to signifie to the Emperors Maiestye that to the same articles he the French Kyng promised in the worde of a king as Prince faythfull, to obserue and kepe for him and his realme and Subiectes. Thus by the Lorde *de Roche* in the Emperors presence and before the king of England in the name of his maister, their shewed the French kinges will in the towne of Calice with many high and vrgent causes concerning the Princes, whefby the Emperor went not out of Calice that night, by which aboad the Emperors Seruantes were much in doubt of the Emperors person.

Saterday the. xiiij. day of Iuly, about noone the Emperour toke leaue of thee Queene of England his Aunte and of her traine of Ladyes, the king with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towards Flaunders called Waell, where the Emperour embraced the king, and him betooke to almightie God, and the King gaue to him a Courser of Naples richely apparayled.

The King tooke leaue of the Duchesse of Sauoy great aunt to the Emperour, and of all Nobles of the Emperors Court, and so departed, smal tyme in Calice the king abode, but in goodly hast shipped, & with the Queene and all other Nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with huntyng and other sportes honourably, and made no great ieastes this yere. The returne of the King into Englande.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at his Manor of Grenewich with much noblenesse and open Court. And the. x. day of February in hys awne person Iusted to all commers, and the. xij. day his grace and the Erle of Deuonshire with foure aydes aunswered at the Tournay all commers which were. xvj. persons, noble and riche was their apparell, but in feates of armes the king excelled the rest.

In this tyme was Edward Duke of Buckyngham accused to the king of high treason, wherefore the kinges grace by the aduyce of his counsaile, sent and directed his letters to the said Duke, being at his Manor of Thornbury in the Countie of Gloucester, that incontinent he shoulde come to hys presence all excuses layde asyde. Also the king gaue commaundement to sir William Compton, sir Richard Weston, and syr Wylliam Kingston knights for the kinges bodie, to take with them secret power and also Sergeaunts at armes, and that they should wisely take hede that while the Duke receiued the kings letters, he should not conuey himself, which they wisely accoplished. The duke of Buckinghā accused.

The sayde Duke vpon the sight of the kinges letters remoued, and so iourneyed till he came to Windsore, and there offered at Saint George, and alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanor, were the same knights liyng. The Duke lodged in Windsore for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruaylously feared, insomuch that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kinges named Thomas Warde, the same Thomas Warde was gentleman Harbenger for the king, and demaunded of him what he made there, who aunswered saiyng, that there lay his office, there the Duke perceyued that he could not escape. And so much was he in spirite troubled, that as he was at breakefast, his meate would not downe, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly tooke his horse, and so road til he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he tooke his Barge: before this time was the Dukes Chauncelor taken and as a prisoner kept in the Tower, which had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kinges person.

When the Duke was in his Barge, he commaunded to land at my Lord Cardinalles bridge, where he landed with foure or fiue of his seruaunts, desiryng to see the same Lord Cardinall, but he was aunswered howe the same Lord was diseased, well sayd the Duke, yet will I drink of my Lordes wine or I passe, then a Gentleman of my Lords brought the Duke with much reuerence into the Seller, where the Duke dranke.

When he saw & perceyued no chere to him̄ was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his Barge, saiyng to his seruaunts, I maruail where my Chauncelor is, that he cōmeth not to me, not knowyng that he was in prison.

The Duke of Buckingham attached of treason, and brought to the Tower.

The Duke thus in his Barge commyng towardes London, sir Henry Marney Capitaine of the Kinges Garde, on him attendyng an hundred yomen of the kinges garde in a Barge on the ryuer of Thames met the same Duke, and without abode borded the Dukes Barge, and him in the Kings name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the Duke was brought to the Hay wharfe, and there landed, the Dukes seruauntes were commaunded to go to the Manor of the Rose in Saint Laurence Pountnay, and there to abide till the Kinges pleasure were further knowen.

Sir Henry Marnay brought the Duke through Thames streete to the Tower of London, the people much mused what the cause might be, and for troth till it was knowen, among them was much speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charterhouse besydes Bristow called Henton, also Mayster Iohn Delaker the Dukes Confessor, and the Dukes Chauncelor before mencioned, all were in the Tower prisoners. The. xvj. day of Aprill was the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambicion should be the losse of so noble a man, and so much in the kings fauour, by him all the Lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophecies or false hipocrites. For a Monk of the Charterhouse shewed the duke that he should be king of England, which to ỹ kings person could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to such a false Traytour.

1521
13

In this tyme inquiryes were made in dyuers shires of Edward Duke of Buckyngham beyng prisoner in the Tower of London, where by the Knightes and Gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by the same Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgany, and the same Lorde was attached for consailment, and so was the Lorde Mountague the Kinges Cosyn, and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edwarde Neuell knight, brother to the sayde Lorde Aburganey forbidden the Kinges presence.

The Duke of Norffolke was made by the kinges letters patentes high Steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to deceme and iudge the causes of the Pieres, &c.

The arraignment of the Duke of Buckingham.

Wherefore shortly after was made in Westminster hall a Scaffolde for the Lordes, and a presence for a Iudge, rayled, and counter rayled about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Norffolke was chiefe Iudge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolk, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxforde, and Darby, the Lorde of Saint Iohns, Lord Delaware, Lord Fitzwarren, Lord Willoughby, Lord Broke, Lord Cobham, Lord Harbert, and the Lord Morley, sat as Pieres and Iudges vpon the same Duke of Buckyngham.

When the Lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louell, and sir Richard Chomley knightes, brought the Duke to the barre with the Axe of the Tower before him, who humbly bare hedded reuerenced the Duke of Norffolke, and after all the Lordes and the kinges learned Counsaile. Then the Clerke of the counsaile sayde, sir Edward Duke of Buckingham, holde vp thy hande, thou art indited of high treason, for that thou trayterously hast conspired and imagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our souereigne Lorde the king: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke aunswered by my Pieres.

And when the enditement was openly reade, the Duke sayd it is false and vntrue, and conspired

conspired and forged, to bring me to my death, and that will I proue, alleagyng many reasons to falsifie the inditement, and agaynst hys reasons the Kinges Atturnay alleged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought forth, then was brought before him sir Gilbert Perke priest his Chauncelor, first accuser of the same Duke, Maister Iohn Delacourt priest, the Dukes confessor, and his awne hande writyng layde before him to the accusement of the Duke. Charles Kniuet Esquier, Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besydes Bath, which like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had dyuers tymes sayde to the Duke, that he should be king of England, but the Duke sayd, that in himselfe he neuer consented to it. Diuers presumptions and accusements were layde to him by Charles Kniuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depositions were read, and the deponentes were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Norffolke, and sayde my Lord, the King our soucreigne Lorde hath commaunded that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauour and right to you: Wherefore if you haue any other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, and so was led into Paradise a house so named. The Lordes went to counsaile a great while and after tooke theyr places. Then sayde the Duke of Norffolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of Sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touchyng the high treasons that he hath bene arraigned of? the Duke of Suffolke aunswered, he is gyltye, and so sayde the Marques, and all the other Erles and Lordes: Thus was this Prince Duke of Buckingham found giltie of highe treason by a Duke, a Marques, seuen Erles, and. xij. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre sore chafyng and swet merueylously, after he had made his reuerence, he paused a while. The Duke of Norffolke as a Iudge sayde, sir Edward, you haue heard howe you be indited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, puttyng your selfe to the Pieres of the realme, the which haue found you giltie: then the Duke of Norffolke wept and sayde, you shall be led to the kinges prison and there layd on a Hardell, and so drawen to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, cut downe aliue, your members to be cut off & cast into the fyre, your bowels brent before you, your head smitten of, and your body quartered and deuided at the kinges will, and God haue mercy on your soule. *Amen.* The duke of Buckinghās iudgemēt.

The Duke of Buckingham sayde, my Lorde of Norffolke, you haue sayd as a traytor should be sayd vnto, but I was neuer none, but my Lordes I nothing maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall God forgeue you my death and I do: I will neuer sue to the king for lyfe, howbeit he is a gracious Prince, and more grace may come from him then I desyre. I desyre you my Lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the Axe turned towardes him, and so led into a Barge, sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the Cushyns and Carpet ordayned for him, he sayde nay, for when I went to Westminster, I was Duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bowhen the most caitiffe of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receyued him sir Nicholas Vause, and sir William Sandes Baronets, and led him through the Citie, who desyred euer the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and sayd this is the ende of euill lyfe. God forgeue him, he was a prowde Prince, it is pitie that he behaued him so agaynst his king and liege Lord, whom God preserue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower. The Duke of Buckingham is led through Lōdon to the Tower.

Fryday the. xvij. day of May, about. xj. of the Clocke. This Duke with a great power was deliuered to Iohn Kyeme, and Iohn Skeuington shirifes, who led him to the Skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayde he had offended the kinges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kinges true man. Thus meekely with an Axe he tooke his death. Then the Augustyne Friers tooke the bodie and head, and buryed them. The Duke of Buckingham beheaded.

The French king maketh open warre vpon the Emperor.

About this tyme Fraunces the French king made open warre agaynst the Emperour Charles both by land and sea. The Prouinces of Arragon, Castell, and all Spaine, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders, and the steades mayntayned the partie of the Emperor. The kinges highnesse consideryng the murder and effussion of Christen blood, and the trouble that might ensue to all princes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke, sent the Cardinall of Yorke his Chauncelor by name Thomas Wolsey to his towne of Calice to intreate an amitie & peace betwene those two mighty princes. For this voyage great preparation was made, not onely for the Cardinall, but also for the Erle of Worcester then Lord Chamberleyn, the Lord of Saint Iohns, the Lord Ferrers, the Lorde Harbert, the Bishop of Duresme, the Bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Bulleyn, Sir Iohn Peche, sir Iohn Hussey, sir Richard Wingfielde, sir Henry Guylforde, and many other Knightes, Esquiers, Gentlemen, Doctors, and learned men that accompanied him. And thus honourably accompanied he rode through London the. xxv. day of Iuly, and at Thomas Beckets Church the Maior and Aldermen tooke leaue of him, praiyng God to sende him good speede. Thus passed he to Cauntorbury where the Archbishoppe, of Cauntorbury, and other Prelates receyued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder a Canapie to the Bishops palace. The. viij. day of Iuly he came to Douer: the. xx. daye, he and the other Lordes with their retinues tooke passage, and arriued at Calice in safety, where the Lorde Deputie and the Counsaile receyued them with much honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

Shortly after whose arriuall, came thether the Chauncelour of Fraunce and the Countie de la Palays with foure hundred horse, as Ambassadors from the French king, and lykewise from the Emperor came great Ambassadors and when they sate in counsayle, the Emperours Ambassade shewed their commission and power. And euen so did the French kings Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperours commission.

Thus when the grudges were declared on both sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors consented to peace, the French kings would not. And when the french Ambassadors consented to peace, the Emperors would not. The Cardinall then would haue knitted the Emperour, the king our soueraigne Lorde, the french king, and the Byshop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no such commission, especially the Byshop of Romes, wherevpon letters were sent to Rome in all haste, and the Frenchmen taryed in Calice, till he returned and beheld the towne, with which the counsayle of Calice were not contented. Herevpon the Cardinall rode to the Emperor accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche Ambassadors in Calice to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dunkirke, Newport, Owdenborow, and sundry times in the waye he was encountered and receyued with noble men. And without Bruges he was receyued with many noble men, and manye Lordes and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his awne person met him, and shewed to him and to the other Lordes and Gentlemen of England gracious countenaunce, and so accompanied the Cardinall into the towne, where great multitude of people beheld them, and so rode to the Emperours palace where he lyghted, and first embrased the Cardinall, and after all the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of England. It is to suppose the Emperour knewe of the commission geuen to the sayde Cardinall, which had the kings power as if his grace had beene present, and also had the great seale with him, which had not bene sene before, or else the Emperour would not haue done him so high honor and reuerence.

Cardinall Wolsey caried the great seale with him out of England.

The Englishe Lordes, knightes, Esquiers, yomen of the kings Garde and other beyng to the number of foure hundred and three score horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree, and euery lodging furnished wyth fewell, Bread, Bere, Wyne, Beeues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner of daintie viand, as well in fishe as flesshe, with no lacke of spices and banketting dishes.

The next day after the great cheere made to the Lord Cardinall and to all his Lordes, knightes,

knightes, gentlemen, and all other Lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinall made his proposition concerning peace to be had betwene the sayde Emperour and the French king declaring the calamities, miserie, and wretchednesse that came by warre: and the commodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde and tranquilitie, which proposition continued a great whyle: and when the Cardinall had made an ende, the Emperour himselfe aunswered and sayde: The lawe of God byndeth euery man to clayme and aske his right, and that the same law byndeth no man to holde, keepe, and withstande another mans right. Our Cosyn of Fraunce doth withholde our rightes and patrimonies, which we haue princely desired, and eftsones will, and if he will render vs our sayde rightes and patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with him and hys subiectes, if not, we trust in God & our right that the troubles by your fatherhed rehersed, shal come vpon him and his adherents. And for the titles of our regalitie, to put that to the Byshop of Rome, we doe consider that king Edward of England the thirde of that name of noble memorie, warred by iust tytle to recouer the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, which title by intercession was put to the Byshop of Rome and his Court to discusse, and expended there by the space of twentie and three yeres vndetermined, notwithstanding great pursute and labor was made to haue it ended: Such lyke time should be to vs tedious, wherfore we entend by the ayde of God to folow our tytle.

The Cardinall replyed and declared the league that was betwene the three mightiest princes of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperour, the king oure souereigne Lorde Henry the eyght, and the Frenche king, and howe that to the Prince that first mooued warre, the other two should be enemyes vnto hym, and sayde, beholde the mightie power and puyssaunt realme, riches, shippes, vytayles, and ordynaunce, Lordes, chiualrie, horsemen, archers, and communaltie, this is in the high and mightie king of Englande my souereigne Lorde, and he that first warre beginneth, by the sayde league my sayde souereigne Lorde to his honour maye lawfully spred hys Banner, and make warre in defence of hys friende. For thys and other thinges my souereigne Lorde desires of your highnesse and Maiestie the consent of peace.

My Lorde Cardinall, sayde the Emperour, I esteeme most the honor of my dere Vncle the king of Englande and trust in hys assuraunce, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Nauie, nor ordinaunce shall be but to our ayde in assisting in our tryed tytle, nor will consent to any thing in dishonouring vs or our Empire: God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserued. Lorde God who maye esteeme more higher iniuries and wrongs then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louing subiectes haue endured by the house of Fraunce. My Lord Cardinall sayde the Emperour, their pride with our honor we may and must reprehende and ouerthrowe by the helpe of God: with these wordes the counsayle brake vp.

All the Lordes and men of honour of Englande that day dyned in the Emperours Court.

When they were set and serued, it came to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dinner sayd thus. It is thought that the kinges Maiestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that euer he shoulde imagine a thing so much to the dishonor of the Emperor. The king is his Vncle, is it not come to his heering that all the world heareth? It was so that by the assent of the Bishop of Rome and other Princes to make peace with vs, the French partie after the battaile of Gyngate obtayned by Maximilian then Archeduke of Osteriche, where euerie noble man of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slew of them a maruelous number. They desyred the daughter of Maximilian named Margaret to wife, which Lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuing, and she being like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their hands as Queene of the realme, with diuers townes in Picardie rendred with her and part of

highe Burgonie, and treasure maruelous. Now sithen the same Maximilian had spoused Iane daughter and heire of Fraunces Duke of Britaine, which lande the Frenchmen ouer ranne and spoyled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles king of Fraunce for a safe-conduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safe conduict graunted, the sayd Ladye Iane passing through Fraunce with a small company, was by the same Charles taken at Amboys, and there maried her agaynst her will, whervpon he forsoke the Lady Margaret and sent her againe to her father the Emperor without redyliuery or rendring again the townes that were deliuered wyth her. And where as the Duke of Gelder is subiect to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the French king, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnited to the crowne of Castell, did not the French king fayne a iournay into the holy lande pretending title by Ieniamy brother to the great Turke being then Captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtayned the said Ieniamy, and so passed into Naples without perill, and seazed all the lande into his handes, and then prisoned he the same Ieniamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castell, he made clayme to Naples by Margaret Queene of Englande late wife to Henrie the sixt.

The king of Nauerne is euermore vassall to the house of Aragon and Castell, yet the French kyng caused him to rebell, hoping thereby to subdue the sayde Countries.

Of late dayes the French king by false treason caused sir Robert de la March to submit himselfe to the Emperors maiesty, who receyued him vpon his oth & fidelity, pardoning al offences past, is not this false traitor returned, and is of the French partie? how may that Court, that counsaile, that king, that realme that consenteth to treason and periury by mayntenaunce of traytors be called honorable? hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? and yet doth at this day: And albeit that his maiestie speaketh not of these thinges, yet he well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayth, *vine Burgoigne*, euery man ỹ heard this rehersall, knew that it was true, howbeit he was not aunswered, but some English knights sayd, Sir you haue sayd well, and as God will all must be. Thus was this narration ended.

In thys season the Emperor gat the towne of Mewzon: Also of the Emperours partie a great armie arryued in the Duchy of Mylan, and also the Emperors power besieged the Noble Citie of Messiers, but the Capitaine called Franciscus was suspected of treason, for he remooued with the hoste from the siege without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperour made a siege volant about the Citie of Tournay, for the rescue whereof and also of Messiers, the French king made a great army and himselfe in person.

Duryng this siege the Frenchmen tooke a Spaniardes ship laden with English mens goodes at Margate within the kings streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were a hundred and thre score men, and of Spaniards and Englishe men onely. xxv.

The King of Denmarke Christianus came to see the Emperour hys brother in lawe (beyng a stately prince) and meanes was made by the Lord Cardinall that they spake together without any great signe of amitie.

The Lorde Cardinall after he had soiorned in Bruges by the space of xiij. dayes and concluded diuers matters with the Emperor and accomplyshed his commission: he tooke leaue of his maiestie, and lykewise did all the noble men of Englande, and after conuenient iorneis arryued with all hys company at Calice, where the Ambassadors of Fraunce taryed him, and immediatly after his arryuing he treated with them of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did before, and that perceyued well the said Ambassadors, and wrote thereof to the French king, yet the welth and prosperitie of both the realmes and their subiects were highly reasoned betwene the Cardinall and the sayd Ambassadors, especially for fishing, wherevpon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe

on the sea, and repaire to anye port of the one or the other prince without robbyng, spoyling, or takyng vnto the second day of February next.

The French king with a mightie armie and himselfe in person repaired to the Countrie of Cambray, minding to passe the streytes, but they were withstanded by the Emperors power, yet he continued there from October vnto Nouember wythout any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the French king. The Duke Daleson heering that, made preparations with the Almaynes to passe the marrys by the poynt Dassans & there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pipes & vessels, and brought thether their great ordinaunce. The Emperour beyng in the towne of Valencian and thereof aduertised, caused strong watch to be made, and as they would haue passed, the Bastarde Emery, and the Capitayne of Gaunt with twelue hundred men met with them, where was a great conflict and many men slayne, and at the last the Almaynes were put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the french partie were slayne in thys conflict. xiiij. hundred men, and of the Burgonians were slayne the Bastard Emery, the Capitaine of Gaunt and foure hundred men. The French king setteth foorth with a great power agaynst the Emperour.

The Lord Cardinall after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce, and coulde bring them to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperour the Lord of saint Iohns, and syr Thomas Boleyn knight to aduertise his maiestie thereof.

Lykewise the sayde Lorde Cardinall sent to the Frenche king the Erle of Worcester, and the Bishop of Ely to exhort his grace to peace, he heard them, but he gaue them but few words to aunswere, and after they had bene. xix. or. xx. dayes in his hoste, they tooke leaue and returned to Calice.

Duryng the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calice all wryters and Patentes were there by hym sealed and no Shriefes chosen for lacke of his presence.

The king of Hungarie sent an Ambassador to the kinges highnesse for ayde agaynst the Turke, whome the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng his abode in Calice. His comming was for ayde as men sayde agayust the French king.

The Lorde Cardinall after the returne of the Englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the French king tooke shipping and landed at the port of Douer, the. xxvij. day of Nouember, and there tooke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kings grace welcommed him, geuing him also thankes for his great paynes and trauayle.

The last daye of December the Cardinall accompanied the Emperors Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receyued and highlye feasted during their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisinges, enterludes and banquetes made in the same season.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London and other places of the realme, and many noble Capitaynes dyed, as the Lorde Broke, Sir Weston Browne, Syr Iohn Heron, Sir Iohn Peche and manye other people. A great pestilence.

The Bishop of London, Doctor Fitz Iames, likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to the same benefice.

The Lorde Thomas Hawarde Erle of Surrey, came out of Irelande to the court the. xxv. day of Ianuarie, when he had bene there the space of. xx. monethes in great trauaile and paine, and often tymes sore troubled by the wild Irish, howbeit by his noblenesse and manhod he brought the Lords of Ireland to the kinges due obeysaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall laude and praise.

The Frenchmen this yere spoyled and shamefully robbed the kinges subiectes on euery coast of the Sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng roade his poore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewing his grace of the crueltie of the frenchmen and of their inhumane dealing with them, but euer the French Ambassadours promised restitucion of euery thing, but none was restored. The Frenchmen robbed and spoyled the kinges subiectes and Merchaunts vpon euerye coast of the Sea

In this moneth of Ianuary the king commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readinesse, which was done with all diligence.

About this time the Duke of Albany arriued in Scotlande, notwithstanding that the French king sware vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotland wythout the king our souereigne Lordes consent, but for all that he had commission from the French king although the French king wrote to the king that he was entred Scotland without his assent.

King Henry the eight wryteth a boke agaynst Luther.

About this time the king wrote in Latine a vehement booke against Martyn Luther and confuted his iudgement, touching Indulgences, and defendeth the Bishop of Romes auctority, and in the ende reproueth all his disputacions concerning the Sacraments of the Church. The which booke the Pope liked so well that the seconde daye of February, the king being at Grenewich, came thether the Cardinall with a Legation from Leo Bishop of Rome, and also his Ambassador, on whome waighted many a noble man, the king met wyth them at his chamber doore welcoming them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinall, high and victoryous king it hath pleased our Lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a king elect in fauour of the high Heauen, and so appereth presently by your noble person, so formed & figured in shape and stature with force and pulcritude, which signifieth the present pleasure of our Lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praysed his wisedome, prudence, and learning, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinall declared how the sayd Bishoppe of Rome had sent his highnesse an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaring therein his grace to be the defendor of the Christian fayth and his successors for euermore.

This title Defendor of the fayth was receiued from luly Bishop of Rome.

And when his grace had receyued the said Bull and caused it to be read and published, he went to his Chappell to heere Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadours of sondry Princes, the Cardinall being reuested to sing Masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the Duke of Suffolke gaue the assaye, the Duke of Northfolke held the towel, and so proceded to Masse. And that done he gaue vnto all them cleane remission and blessed the King and the Queene and all the people: then was the Bull eftsones declared, and trumpettes blewe, the shalmes and saggebuttes plaied in honor of the kynges new style. Thus his highnesse went to dynner. In the middes whereof the king of Heraulds and his company began the *larges*, criyng. *Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie.* Thus ended the dinner, with much habundaunce of vitaile and wine, to all maner of people.

The. x. day of February, the Lorde Hodie chiefe Baron of the kinges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for him was admitted by the Cardinall, maister Iohn Fitziames, a right honourable man and well learned.

In this tyme was much businesse betwene the Emperor and the French king, wherefore the king sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vittayled for the warre: the Admirall was called Christopher Coo, a man expert on the Sea, for safegarde of the Marchauntes, and other the kinges subiects, that were grieuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.

This tyme the. viij. day of February, the Lorde Dacres Warden of the Marches of Scotland, entered into Scotland with fiuehundred men, by the kinges commaundement, and there proclaymed that the Scottes should come into the kinges peace, by the first day of Marche folowyng, or else to stand at their perilles, the Duke of Albanie beyng then within fiue myles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The. xj. day of February, Sir George Neuell, Lorde a Burgayny, beyng then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and there in the kinges Bench confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edward late Duke of Buckyngham to be true, and after the open confession thereof, led againe to the Tower.

The Lorde Montacute the kinges cosyn, was about this tyme reconciled to his graces fauour, which had bene prisoner in the Tower, wyth sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edwarde Neuell was forbidden the kinges presence, for bearyng fauour to the Duke of Buckingham.

This

This yere the second of Marche, certaine noble men of the Empire arriued in England to passe into Spaine, who were honourably receyued, and in honor of them great iustes and triumphes were made, and that finished, and done, they tooke their leaue and departed on their iourney.

Also this tyme commission was geuen throughout the realme, for generall musters to be had, to know what power might be made within the same and also men sworne of what substaunce and landes they were of, and the Cardinall aduertised of the same: not without grudgyng of the people, and marueylyng why they should be sworne for their awne good. General musters taken throughout all the realme, and men sworne what value and substaunce they were of.

The Citie of London was this moneth aduertised of the commyng of the Emperor, wherefore was made great preparation: and the Citizens sent the kings grace one hundred tall men well harnessed, to furnishe his nauie, appoynted to kepe the narow seas.

The French king certefyed the kinges highnesse, by his letters dated in Marche, howe the Graund capitaine of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Mounsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had wonne the towne of Milaine, which was not true, for within fiue or sixe dayes after, it was euidently knowen that the Frenche men were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche. The French king certefieth king Hery of a lye.

Moreouer the same season the Frenche king wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to sende him three Carectes, and sixe Galyes furnished for the warres vnto his port of Brest, to maintaine hys warres agaynst the foresayd Emperor, who made him by theyr letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kinges highnesse kept this yere his Easter at his Manor of Richemonde, and caused his Amner to make inquirie, eight myles round about the sayd Manor, what poore people was in euery parishe. And for the eschuing of murder, that most commonly fortuned euery good Friday, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with hys almose at home at their houses. A gracious and a mercifull act of king Henry the eyght.

About this tyme a rouer or theefe of Scotland, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornewall called maister Iohn Arondell, and presented to the kinges highnesse, who committed him to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner a long season after.

The king like a Prince which foreseeth all thinges, sawe what warre was like to ensue, caused the Erle of Surrey his highe Admirall, to put in readinesse his nauie, both for the conductyng of the Emperor into England, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which were dayly robbed and spoyled on the sea, which Lord Admirall tooke such diligence with the helpe of Sir William Fitzwilliam his vice Admirall, that all the shippes by the beginnyng of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especiall the Henry grace of Due, the kings great shyp, was brought out of the riuer of Thames into the Downes, readie to sayle whether God and the king would. Preparation made for warre.

In this yere at the Assise kept at the Castell of Cambridge in Lent, the Iustices, and all the Gentlemen, Bayliffes, and other, resortyng thether, tooke such an infection, whether it were of the sauour of the prisoners, or of the filth of the house, that many Gentlemen, as sir Iohn Cut, sir Gyles Alyngton Knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof dyed, and almoste all which were their present, were sore sick and narrowly escaped with their lyues. And this yere also dyed Sir Edward Pownynges, Knight of the Garter, Sir Iohn Pechy, and Sir Edward Belknap, valyant Capitaines which were suspected to be poysoned, at a banquet made at Arde, when the two kinges met last. The Iustices of Assise poysoned by an infectious ayre.

This yere also, was not without pestilence nor dearth of Corne, for Wheate was sold this yere in the Citie of London, for. xx. shillings a quarter, and in other places for. xxvj. shillings. viij. pence. And in the same yere in December, dyed Leo Bishop of Rome, for whome was chosen, one Adrian borne at Vtrike the Emperours schoole maister. And in the same moneth Gawan Douglas Bishop of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotlande, and had taken vpon him A pestilence and dearth.

him to be gouernor of the king, and the realme, to whome the king assigned an honest pencion to liue on. But when the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule of the yong king his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, consideryng the Duke to bee heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Scotlande: Wherefore he sent Clarenseaux king at Armes into Scotland, with commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albanie, that his pleasure was, that he should depart the realme of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French king, at the last meetyng, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the king of England was vncle to the king of Scottes, and by the verye bonde of nature, ought to defend his nephewe. Wherefore his nephew beyng yong, and in the custodie of him, to whome if he should die, the realme of Scotlande should discend, he doubted least he might be brought out of the way, as other Dukes of Albany before had serued the heyres of Scotland: and if he would not auoyde Scotland, then Clarenseaux was commaunded to defye him, which accordingly did defye him at holye Rode house in Edenborough to the which he answered, that neither the French king, nor the king of England, should let him come into his naturall Countrie, by their agreement: also as touchyng the yong king, he sayd, that he loued him as his souereigne Lord, and him would keepe and protect agaynst all other.

When Clarenseaux had reported hys answere to the king, then he knew well that all thys was the French kings doyng, wherefore he prouided in all things accordingly. The Erle of Anguishe of Scotlande that had maried Ladie Margaret, the king our souereigne Lordes sister, late wyfe vnto king Iames of Scotlande, that was slayne at Flodden field, was by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arriuyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and hys brother likewise, which escaped after as you shall heare.

The French King attacheth the English goodes.

Also the sixt day of Marche, the French king commaunded all Englishe mens goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a rest: and lykewise deteyned the kings tribute, which he should haue out of Fraunce, and also the French Queenes Dowry, and when the king sent to him for it he euer gaue fayre words, and made delayes, but none was payde, and euer the Ambassador promised fayre.

1522

14

The king thys yere kept the day of saint George with great solempnity, at his manour of Richmond, where were elected to the order of the Garter, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, and Archduke of Oystrike, and syr Rychard Wyngfield knight by the Emperours meanes, to the which the Emperour had giuen two hundred pounde pention, out of the house of Burgoyne, which syr Edwarde Pounynges before had of the Emperours gift. During thys warre betwene the Emperour and the French king, and the king of England liyng still an entreator betwene them, the English men were robbed on both sydes, and when their wynes were laden at Burdeaux, and readie to depart, it was attached, and the Marchauntes put in prison: the poore fisher men on the coast of England, sometime met with the french men and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Marchaunts of Englande, that had factors at Burdeaux, complayned to the king of England, and shewed him how the French king, contrarie to his league and hys safeconduyt vnder hys seale, by his people, had taken their goods & emprisoned their factors and friends, & can haue no remedie. Likewise complayned all the Marchaunts, how their shippes were restrayned, in euery port of Fraunce, and their goodes ryfeled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsayle were sorie to here the complaynts of the Marchaunts, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Ambassadours, to whom the Cardinall sayde: syr how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euer in the name of the king your mayster that all leagues, promises, and couenaunts should be kept, and that full restitution should be made of euery hurt and dammage, and that firme peace and amity should be kept: but contrary to your saiyng, our Marchaunts be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he had graunted hys safeconduyt, yet they be robbed,

and

and stayed at Burdeaux, is thys the peace that you and your mayster hath promised to be kept? is thys the amitie that he was sworne to keepe? Is thys the worde of a king? Is this the strength of a Prince to breake his safeconduyte? And where you aduysed our Marchauntes to sue in Fraunce for restitution, and did warraunt them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for they haue sued there long, and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue imprisoned them, and kept both them and their goods, is this iustice? is this restitution? And all thys was your procurement, and nowe see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside thys the king is informed, that the king your maister hath spoken by him, foule and opprobrious words, yea, in the heering of the Englishe men which were sore greeued to heare such wordes, and were not able to be reuenged.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce sayde, that it was not so as it was reported: well sayde the Cardinall, if you note the Counsayle of England so light, as to tell fables, you be misaduised, but I praye you how often times hath the king written to your maister, for restitution of suche robberies as hath bene done, and yet can haue no redresse? Wherefore he graunted letters of marke, which may stande with the league, but Mounsire Chastilion hath taken Marchaunts of England prisoners, and hath sent certayne hether for their raunsome, thys is open warre and no peace. Maister President Polliot or Pulteyne the french Ambassador, aunswered, that surely the matters which were alleged agaynst his maister the French king, were but forged matters and not true; but he sayde that for a truth, daylie in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made agaynst the Englishmen for great robberies done by them, as well on lande as sea, affirming it to be done in the Emperors quarell, and yet the French king for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiects to be vnheard, although he daylie lament the great iniurie, done to him and his subiectes by Englishe men: and therefore my Lorde I pray you beleue no such tales, till I haue tolde you the truth.

Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laye here for the payment of money for Tournay, and they foure were deliuered, to my Lord of Saint Ihones, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrew Wyndsore, and to syr Thomas Neuell, euery knight one to kepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them priuely, and the Ambassador was commaunded to kepe his house in silence, & not to come in presence, till he was sent for, which order sore abashed the French hostages, and the Ambassador, but there was no remedy, and commaundement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the Frenchmen, bodye and goodes, and them to keepe in prison, tyll he heard farther of the kinges pleasure; then were all the Frenchmen in London and about, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and about London, were full of them, some of them escaped by speaking dutche, and sayd they were Flemings borne, which was not tried.

Al the french men in London were attached and committed to prison.

The king for safegarde of his Marchaunts sent. xxviij. goodly shippes to the Sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen other ships he sent towarde Scotlande, which entered the Frithe, and proffered to enter into the Scottish shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ranne their shippes on lande, and the Englishe men folowed with boates and landed, and set the ships on fire, and at Lithe tooke certayne prisoners, which they brought into Englande, and still the kinges great Nauie kept the narrow Seas, for then was neyther peace betwene England and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue heard.

The king had perfite knowlege, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kings towne of Calice, the. xxiij. daye of Maye, to passe thorowe Englande into Spaine, wherefore the king sent the Marques Dorcet, accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen, to receyue him at Calice, which in all hast sped him thether. Likewise the Cardinall toke his iourney towarde Douer the twentie day of May, and rode through London, accompanied with two Erles. xxxvj. Knightes, and a hundred Gentlemen, eyght

The comming of Charles the Emperor to Calice.

Note here the state of Cardinall Wolsey.

Byshops,

Byshops, ten Abbottes, thirtie Chapleines, all in Veluet and Satin, and Yomen seuen hundred, and so by iorneiyng he came to Douer the. xxvj. daye beyng Monday. In the meane season tydinges were brought to the king, that the French king had sent a great armie toward Calice, and the men of warre lay at Abuile, Munstrell, Bullein and about, nere the English pale. Wherefore the king like a prince that foresawe all, and entending not to be deceyued, wrote to his Nobles, and Cities and townes, to prepare certaine men of warre in a readinesse, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the Nauie, so that they might shortlye be at Calice if neede requyred.

On Sunday the. xxv. daye of Maye, the Lorde Marques Dorset, the Byshop of Chichester, and the Lorde de Laware, with other noble men, at the water of Grauelyng, receyued the Emperour in the name of the king of England, and so the Emperour embraced them, and he hauyng in hys companie many noble men, came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the Lordship of Marke, he was receyued of Syr Edwarde Guylford Marshall of Calice, with fiftie men of armes richely besene, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward towarde Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, & into Calice he was receyued with procession, and then by the Lord Barne deputie there, and the counsayle of the towne: And after he was receyued by the Maior and Aldermen of the towne, and lastly of the Maior and Marchauntes of the staple, and so conueyed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Monday, he and all the Nobles of Spaine, Flaunders, and Germany, tooke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the clock at after noone, and wyth hym the Duke Daluay, the prince of Orenge, the Countie of Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the Lorde Egmonde, and the Marques of Brandenbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receyued hym on the Sandes, accompanyed with three hundred Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of Englande: the Emperour embraced the Cardinall, and tooke him by the arme, and so passed forward and tooke horses, and rode together to Douer Castell, where they were lodged. The Englishe Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperours traine, euery man according to hys degree. The king of England was come to Cantorburie, the. xxvij. daye of May, and receaued by the Archbyshop: and hearing of the Emperours arriuall, with a small companie on the Wednesday, beyng the Assension euen, he rode to Douer, and with muche ioye and gladnesse the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday, the king brought the Emperour aborde on his newe ship, called the Henry grace de dieu, a ship of. xv. hundred and rowed about to all his great ships, which then lay in Douer rode, the Emperour and his Lordes, much praysed the making of the ships, and especially the artilerie, they sayde, they neuer saw ships so armed.

The same daye at after none, the two noble princes marched forwarde to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen receiued them, without the towne, with a solempne oration, to whome the Emperors Secretarie aunswered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swordes borne naked before them, and the Emperor on the right hand, entered the Citie of Cantorburye, and so with procession were brought to Christes churche, where the Archebishop and twelue Prelates mitered, receyued them vnder a Canapie, and so they offered to the sacrament, and the Emperor was brought to the Bishops palace, where he lay for that night, and the king lodged at saint Augustines. The morrowe after, these Princes remoued to Sityngborne, and the next daye to Rochester, where the Bishop receyued them with the whole Couent, and on Monday they came to Grauesend by one of the clocke, where they tooke their Barges, and there were thirtie Barges appoynted for the strangers, and so by syx of the clocke they landed at Grenewiche, the same Mondaye the seconde daye of Iune, where the Emperor was of the king newlye welcommed, and all his nobilitye, and at the hall doore the Queene and the Princes, and all the Ladies, receyued and welcomed hym: and he asked the Queene blessing (for that is the fashion of Spayne, betweene the Aunt and Nephewe) the Emperor had great ioye to see the

Queene

Queene his Aunt, and in especiall his young Cosyn germaine the Lady Mary. The Emperor was lodged in the kinges lodging, which was so richely hanged, that the Spaniardes wondered at it, and specially at the riche cloth of estate: nothing lacked that might be gotten, to cheere the Emperor and his Lordes and all that came in his company, were higly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to do the Emperor pleasure, was prepared a Iustes royall and as the king was arming him, there came one George Luffkin and shewed him that there was one come from his Ambassador in Fraūce, the king called for the messenger, and he deliuered the letters, which the king red, and said to sir William Compton, tell the Emperor that I haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: Sir William Compton went and tolde this to the Emperor, which without delay came to the king, which shewed him the letters from Sir Thomas Cheyney his Ambassador, wherein was conteyned the definitiue aunswere, made aswell to Sir Thomas Cheyney, as to Clarenseaux king at armes of Englande, by the French King, to the kinges requestes: for you shall vnderstand, that the king of England by hys Ambassador, had often tymes demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull dette, and also restitution to be made to his subiects grieued, and farther also the league was broken, by making warre on the Emperor, so that now by the league the king of Englande should be enemie, to him that first brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had so much compassion, on sheding of Christen bloud, that he would not enter warre but shew himselfe a mediator, and an entreator betwene them. And vpon this sir Thomas Cheyney had often moued the French king, and also moued him to take peace with the Emperor for two yeres, so that some mediacion of peace might be entreated in the meane season: to all this the French king aunswered, we haue well considered your Maisters desire, to the which we nothing agree, nor holde vs content with his request. Sir sayde the Ambassadour, the king my Maister shall be aduertised of your aunswere by me, wherefore I beseech your grace of safeconduite, to retourne into England: then sayd the king, there is an officer of Armes come out of England, let him come and he shall be herd and haue an aunswere, to which thing sir Thomas Cheiney aunswered not, but with reuerence departed, and so on the xxj. day of Maie, the sayd officer called Clarenseaux king at Armes, came to the French kinges chamber at Lions, which was accompanied with many noble men and Gentelmen, and then Clarenseaux put on his coate of Armes, and desyred license to speake, and libertie according to the law of Armes, which was to hym graunted: then he declared that where the French king was bound by league tripertite to keepe peace with the Emperour, and with the king of England, & whosoeuer first brake, the other two to be enimies to him, to the which league the French king was sworne, which league he apparauntly had broken, by making warre on the Emperour, by Sir Robert de la Marche, and by himselfe in person. Wherefore the king by that league must be his enimie, and take part against him.

Also he declared, the French king kept away the kinges rentes, and debtes, due to him. Also that he deteyned the Dower of the French Queene. Also that contrary to his promise, he had sent the duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrary to Iustice he had emprisoned Marchants, hauing hys safeconduit, where they should haue gone in safetie, seyng there was no warre proclaymed, betwene hym and the kyng his Maister: all these articles with many mo, the king my maister is readye to proue. Nay sayd the French king I began not the warre, nor sent Robart de la March to make warre, but cōmaunded hym to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, hys warre was open, and he had our towne of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the Duke of Albany, it hath cost me. xl. thousand Frankes to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into hys owne countrey. Thus the French king excused hys vntruth. Then sayd Clarenseaux, sir I am farther charged to tell you, that the king my souereigne Lord, holdeth you for his mortall enimye, from this daye forth and all your adherents: well sayde the French king, I loked for

Clarenseaux king at armes geueth ye french king defiaunce in the kings name of England.

For this a great while agon, for sith the Cardinall was at Bridges, I loked for no nother, but you haue done your message: then the French king rose and departed, and Clarenseaux was conueighed to his lodging, and shortly after, Sir Thomas Cheiney and he by a safeconduit departed and came to Bulleine, and there Mounsire Fayett Capitaine there, stayed them both till the Ambassadour of Fraunce, which had lien in England, were clerely deliuered out of Calice. The whole circumstaunce of the demaundes and defiaunce, and the French kynges aunswere, was conteyned in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Emperor (as you haue heard) but while the King and the Emperor loked on the letter a sodaine noise rose amongst both their subiects, that it was a letter of defiaunce sent to them both by the French king, which was nothing so. Thus now was the warre open of all parties, betweene England and Fraunce, and Spayne.

The cõming of the Emperour into London.

On Friday the sixt day of Iune, the king and the Emperour, with all their companies marched towarde London, where in the way, a myle from Saint Georges barre was set a riche Tent of cloth of Golde, in which Tent were two lodgings, one for the Emperor, & another for the king, where these two Princes shifted them. And when the Heraulde had appoynted euery man their rowmes, then euery man set forwarde in order, richely apparayled in cloth of Golde, Tissue, Siluer, Tynsell, and Veluets of all coloures. There lacked no massy Cheynes, nor curious Collers: an Englisheman and a straunger roade euer together, matched accordyng to their degrees. Before the Emperour and the king, were borne two swordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of cloth of Golde, embraudered with Siluer, both of one suite: after them folowed the kinges Henxcemen, in coates of purple Veluet, pieled and paned with riche cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperors Henxcemen, in equall number, in coates of crimosen Veluet, with two gardes, the one golde, and the other siluer: then folowed the Capitaynes of the gardes, then the Emperors garde on the right hand, and the Englishe garde on the left hand, and so in this order they went forward, and in the way the Maior Iohn Milborne, and his brethren, in fine Skarlet and well horsed, met with the Emperour and the king where one sir Thomas Moore knight, and well learned, made to them an eloquent Oration, in the prayse of the two Princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their subiectes, to see them in such amitie, and howe that the Maior and Citizens, offered any pleasure or seruice that in them lay, next their souereigne Lord.

An oration made by syr Thomas More to the Emperour.

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, where the Clergye receyued them in Copes, with Crosses, and Sensers, and so kept the one syde of the strete, all the Citie through. When they came by the Marshalsie, and the kinges Benche, the Emperour desyred pardon of the King, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours request, pardoned a great number of them. When they were almost at the bridge foote, there was a stay, the king demaunded the cause, and it was tolde him, that the Heraulde had appointed two gentlemen to ryde together, one was ỹ Ambassador from the Marques of Mantua, to the Emperor, & the other from the Citie of Seynes, to the Emperour also, and the Citie, and the Marques were not friendes, the Emperour incontinent, sent his Lorde Chamberleyn to them, saiyng: that if they would that day do him honor, he would thank them, & if they would not ride as they were appoynted, he prayed them to depart. When ỹ ord Chamberleyn had tolde this message, they rode forth and made no more curtesie.

When they were come to the draw bridge, there were set Targets, of the armes of the Emperour and his dominions, richely painted, and on the other syde, stoode one great Giaunt, representyng Hercules, with a mighty Club in his hande, and on the other syde stoode another Giaunt, representyng Sampson, with the Iawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These two Giauntes held a great Table, in the which was written in golden letters, all the Emperours stile. From the draw bridge these two Princes passed, to the middes of the bridge, where was raysed a fayre edefice, with Towers embattayled and Gates, all lyke Mansonry, of white and blacke, like Touch and white Marble: aboue this

this buildyng was a fayre Pagiant, in the which stoode Iason all in harnesse, hauyng before him a golden fleece, and on the one syde of hym stoode a fiery Dragon, and on the other syde stoode two bulles which beastes cast out fire continuallye, and in a tower on the one syde stoode a fayre Mayde representyng the Ladie Medea, which was verye straungely and richely apparayled.

And when they had behelde this Pagiaunt, they came to the Conduite at Gracious streete, and from thence to Leaden hall, and to the Conduite in Cornehill, and so to the great Conduite in Cheape, and to the Standard and little Conduite in Chepe, where at euery of them were very riche, sumptuous, and costly Pagiantes. And all the way as they went the Citizens well apparayled stoode within rayles set on the left syde of the streetes, and the Clergie on the right syde in riche Copes, which senced the Princes as they passed, and all the streetes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, siluer, Veluet and Arras, and in euery house almost Minstrelsy, and in euery strete were these two verses written in letters of Golde.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant defensor vterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.

Which verses were also written in other Tables in Golden letters, as ensueth.

Long prosperitie	The one of fayth
To Charles and Henry	The other of the Church
Princes most puyssaunt:	*Chosen defendant.

When they were past the little Conduite they came to the west ende of Paules Church and there they alighted, & there was a Canapy ready vnder which they two stoode and were receyued by the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and. xxj. Prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high aulter and returned to horsebacke, and came to the blacke Friers where the Emperour was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Bridewell, out of the which was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, which Gallery was very long, & that Gallery & all other Galleryes there were hanged with Arras. The kinges Palace was so richely adorned of all thinges, that my wit is to dull to discriue them, or the riches of the hangyngs, or the sumptuous buyldyng and giltyng of Chambers.

On Whitsonday the. viij. day of Iune the Emperor and the king with great honour roade to the Church of Saint Paule, and there heard highe Masse. When Masse was done they returned to Bridewell, where the Emperor was highly feasted. The same Sonday at after noone the two princes went by water to Westminster, and roade to the Church, and in ridyng all the sanctuary men cryed mercy and pardon, they were so hastie and preased so neere that the Sergeauntes at Armes coulde scase keepe them from touchyng the Emperor and the king: The Cardinall gaue them a gentle aunswere which contented them for a tyme. They were receyued with Procession into the Abbey and heard Euensong & beheld king Henry the seuenthes Chapell and then went into Westminster hall, at the largenesse whereof the Emperour muche maruayled, then they turned to Brydewell and there supped.

On Monday they dyned in Southwarke with the Duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and road to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton Court, where they had great chere, and from thence on Thursday to Windsore, where he hunted Fryday & Saterday. And on Sonday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday the Princes and their counsayle sat most part in counsayle, & on Corpus Christi day, they with great tryumph rode to the College of Wyndsore where the Emperour ware his mantle of the Garter and sat in his awne stall, and gaue to the Heraulds two hundred crownes: that day both the princes receyued the sacrament, and after Masse both sware to keepe the promises and league eche to other, for the which amitie great ioy was made on both parties, and after the Masse was ended they went to dynner, where was great feasting.

On Fryday they departed out of Windsore, and by easy iorneis came to Wynchester, the. xxij. day of Iune, and in the way thether, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, the Erle of Surrey Admyrall of Englande with all the kinges Nauie was come to Hampton, and with him the Lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, Sir Gyles Capell, Syr Nicholas Carew, syr Rychard Wyngfield, Sir Rychard Iernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, Iohn Russell, of which many were of the kings priuie chamber: these with many mo departed from Hampton with thirtie ships well manned and ordinaunced in the ende of Iune, noysing that they should onely scoure the seas for safegarde of the Emperor and his Nauie: But they had priue instructions to go to another place as you shall heare after.

All thys whyle was the warre on the parties of Picardie hot, and the Capitayne of Bullayn called Fayet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garrison of Calice, and sayde: if the garrison of Calice would issue out, he would meete with them halfe way with foure thousand men. Wherevpon syr Edward Guyldford Marshall of Calice, whome the Capitaine of Bullaine called the Fyrebrand, because it was his badge, set foorth out of Calice the eleuen daye of Iune with twelue hundred men, and went out of Calice, and sent a Pursiuaunt to the Capitaine of Bullayne certefiyng him that he was comming with his fyrebrand, and bad him keepe promise. This officer declared the message to him, but he came not. Foorth marched Sir Edward till he came to Marguison and taryed to see whether the Capitayne of Bullayne would come or no, and when he sawe he came not, he set fyre in the towne, and the light horsemen forerayed the beastes and pillage, and brent Villages all about, which was well perceyued in the Countrie a farre off, and towarde night all the crewe came home with good pillage, and on the morrow syr Edward Guyldford deliuered a prisoner franke and free, on condition he should tell the Capitaine of Bullaine that he had bene at Marguison with his Fyrebrand, which truely did his message, for the which the Capitayne brake his head: all the Castels and fortressss in the Englishe pale were well manned and vytailed and lacked no artilerie, so that the Frenche men could doe them no harme.

When the Emperor and the king laye at Byshops Waltham they ioyntly sent letters of defiaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as Alye and confederate with the French king. The first day of Iuly the Emperors Nauy sayled before Hampton, which were. C.lxxx. goodly shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leaue of the king, and had great giftes geuen him and much money lent to him, and so the sixt day of Iuly he tooke his ship, so with all his nauie he made saile towarde Spaine where he arriued in safetie the tenth day after.

The Emperour taketh his leaue and departeth out of England.

The king about this very time sent to the Citie of London to borowe twentie thousande poundes, which sore chafed the Citizens, but the summe was promised, and for the payment the Maior sent for none, but for men of substaunce. Howbeit the companies solde much of their plate. The summe was payde, and the king sent his letter promysing payment of the same, and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were content with thys payment and sayde, let the riche Churles paye, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through all the realme, and priuie seales delyuered for the repayment of the same.

The Citie of Gean gotten by the Emperour.

This season the. xxj. day of Maye was the Citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors Capitaine called *Octauiano de Columna*, which had with him foure thousande and foure hundred Spanyardes, fiue thousande Italyans, and foure thousand Lanceknightes: and in the Citie was taken *Porter de Nauarro* the French kings familier Capitayne, and all the Lordes of Geane which fauoured the French king were taken prisoners or slayne, and especially one *Octauiano Farragoso*, which ruled there for the French king, was euill punished: the spoyle of the Citie that the souldiours had, was foure thousande Dukates beside the pillage, which was a great thing.

The maner of the assauting of Morlesse in Fraunce and how the same was gotten.

Now let vs retourne to the Lord Admyrall of England which departed from Hampton as you haue heard, and so with his nauy sayled and skowred the Seas, and at the last

came

came on the coast of Britaine, and commaunded the wysest Maisters and Mariners to boy the hauen of Morles, which was done, and so the next night all the flete came to the hauen of Morles in safety and moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnesse and to aduaunce their standardes, and all souldiers to giue their attendaunce on their Capitaynes, and then the Lord Admyrall appoynted and caused. xiiij. peeces of ordynaunce called Faucons to be brought to lande and drawne forth with strength of men. Then when all men that should go foreward were landed, the Lorde Admyrall with banner displayed tooke lande on the East side of the hauen the first day of Iuly, and with hym a fayre band of souldiers, to the number of seauen thousand, whome the sayd Lorde Admirall and sir Richard Wingfield brought in good order of battayle, and caused Christopher Morres the Maister Gunner to see all thinges redy prepared, and then about eyght of the clock the first day they marched toward Morles in good order of battayle with banners displayed. The *alarme* rose in the Countrie and came to the towne of Morles whereby the gentlemen of the countrie shewed themselues pricking, but when they heard the Gunnes they fled as though they neuer vsed warre. They of Morles armed themselues and went to the walles and shut the gates and layed ordinaunce where was most ieoperdy. The Englishmen had gone. v. long mile and were now come to the suburbes of the towne: then the Englishe Archers shot, and the Britons them defended: then the Admyrall commaunded the towne to be assaulted, then the Lord Fitzwater and the Baron Curson quartered the towne on all sides, the Englishmen shot with long bowes, & the Britons with Crosbowes, which defeded themselues manfully. Before the port Morlet where is a *Meason de Dieu**. At this gate gaue the assaut Sir Richard Wingfielde, Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, sir Iohn Wallop and al their bends, hauing with them thre peces of ordinaunce called Faucons, which the Maister Gunner oft times shot, but the Britones had set the gate full of Arcubushes, then the Gunner sayd, haue at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs enter the gate, the Gentelmen assented, then the sayde Sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed Gentelmen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open and entred, and the gentelmen folowed, the Britons defended themselues, but they were put backe and slayne, then was the greate gate opened and then entred the souldiers that were on the other side of the towne. When the Britons on the walles saw the towne gotten, some fled at the Posterne, & some by another way, the best way that they could.

* That is an Hospitall.

Morles assaulted and gotten.

The Erle of Surrey with Banner displayed tooke the market place. Then the souldiors fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of Marchauntes, for the towne of Morles was very riche, and specyally of linnen cloth, the Gentelmen suffered the souldiers to doe what they woulde. When the souldiours had taken their pleasure of the town. as much for a truth or more then they coulde beare away.

The Lord Admyrall commaunded the Trumpettes to blow, and commaunded all men to sette fyer in all places of the towne, the fayre Market place was set on fyer, and the suburbs brent ardantly. Wherefore all men were commaunded to their standardes, and about syx of the clocke the armie retreated, and as they passed they brent diuers villages and places. And when night approched they drew together and all night laye on lande abiding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all men were shipped and fewe or none missed: The Lorde Admirall commaunded. xvj. or. xvij. shippes small and great liyng in the hauen to be brent. Then they sayled forth and came to anker before saint Polle de Lion, then he commaunded that the Foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shippes called Pympoll or Pimpole, which was sone done, the botes entred the place and some landed, but then the Brytons were to strong, and so they toke their botes and bet the Britons on the shore, and the Britons shot great ordinance at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen brent a shyppe of two hundred and many small

vessels.

vessels. When time came the whole flete sayled into the hauen of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entered the hauen and tooke lande, and some Englishmen did so much that they set fyer in houses nere the Castell. And euen as the Englishmen sayled by the coast, the Britons them askried and fortefied the landing places, yet dayly the Englyshmen skyrmyshed with the Britons and came safelye to their ships againe: with thys warre was all the Duchy of Britain sore troubled.

When the Lord Admyrall had wonne the towne of Morles as you haue heard: He called to him certayne Squyres whome for their hardinesse and noble courage he made knights, first Sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthonye Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas More, sir Gyles Huse, sir Iohn Russell, sir Iohn Raynsford, sir George Cobham, sir Iohn Cornwalles, sir Edwarde Rigley and diuers other, and after he wrote letters to the king of his good spede: in the which he much praised al the gentelmen and souldiers for their hardynesse. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he shoulde retreyte, and so he came withall his flete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the one and twentie day of Iuly to the king, of whome he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on Monday the thre and twentie daye of Iuly the king and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sate in counsaile to determyne what should be done. After this the King dyned wyth the Cardinall the. xxiij. daye of Iuly, where he rehersed that he had knowledge that the Admirall of Brytaine was in Morles with a hundred horsemen & a hundred crosbowes, and yet he fled, & the king much commended the Lord Admyrall for his paine and hardinesse, and praysed them of his gard, and specially. 1: which left pilfering and neuer went from the Lorde Capitaine.

On the thirde day of Iuly while this enterprise was done at Morles, certaine Frenchmen to the number of three hundreth horsemen came neere to the Castell of Guisnes, and kept themselfe in a close couert, and so appered. viij. or. x. horsemen, and came neere Guisnes: out of the Castell came. viij. Englishe Archers, and issued out of the Gate, and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skirmish: to the Frenchmens reskue came foure men of armes and skirmished with the Archers which were afoote. Then out of Guisnes issued. xij. Dimilances all Welshemen, and ranne boldelye to the Frenchemen in rescue of the footmen. Then the whole bend of Frenche men issued out and set on the Welshemen, the footemen shot while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welshemen kept themselues together, and entered into the bend of Frenchmen, and brake their speares, and then fought so with swordes, that they made away, so that they escaped from the bende of three hundred horsemen, and of the Frenchmen were slaine thre men, and fiue horse, the footemen were ouerpressed, and solde their liues dere, for the French men slue them all, and woulde take none prisoner, they were so angrie with the killyng of their horse.

Also the. xxv. day of Iuly, sir William Sandes Treasorer of Calice, and Sir Edwarde Guilforde Marshall, with Banners spred, issued out of Calice with. xiiij.C. men, and went into the French pale lokyng for Moūsire Foyat, which was a great mocker and a cowarde: But when he appered not, they went to Whitsandbay, and set it on fyre, and the people fled to the Church which was fortified and stood at defence, the body of the Church was wonne, and then they tooke the Steple, and some yelded themselues, but the remnant by counsaile of a priest mainteyned so long, that the Steple was fiered, and then the priest cryed for succour, but it was to late, and so the French people was faine to leape the Steple, and diuers perished, and they that were saued were led to Calice as prisoners. Farther the. xxiij. day of the same Moneth, Thwaites a Capitaine of an Englishe Shippe tooke land besyde Bulleyn, and went vp three myle into the Countrey to a towne called Newe Castell and forrayed all the Countrey, and in his returne set fyre on the towne and brent a great part thereof mauger the Bullenoys, and with his bowes and men which onely was vj. score, he put backe. lxxx. Hagbushes and three hundred men of warre

warre of the Countrey and so came to their Shippe with all the bootie and lost no man, notwithstandyng they were sore folowed to there ship.

On the. vj. day of Iuly the Cardinall sat in the starre Chamber at Westminster, where he sayde, my Lordes it is reason that you should knowe the honourable enterprise done by the Lorde Admirall, and his company in Briteyne which hath dispoyled and destroyed the great towne of Morles in Briteyne with all the villages and Countrey adioynyng to the same, which is in the Frenche Dominion, which mischiefe had neuer risen if Fraunces the French king had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swyches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not inuade any of the Emperors landes or dominions, which he hath done, for he hath inuaded the Countrie of Henaude and Cambrices, and taken Hedyng and Fountraby with many other iniuries. For when the king sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Calice to treate an vnitie and peace betwene them, all our saiyngs were by the French king turned into a mockery. Also contrary to his promise he hath suffered Duke Iohn of Albany to enter the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong king, Nephew to our souereigne Lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Queene of Scottes contrary to the kinges honour. The sayde Frenche king also withholdeth the kinges dueties, and his sisters Dower: wherefore of necessitie the king is entered into warre, for no Prince will suffer the wrong that the French king offereth him, as an vntrue and forsworne Prince, wherefore for your awne welth you must now ayde your Priuce, trustyng to punishe and chastice him to your great honour and fame.

Then by commaundement were all Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned, and the goodes seazed, and all such as were denizens were commaunded to shew their letters patents, and such as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchmen and Scottes that had maryed Englishe women, the wyfes & children had halfe the goodes deliuered vnto them, and euery denizen to finde suretie for his good abearyng, and all the other if they would be bayled to finde sureties for their truth and allegiaunce, or else to be kept in prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye. All Frenchmen and Scottes imprisoned.

The king nowe beyng entered into the warres, thought not to sleepe and let the French king alone, wherefore by his letters he commaunded certaine persons with their powers to come to London in August. They that were appoynted came accordyngly, euery man with such a number as to him was appoynted, and when they had mustered at London before the kinges Commissioners, they were nere. xij. thousand men with the Pyoners, and they were sent to the Lorde Admyrall which lay at Douer with foure thousand men, but because haruest was not done, the vitaile at Calice was to little for so great an armie, wherfore they lay in Kent at townes there a good space, which made vitaile dere there.

In this Sommer the Lorde Rosse, and the Lorde Dacres of the north which were appoynted to keepe the borders agaynst Scotland, did so valyauntly, that they burned the good towne of Kelsey, and. lxxx. villages and ouerthrew. xviij. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwarkes.

The king also in this Moneth was credibly informed that the Duke of Albany prepared an army roiall of Scottes and Frenchmen to inuade England. Wherefore the king appoynted the Erle of Shrewsbury his Lorde Steward to be his Lieutenaunt generall agaynst the sayde Duke and hys inuasions, which directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshire, and all other beyonde Trent, that all men shoulde be in a readinesse.

The. xx. day of August, the Cardinall sent for the Maior, Aldermen, and the most substanciall Commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to them that the king had appoynted Commissioners through the whole realme of England for to sweare euery man of what value he is in moueables, the more to be in readinesse for the defence of this realme. And the king for the loue he beareth you, would haue sit with you The Cardinall vseth the Citizens cruelly and grieuously.

himselfe,

himselfe, but for certaine other affayres in his warres to be done is letted, and so hath appointed me your Commissioner. Wherefore in conuenient tyme certefie me the number of all such as be worth one hundred poundes and vpward, to the entent I may sweare them of their values: for first the king asketh of you your louyng heartes and due obeysaunce, the which shall appere by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken, he desireth onely the tenth part of goodes and landes, which is the least reasonable thing that you can ayde your prince with. I think euery one of you wil offer no lesse. As for the spiritualtie, euery man is in the shires sworne, & shall and will gladly pay the fourth part to the king, and liue on the three partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you will not grudge, therefore name me the men of substaunce, and for the meaner sort, meaner Commissioners shal be appoynted. Sir (said a Marchant) if it may please you, how shall this tenth part to the king be deliuered, in money, plate, or Iuelles? the Cardinall sayde at a value. O my Lord sayd the Aldermen, it is not yet two monethes sithe the king had of the Citie. xx. M. pound in readie money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Gods sake remember this, that riche Marchantes in ware be bare of money: Well sayde the Cardinall, this must be done, and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes, and named such as they iudged to be of that value, which came before the Cardinall, and moste hūbly besought him that they might not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce for the true valuation to them was vnknowne, and many honest mennes credence was better then his substaunce, and therefore they doubted the perill of periurye. Well sayde the Cardinall, sithe you dread the crime of periury, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I will for you borow of the king a little. Make you your billes of your awne value, likely to report your fame, and then more businesse nedeth not: for you see what two costly armies the king hath ready agaynst both Fraunce and Scotland, therefore nowe shewe your selues lyke louyng subiectes, for you be able ynough. And I dare swere the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Millions of golde. Then sayde the Citizens, we would to God that it were so, and the Citie is sore appaired by the great occupiyng of straungers. Well sayde the Cardinall it shall be redressed if I liue: But on Saterday next I shall appoynt one to receyue your Billes, and he that is of credence more then of substance, let him resort to me, and I will be secrete and good to him. Thus the Citizens departed in a great agony saiyng, that at the last loane summe lent the fift part, and now to haue the tent part was to much. And here note well that the. xx. thousand poundes that was lent, was not taken as the. xx. of euery mans substaunce, but it should be allowed as part of the tenth part, and this valuatiō should performe vp the whole tenth part. Great was ȳ mourning and murmuryng of the common people, as it is euer in suche cases of paymentes. But in the ende one Doctor Tonnys, a Secretary to the Cardinall, came to the Chapiter house of Paules, & to him the Citizens brought in their Billes, and on their honestie they were receiued, which values afterward turned them to displeasure.

Hast begetteth repentaunce.

The Spiritualtie made sute to the Lord Cardinall, that no Temporal men should syt to examine them, to bee made priuie to their possessions and goodes: Wherefore Bishops and Abbots were appoynted Commissioners to take the value of their substaunce.

In this season was great plentie of vittaile sent to Calice, and to the Lorde Admyrall were sent Tentes, and Pauilions, some of. lxx. lodgyngs for him and other noble men.

The Friday beyng the. xxij. day of August, certayne Welshmen were lodged at a pore village named Cause, because in Calice was verie narow lodging, and the same night foure hundred Frenchmen passed by Calice hauen for lack of good watche, and came into the same Village, and set fyre in the house where the Welshemen lay, which ranne away naked into the marishe and saued themselues, but their horses were taken. Thys chaunce happened for lack of good watch.

The Lorde Admyrall with a goodly company of souldiours entreth into Fraunce.

When the Lorde Admirall had brought all his men out of the shippes, and that all the souldiors were come out of Englande, and the ordinaunce set on lande, then came into Calice hauen. xiiij. ships out of Spaine from the Emperour, which set on lande

three hundred Spanyardes, which were sent to serue the Lorde Admirall, and vnder him they were put. When all things were readie, the Lorde Admirall set in order his battayles, and for the forewarde he appointed syr Robert Ratclyffe Lorde Fitzwater, for Capitayne, and with him dyuers knightes and gentlemen, which Capitayne kept his men in verie good order.

After that battayle followed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vittayle and all necessaries, and for the Capitayne of the horsemen was appointed syr Edward Guylford, by whome the currers and vewers of the Countrey were appointed. The middle warde led the Lorde Admirall himselfe, and in his companie the Lord Edmond Haward his brother, with many worshipfull knightes, squires and tall yomen: The last battayle was led by two valyaunt knightes of the Garter, syr Wylliam Sandes, and syr Richard Wyngfield, and with them was sir Rychard Iernyngham with many other. In good order of battayle they passed ouer Newnam bridge the. xxx. day of August to a place called Calkewell, and there lodged betweene the Wyndmill and the marrishe.

The same day came to the Lord Admyrall a certayne number of wilde persons, as men out of seruice and prentises that ran from their maysters and other ydle persons, and him desired that they might be retayned in the kings wages, to whom he aunswered that the king had appointed the number of suche as should haue wages, which was fully complete, and aduised them to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayde a tall yoman, my Lorde here be many good felowes, that with your fauour woulde ieopard to get or loose, for their minde is to be reuenged on the Frenchmen, enemies to the king & his realme. Good felow sayd the Lord Admirall, their mindes be good, but if for lack of conduyte they should be cast away, it were a losse to the king, and a great courage to the French men. Then all the company cryed, let vs go in the name of God and saint George: then after counsaile taken, he gaue them a Penon of saint George and bad them aduenture (of which they were called aduenturers) and farther bad them that if they got any bootie they should euer bring it to the armie, and they should be payde to the vttermost, and then he gaue them money and commaunded them weapons and so the sayde. xxxj. daye, the sayde aduenturers foure hundred in number and mo, set forward before the hoste, but howe they did, you shall heare afterwarde. Aduentures.

Monday the first day of September the armie remoued toward Guisnes, which day was verie hote and drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some dyed for faintnesse, and thys night they lay at Guysnes.

Tuesday the second day of September the armie passed toward Arde: And in the golden Valey where the king of Englande and the French king met two yeres before, there met with the armie of England two Capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called the Erle of Egmond the Seneschal of Henaude, and the Lorde of Bauers Admirall of Flaunders with fiue hundred horsemen, like men of warre. The Lorde Admirall in gentle maner receyued these two Capitaynes and their company, and so they ioyned themselues to the Englishe armie, and the same daye they tooke lodging at Arde south from the towne, where they were well vytayled, and there laye Wednesday all day, and the Burgonions lay vnder the Castell of Mountorrey. The next daye they remooued to the Vale of Lyekes, and there encamped themselues. Sir George Cobham the same day with two thousand men, by the Admiralles commaundement came to the towne of Selloys, and set fyre in the towne, and when the towne was on fyre he assaulted the Castel. They within made resistence, but it auayled not, for the walles were entered and the souldiours taken, and the castell set on fyre, and with Gunnepowder ouerthrew the walles: then with haste he remoued to a towne called Brune bridge and set it on fyre, and also brent a towne called Senekerke, and also the townes of Botyngham and Manstier, and so returned to the Lorde Admirall which gaue him great thanks. The French men appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not rescue their townes.

On Saterday the Lorde Admirall remoued with the whole armie to a ground beside saint

saint Nerbyns, and there lay all Sunday, beyng the seuenth day of September, where he sent diuers companies out, which forraged the Countreys and brent manye Villages as farre as they might trauaile: the Lorde Admirall caused the towne of Narbyn to be brent, and tooke the Castell and rased it and vtterly destroied it.

On Monday the. viij. day, he remooued to Dauerne and brent all the townes as he passed, and liyng there he brent the towne of Dauerne, and cast downe the Castel of Columberge, and the castell Rew, but the Churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his commaundemẽt.

The same daye was brent Saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelue Mile about was of light fire, the people fled and left townes and Castels full of Wine, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishemen founde great plentie, which or they went away they set a fire.

The. ix. day of September the whole armie came before the towne of Boyardes in the which was a Church more lyker a castell then a Church, for it was deepe dyched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes fortefied and lopes very warlike. The Admirall beholding it sayde, this is like no house of prayer. Then he commaunded his people to enter the dyches, and pluck downe the drawe bridges, and set fyre in the Church, and with Gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the towne and all the vilages adiacent to the same, the people cryed and fled, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The. x. day they came to the towne of Vaus, which was nighe the towne called Foucamberge, and there a company of Frenchmen were ascried, for out of a wood they shewed themselues, but they taried not long, but without profer of encounter they departed. Wherefore the whole armie tooke their campe, and there lay til the. xiij. day which was Saterday, euery day sending plumpes out to set fyre in the Country, and on that day they tooke the waye to Frynge or Frynges, and there brent the towne and destroyed the Castell which was very strong.

The Sonday beyng the. xiiij. daye, the Lorde Admirall with his company in great rayne and yll weather passed by hilles and valeys verie painefully, and with great labor came to a towne called Blaniow, and there taried Monday all day, and there all daye counsayled the Capitaynes both of England and Flaunders or Burgoyn, what was best to be done.

Message frō Hedyng.

On Tuesday in the morning came a Trumpet from the Castell of Hedyng and desired to speake with the Capitayne, which incontinent sent for him: my Lorde Capitayne sayde the Trumpet, the Capitayne of Hedyng desireth you to come thether and see the place and on the walles he will bring you good luck, and he prayeth you not to hurt the Dere in his Parke, and for any other hurt you can doe him he careth not: well sayde the Lorde Admirall, I will sende him aunswere by my Trumpet. Incontinent he called a Trumpet and bad him go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees, and to say to him that he will come to the Castell of Hedyng, and if he slaye any of my men with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I get the Castell, I will saue neyther man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the Trumpet departed and declared it to Mounsire de Bees, which sayde that it was spoken of nobie courage, and so the Trumpet returned, and the same daye the campe was remooued and the whole armie came about the Castell of Hedyng, at which time the towne of Hedyng was sore infect with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen, that no man should once come into the towne, howbeit some of the Burgonions did & set fire in the houses.

The aunswere.

Hedyng besieged.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was verye light for the wayes were so deepe and the ground so wet, that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the Lorde Admirall and the Capitaynes. After they had bene there a. xj. dayes, first they considered that the Castel could not be obtayned without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caryed, and also if they with the light ordynaunce shootyng shoulde

spend all their pouder and not get the Castell, then in them might be reckened great foly, and also they should be in great ieopardie to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plague began sore in the armie, wherefore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But whyle they laye at the towne, they beate downe roffes, galleries, chimneis, & such other things as the light ordinance would beate downe, which sore defaced the beautie of the Castell. They also destroyed all the Dere in the Parke, which were falowe Dere, and left none for the Capitaine. The English men were clerely determined to haue assauted the Castel, if the Burgonions would haue done the same: but they refused, which seyng the Englishemen left the assault alone: For though the Englishe men had gotten it, it should haue bene deliuered to the Emperors vse by the treaty, for he claymed it as his inheritaunce which caused the Englishemen to leaue the assault. The cause why the Castell was not assaulted.

And so the. xxij. daye of September they rered the siege and set themselues in good order of battayle and passed still onwarde, till they came to Dorlans, and brent the towne, and rased the castell, and from thence came to the good towne of Darrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brent all the waye as he passed: and euer the weather was worse, and men fell sicke, wherefore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into Flaunders about Betwyn. The siege raysed.

Then the Lorde Admyrall sawe that it was no time to keepe the fielde, turned backward in good order of battayle, and came to Calice the sixtene day of October. And while he lay at Calice he sent out syr William Sandes, Sir Morice Barkeley, syr William Fitzwillyam with three thousand men, which brent Marguyson which was newly edified and fortefied, they brent also the towne of saint Iohnes Rhode and Temple towne, and many Villages. At thys voyage were taken many prisoners. xiiij. M. sheepe. xiij. C. great cattell, as Oxen and Kyen, and. xij. hundred Hogges, and seuen. C. Mares and horses, with thys great bootie thys crewe returned to Calice in safetie. A great pray taken.

Then the Lorde Admirall sent syr Iohn Walop with. ix hundred men to saint Omers to lye there and at Guysnes, Hammes, and at Marke, and at Oy he left another number, and left Capitaynes to ouer see them, and all the Souldiours had a Monethes wages payde them, and so returned into Englande.

The aduenturers taried still and gat many good prayes, and brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothing: they were much drad of all the commō people, for of them they had great prayes, and daylie learned feates of warre which made them the bolder.

When the Lorde Admirall had set all things in an order on that side the sea, he toke ship and with the Nauy came into the ryuer of Thames, and so to the king, of whome he was well welcommed and not vnworthy. The Lorde Admirall returneth into England.

In thys season were banished out of Southwarke twelue Scottes, which had dwelt there a long season, and were conueyed from parishe to parishe by the Constable lyke men that had abiured the realme, and on their vttermost garment a whyte Crosse before and another behinde them. Thus were they conueyed through London North warde, tyll they came to Scotlande. Scottes banished the realme.

Whyle the Lorde Admirall was thus in Fraunce destroiyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewsburie Lorde George Talbot, and Steward of the kings houshoide prepared by the kings commaundement a great armie towarde Scotland: for the king was enformed that Duke Iohn of Albany (which in the Parliament of Scotland was made Lorde gouernour of the realme, and of the yong king during his noneage) had raysed a mightie and puyssaunt hoste of Scottes, to the number of foure score thousand men, as after was well knowne, which were warlike appointed, and that he with fiue hundred Frenchmen with hand Gunnes and other great artillerie was cōming forward to inuade the west marches of England adioyning toward Scotlande. Wherefore the king sent worde to the Erle of Shrewsburie, which with all diligence like a noble Capitaine set forward towarde Yorke, and wrote to the Erles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the Lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfforde, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers and to all other gentlemen,

tlemen, to be readie within eyght houres warnyng with all their powers; and so in iorniyng, he with his power which was great, came to the Citie of Yorke abyding the ordinaunce and the Lordes, and all other things necessarie in such a case.

In the meane season, the Scottes were come nigh to the Citie of Carleyle & lodged them nigh the water of Eske, not farre from Sulway sandes, and there made their abode. The Erle of Westmerland, the lord Dacres, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Mountaigle, with the knightes of Lancashire, Westmerland, and Cumberland, were readie with xxviij. thousande men to haue geuen them battaile.

The sayng of a Scottish Erle.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not enter into England without battaile, the Lordes of Scotland drew to counsaile, and amongest all one wise man sayde, my Lordes, hether we be come by the commaundement of my Lorde Gouernour the Duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should knowe: you all remember that the last warre was to the realme of Scotlande much preiudiciall: For king Iames the fourth brought the realme of Scotlande to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he and hys nobilitie slaine, which Scotland sore lamenteth: Wherefore by mine aduice let vs go to the Duke, and knowe of him the cause. Then they all came to the Dukes Court, and the Erle of Arrayn an auncient man spake for them all and sayde, my Lorde Gouernor, by your will and commaundement here is assembled almost all the Nobilitie of Scotland with their power vpon a pretence to enter into England, my Lordes here would know the cause and quarell why this warre is begon, if it might please your goodnesse, it should well satisfie their mindes.

The answere of the Duke of Albany.

The Duke studyed a good while, and sayde: this question would haue bene demaunded or nowe: For well you knowe that I for the very loue that I bere to the realme of Scotland, of the which I haue my name, honor and linage. I haue passed the seas out of the noble realme of Fraunce into thys realme of Scotland. One great cause to bring you to a vnity when you were in deuision: By reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be conquered and destroyed. Also the French king by my suytes and intercession will ioyne with you in ayde against the Englishe Nation: And when thys warre was determined in the Parliament, you made me Capitaine, aucthorisyng me to inuade England with banner displayed: then was no question demaunded of the right or quarel, & that that I haue done is by your assent & agreement, and that I will iustifie: but to answere your demaund, me thinke that you haue iust cause to inuade England with fyre, sworde, and blood, if you be not to forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonour and reproche for euer: For you knowe that this realme of Scotland is our inheritaunce as a porcion of the worlde allotted to our nacion and auncetors whome we succede: Then where may be better warre then to maintaine this our naturall inheritaunce: is not dayly sene the great inuasions that the Englishe men on vs make, the great manslaughters, and murders, with robberies, and spoyles that they doe dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defende the Countrey is the office of a king, the honour of noble men, and the very seruice of chiualrie, and the duetie naturall of the commonaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarell if we might conquer the realme of England and annex it to our realme and make a Monarchie: For sith the beginnyng of our habitation in this Isle of Briteyne, that nation and we haue bene enemyes, and vs they haue euer hated, and yet we haue withstood them till at the last battayle of Branxston, where we bechaunce lost our souereigne Lorde, and many noble men, but that was by treason of his Lord Chamberleyn, and yet I thinke we wanne the field: which murther I think al we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that ye should couragiously aduaunce your selfe in thys quarell to get honour and to be reuenged.

Then a sad man called the President of the counsaile sayde, my Lorde, Fortune of warre is led by hym that all leadeth, and he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, and here are the Lordes of Englande readye to encounter vs, and suerly they will fight, for their power shal encrease daily and ours is at the hyest. And if God geue vs ỹ victory as

I trust

I trust he wil, yet haue we not wonne the field: For ready cōming is the Lorde Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury so much dred in Fraunce as you know well, with a great puissaunt army, and there is no doubt but the king of Englande will send or bring an other army, yf we should chaunce to get the first battaile: if we get the second fielde that will not be without the losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realm shalbe weaker. And if we be ouercome how many shal be slaine God knoweth: they that fliee are worthy to be reputed as traytors to the king and so by wilfulnesse and foolish hardinesse the realme shal be in jeoperdy to be vndone, and I say while the king is within age, we ought to moue no warre, sith by warre we may bring him to destruction. Alas sayde the Duke here is all the puyssaunce of Scotlande: if we retourne we shall encorage our enemies, and the realme of Scotlande shall euer be rebuked and defamed. All this communication in counsaile was written by one syr Lother Priest and Scot and Secretary to the Queene of Scots, which was a Secretary there in the host at that time, to a Scottishe Priest that dwelt in London: and farther he wrote that the Scottish king did much for the French kings pleasure to draw the Lords of England with their powers toward the partie and to put the king of Englande to charges, so that he should not inuade Fraunce.

After this communication, the Queene of Scottes which doubted the sequele of this matter, sent worde to the Duke, and him required to common of a peace with the warden of the English Marches, which sent an Herauld to the Lorde Daker then warden of the west Marches, the Lorde Daker agreed, and vpon hostages went to the Duke of Albanye into his campe, where the Queene of Scottes by that tyme was come, and so there was an abstinence of warre taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the Duke and the Queene promised to send Ambassadors to the king of England to conclude a peace: And thus the Scottes returned into their houses. Thys truce was taken the. xj. day of September betweene Englande and Scotland, this. xiiij. yere of the king. The Erle of Shrewsbury heeryng of the truce by the Lorde Dacres letters, returned with all his companie, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the Commissioners sate for the loane of the tenth part of euery mans substance in euery shire, the people were sworne and some aduaunced themselues more then they were worth of pride, not remembring what was commyng, and the Commissioners did what they coulde to set the people to the vttermost, which afterward turned the people to much heauinesse, and by reason of this great summes of money were leuyed, but the most part, were not content, because the loane was so sodainly payed. But vnder the value of. v. pound no man lent a peny.

A truce taken with the Scottes.

The warre thus continuyng betwene the French king and the king of England, there was a valiaunt Capitaine Constable of the Castell of Hammes vnder the Lord Mountioy called sir Richard Whethill, the Frenchmen him somuch hated, that they deuised a pollicye to take him, and so on Christmasse day at night there issued out of Bulleyn two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footemen, and so much they trauayled that altogether were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes Castell called Cat Hal. When they were come thether, they kept themselues couert, and in the mornyng they brake vp the Turne pyke by Saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marshe. ix. or. x. footemen to take Cattell. In the Castell the *alarme* rang, but the embushement kept them still close: The Constable perceyued what the *alarme* ment, and armed him, and so did his archers and tooke his horse, and three Gentlemen went on foote by him. The French men of purpose driued the Cattell here and there, as though it would not be driuen, sir Richard Whithill pursued them. When the driuers sawe him, they droue the Cattell into a great fielde: then were the bushement of horsemen and footemen betwene them and Saint Gertrudes, and they sodainly brake out on them, and the three Gentlemen on foote fought valiauntly, but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on foote manfully, but he was borne downe with Pykes, and sore wounded, and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner: by that tyme were. xxx. archers come out of the Castell, and when they

they sawe the great number of the Frenchmen, then they knewe that their Capitaine was betrayed, and so returned.

The duke of Albany returned.

About this time the Duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlande into Fraunce, and the French king so much fauoured hym, that as it was shewed to the king of England for truth, that when the French king road through Parys he rode on the one hand and Richard de la Polle a Traytor to England and by parliament attaynted on the other hande, and that the Duke had asked of the French king fiue thousand horsmen and ten thousand Almaynes, and that he had promised the French king that if he had those. xv. thousand men, he woulde doe one of these thre things, eyther slay the king of England in battayle, or else take him prisoner, or else driue him out of his realme. These were shamefull bragges of a noble man and very foolish.

Ye haue heard before how truce was taken by the Duke of Albany and the Lorde Dacres for a season betwene Englande and Scotland, and that Ambassadors should be sent to the king of England, so it was that in October according to their accustomed doublenesse they sent thre personages of small behauior as it seemed, as Ambassadours from Scotlande: they were smally regarded and shortly departed. There commission was to know whether the same tyme or abstinence of warre was by the king assented to or not, and other Commission had they none. Thus they ment craftily as you may perceyue, for in such troublous tyme they may steale vnpunished, which they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherefore the king to be sure of them sent for Henry the fift Erle of Northumberland, and him made warden of the whole Marches, which thankfully accepted the same, and so departed Lorde warden. But howsoeuer it happened he made suyte to the king and his Counsail and neuer left, till he was discharged of the same, & then the Erle of Surrey Lorde Admirall of England was made general warden, and the Lord Marques Dorcet was made warden of the East Marches and middle, and the Lorde Dacres of the West Marches: which three Lordes spedde them thether the sixt day of Marche for the defence of the Borders. For refusyng of this office the Erle of Northumberland was not regarded of his awne Tenauntes, which disdeyned him and his blood, and much lamented his folye, all men esteemed him without heart, or loue of honour and chiualrie.

Ambassade from Scotlande.

The loane gathered.

The king out of hand sent Commissioners to gather the loane, this was called the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens pursses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme, and euery man commaunded to be readie within a dayes warnyng to do the king seruice in harnesse, which caused euery man of honestie to by harnesse and weapon.

A road made into Scotland by the English men.

The Lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betweene England and Scotland, accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Darcie, and many other noble men, the second day of Aprill, then beyng shere Thursday, entred into *Tiuedale*, and so ten myle into Galoway, and brent on euery syde townes and villages, and the Scottes in great number shewed themselues on the hilles, and did not approch, and so he all that night taryed in the Scottish ground, and on good Fryday returned with their boty which was foure thousand head of nete into England, when they had brent Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufford mylles Ackeforth, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Midder Crowlyng, Marbottell, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner, Middyl rigge, Primsed, Broket, Shawes Haruel, wide open Haught, and other townes and villages, and yet lost not many men.

A parliamēt.

The. xv. day of Aprill began a Parliament at the blacke Friers in Lōdon, and that day the masse of the holy ghost was song, all the Lordes beyng present in their Parliament robes. And when Masse was finished the king came into the Parliament Chamber and there sate downe in the seate royall or throne, and at his feete on the right syde sat the Cardinall of Yorke, and the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and at the raile behinde stood Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, which made to the whole parliament an eloquent oratiō, declaryng to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudge-

ment

ment, according to the saiyng of ỹ prophet Dauid *Deus iudicium tuum regi da*, &c. Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the saiyng of the Prophete. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.* Accordyng to which saiynges, he sayde that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learnyng, & great experience, which accordyng to his princely dutie forgat not to studie to sette forwarde all thinges which might be profitable to his people and Realme, least there might be layde to his charge the saiyng of Seneca. *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a king and hast no tyme to be a king? which is asmuch to say, as art thou a king, and doest nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king and seest the people haue an insufficient lawe? Art thou a king and wilt not prouide remedie for the mischiefe of thy people? These things haue moued the kinges highnesse to call this his high Court of Parliament both for the remedie of mischiefes which be in the common lawe, as recoueryes, forraine vouchers, and corrupt tryals. And for makyng and orderyng of newe estatutes which may be to the highe aduauncement of the common wealth, wherefore he willeth the Commons to repayre to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the Lorde Chauncelor of the same, which should thereof make report to the kinges most noble grace, which shoulde declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented before his person. This was the cause of the parliament he sayd, but surely of these things no word was spoken in the whole Parliament, and in effect no good act made, except the graunt of a great subsidie were one, but accordyng to this instruction the Commons departed to the common house, and chose for their speaker Sir Thomas Moore knight and presented him the Saterday after in the Parliament Chamber, where he accordyng to the old vsage disabled himselfe both in witte, learnyng, and discretion, to speake before the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desyred Hanniball to come to his readyng, which thereto assented, and when Hanniball was come, he began to reade, *de re militari*, that is of Chiualrie: When Hannibal perceyued him, he called him arrogant foole, because he woulde presume to teache him which was maister of Chiualrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayde, if he should speake before the king of learnyng, and orderyng of a common welth and suche other lyke, the king beyng so well learned, and of such prudence and experience, might say to him as Hanniball sayd to Phormio. Wherefore, he desired his grace that the commons might choose them another speaker: the Cardinall answered, that the king knewe his wit, learnyng and discretion, by long experience in his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most meetest of all, and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas Moore gaue to the king his most humble thankes, and desyred of him two peticions: the one if he should be sent from the Commons to the king on message, and mistake their entent, that he might with the kinges pleasure resort agayne to the Commons, for the knowledge of their true meanyng: the other was, if in communication and reasonyng any man in the common house should speake more largely then of duetie he ought to do, that all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record, which two peticions were graunted, and so thus began the Parliament and continued as you shall here.

The oration of Doctor Tunstal bishop of London.

The oration of Sir Thomas More.

Because an euill chaunce happened to the great rebuke of all Christen Princes, I entend briefly to declare the same miserable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sultan Solyman Pac called the great Turke, which was but the. viij. of the ligne of Ottoman, the first that tooke vpon him to be a great Capitaine or ruler. And to whome Sultan Solyme his father had lost the Empyres of Constantinople, Trapesonde, Alexandry, and Babilon, with many diuers kingdomes and realmes: which Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten the towne of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all the great Princes in Christendome nowe at discorde, thought it most for his honor and profite to make warre on the Isle of the Rhodes, and to take the same, which Isle had bene kept by the space of two hundred. xiiij. yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of Saint Iohnes of Ierusalem. Diuers thinges moued him to take this enterprice.

The Rhodes besieged.

Why the Turke coueted the Rhodes.

One

One was because this Isle stoode so that the religious of the same oftentymes tooke and destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egipt, Sirie and other ye East parties to Constantinople, so that by them of that Isle he sustayned more hurt then by all Christendome, because the sayd Isle stood in the entry toward Constantinople. Another motion was, because his father when he dyed charged him to assay to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the shame that they had done to his graundfather Mahomet the great Turke which was with dishonour beaten from the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest occasion of all was, the exhortation of a great Counsaylor of the religion called Andrew Admyrall borne in Portyngale, which knewe the whole estate and in what case the towne stoode in: The cause why this Andrew Admirall bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto Lord maister of their religion, he was not elected to that honour, but one Phillip de Vyllyars de Lisle Adam of Fraunce was named to be Lord Mayster, wherefore the sayd Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

The great Turke seyng so great an occasion offered and desiring honor and also knowing the fortresse of the Rhodes to lacke munitions (for surely the brethren of the sayd order were both of such welth and pride, and also lyued after such an vngratious and vngodly fashion, that they neyther tooke heede of their vow and solempne Profession, nor also did foresee the thing to come, so that the great wealth of them, and their euill liuing blinded them that they thought the Turke durst not once attempt to set on their garriso, and so they beyng eleuate in this poynt of pride, left their towne vnfurnished and were sodaynly surprysed (as you shall heere) wherefore the sayde Turke couertly prouided for thre hundred sayle, in the which he caryed all his artillary and all other thinges necessary: in the which army were. lx. thousande Myners and Pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge and mine: al the rest of the armye of the Turke came by lande to a place called Fisco, which standeth so dyrectly agaynst the Rhodes, that a fyer may be seene from the one side to the other, from which place the Turke sent letters to the aboue named Phillipe de Vylliers Lord Maister of the sayde religion, signifiyng to hym that he woulde haue the sayde Isle for the great damage that they had done to him and to his people, and if they woulde yelde to him the sayd Isle, he promised on his fayth and by Mahomet his first Phrophet, they should haue no dammage nor hurt by him, and that they that would depart shoulde goe in safetie, and they that would tary and serue him should haue good wages, and if they refused this to doe, he swore that he would subuert the walles of their fortresse and destroye them all and make them slaues, which letter was dated at Constantinople the fyrst day of Iune. The sayde Lorde Mayster and his company were greatly abashed of this letter, but yet like hardy Gentelmen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparations that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to al Princes christen of their neede and distresse. But the Turke like a wily serpent knowing the great deuision amongest the Christen Princes, so that he knew that they could send no succors to the Rhodes, sent two hundred. M. Turkes which arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Midsomer day which was the feastfull day of the Rhodians in honor of saint Iohn Baptist, which sodaine comming sore abashed the Rhodyans being but sixe hundred knights and. v.M. other meete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they determined to defend the enemies of God, and the. xxviij. daye of Iuly the Turke arriued there in his owne person, which much encouraged his people.

The Turkes letter.

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinaunce toward the towne and did no great harme, when he saw that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle harme, he caused all his Pyoners to cast yearth one banke ouer another styl, tyll they came within a bowshot of the wall. And although that many of the pyoners were slayne with the ordinaunce of the towne they neuer ceased tyll they had made a banke of yerth higher by ten foote then the wall of the towne, and they there laide their ordinaunce, so that no person durst stirre on the walles or Bulworkes, & thus with mountaynes of earth

The mounts.

This is called a rolling trench.

was the towne enuironed, and behinde the mountaynes laye the Bassaus and chiefe Capitaines of the Turke which were euer ready to take their aduauntage, and dayly did shote into the towne and bet downe houses, and slew the people in the streates, for they vpon this mount might easily see into the towne. Beside this, the Turke caused so many mynes to be made in diuers places, that they within, were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, in so muche as women were set at worke to digge and carye, by reason whereof a great part of the walles were ouerthrowne. And if they within had not made countermynes, the towne had bene gotten within a short space. Also the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure great assaultes like valiaunt warriers, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them, that at euery assault they lost at the least two thousand men, and at the fourth assault they lost ten thousand Turkes and more. The mynes. The assaults.

The great Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assaultes, sent for Mustaphaph Basshaw, through whose counsayle he toke on him this enterprice and much blamed him that he made him beleue that he might haue the towne within. xij. dayes or in a moneth at the most, wherefore in that furye he woulde haue put him to death, if the other Basshawes had not intreated for hym: but in conclusion the Turke determined clerely to raise his siege and to depart, and so had done if that same night syr Andrewe Admyrall that you haue heard of before and a Iew being within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarrels into the Turkes army. By which letters the Turkes knew the necessitie of the towne and feblenesse of the people, which caused him to chaunge his purpose. But this treason was espyed, and the Traytors taken and put to terrible execution, and the Turke caused so many mynes to be made, that although some tooke none effect, yet by some he ouerthrew both bulwarkes, walles and towers, so that he might enter into the towne: and so on saint Andrewes euen he caused a great assault to be geuen, which was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valyauntly defended them that they slew thre thousand Turkes and mo, and kept them from entring that day, but the Citizens of the Rhodes after this assault came to the Lord Maister, and prayed him to haue compassion of them, their wyfes and children, and shewed him that if the towne were taken by assault (as it was like to be) that they all should be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Maister much regarded his honor, and comforted the people with fayre words, but by chaunce about the same time the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willing them to deliuer the towne, and they al should haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary should tary in quiet, and they that woulde depart, should safely depart. A vile trayterous act. Trason espied.

When this letter was knowne, then the people cryed out on the Lord Maister, to take the offer, wherefore he calling all hys counsayle together, seyng that it was not possible to keepe the towne longer, both for lack of artillarie and vittayle, and also because his number was so minished, that scarce he had Souldiours to keepe the walles: wherefore he by great aduise determined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym two of hys religion for the farther conclusion and assuraunce of the same, which wel entertayned them, and had wrytings sealed of all thinges that they desired, to which two knightes, Aymeche Basshaw sware by hys fayth that there was slayne at the siege. lxiiij. M. Turkes, and. xl. thousand dead of mortalitie and mo. The yelding vp of the Rhodes.

And so on Christmas daye, the great Turke him selfe entered into the Rhodes, and tooke possession thereof, and the Lorde Maister and all his religion, the first day of Ianuary tooke ship and sayled to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared hys chaunce and aduenture. Thus was the towne and the Isle of the Rhodes taken by the great Turke, which was a great succour to all christian men, resorting into the East parts of the worlde, which chaunce was much lamented thorow all christen dome, and muche blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succour nor ayde to the Isle.

And thys yere the Byshop of Duresme died, and the king gaue the sayd Byshoprike to Cardinall Wolsey made Byshop of Durham.

the Cardinall, and he resigned the Bishoprike of Bathe, to Doctor Iohn Clerke maister of the Rolles, and he made syr Henry Marney his Vicechamberleyn Lorde priuie seale, and after created him Lorde Marney. In the ende of thys yere, Doctor Blithe Bishop of Chester, was attached for treason, but he quyted himselfe. And about thys season, the Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proued Testaments, and did call before him all the executors & administrators of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the Bishops and ordinaries, did prooue no great willes in their Dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their little disauauntage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue awaye all the yerely profites of benefices belonging to spirituall persons, by the which doing, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualty, but also he ranne into the daunger of the Premunire which he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the xxj. yere of this king.

The Court Legantine.

1523

15

The Cardinals oration.

The Parliament beyng begon, as you haue heard before rehersed, the Cardinall accompanied with dyuers Lordes, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, came the xxix. day of Aprill into the common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the French king Fraunces, the first, called the most christened king, had so often times broken promise with the king of Englande, and his welbeloued Nephew Charles the Emperor, that the king of his honor could no longer suffer. For first he declared, that the meeting of the sayde two princes at Guysnes, the sayd French king was sworne, to kepe all the articles conteyned in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the king of Englande sithe the which time, he hath made warre on the Emperours dominions, by Robert de la March his Capitaine. He also hath witholden the tributes and other paimentes, whiche he should pay to the king of Englande, for redemption of Tournay and Tirwin, and not with this content, hath not alonely robbed and spoyled the kings subiectes, but also hath sent Iohn Duke of Albany into Scotland to make warre and to inuade thys realme, wherefore the king of necessitie, was driuen to warre and defence, which in no wise could be maynteyned, without great summes of money, and he thought no lesse then eyght hundred thousand pounde, to be raysed of the fift part of euerye mans goodes and landes, that is to say foure shillings of euery pounde, for he sayde that the yere followyng, the king and the Emperour should make such warre in Fraunce, as hath not bene sene.

The demaunde.

A great subsedie.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhorting the commons to ayde their prince, in time of necessitie, he departed out of the common house. The morrowe after, syr Thomas More beyng speaker, declared all the Cardinals oration agayne to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, saiyng: that of duetie men ought not to denie to pay foure shyllings of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proued manifestly, that if the fift part of substaunce of the realme, were but eyght hundred thousand pound, and if men should pay to the king the fift part of their goodes, in money or plate it was prooued, that there was not so much money out of the kings handes, in all the realme, for the fift part of euery mans goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although fiue men were well monied, fiue thousand were not so, the Gentlemen of landes, hath not the fift part of the value in coyne: the Marchaunt that is riche of Silke, Wolle, Tynne, Cloth, and such Marchaundise, hath not the fift part in money, the husbande man is riche in corne and cattle, yet he lacketh of that somme. Likewise vitaylers and al other artificers, be rich in houshold stuffe, and not in money: and then consequently, if all the money were brought to the kings handes, then men must barter cloth for vittayle, and bread for cheese, and so one thing for another: then consider that after this valuation, the king hath had by the waye of loane two shillings of the pound, which is foure hundred thousand pound, and now to haue foure shillings of the pound, which amounteth in the whole twelue hundreth thousand pound, which first and last is sixe shillings of the pounde, which is almost the thirde part of euery mans goods, which in coyne cannot be had within this realme, for the proofe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but fiftene thousand parishes, and euery parishe should geue a

A straunge reconyng.

hundred

hundred Marke, that were but fiftene hundred thousande Marke, which is but ten hundred thousand pound, and how many parishes be in England one with another, able to spare a hundred Markes, out of Cities and townes: and where it is written, that in Englande there be. xl. thousand parishe Churches, it was proued that there were not. xiij. M. parishe Churches at this day. Then accompt the whole somme cannot amount aboue ten hundred thousand pound, and the king demaundeth eyght hundred thousand, and he according to this valuation; hath had foure hundred thousand pound, therfore it was thought, the somme was impossible to be leuied, and if all the coyne were in the kings handes, how should men lyue: Also the king had of the spirituall men the last yere, foure shillings of the pound.

After long reasoning there were certaine appointed, to declare the impossibilitie of this demaunde to the Cardinall, which according to their commission, declared to him substantially the pouerty & scarcenesse of the realme: all which reasons and demonstrations, he little regarded, and then the sayde persons most meekely beseeched his grace, to moue the kings highnesse, to be content with a more easier somme, to the which he currishly aunswered, that he would rather haue his tongue plucked out of his head with a payre of pinsons, then to moue the king to take anye lesse somme: with which answere, they almost dismayed, came and made report to the common house, where euery day was reasoning, but nothing concluded.

Wherefore the Cardinall came againe to the common house and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fashion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reason, but amoag themselues. Then he shewed the realme to be of great ryches, first because the kinges customes were greater nowe, then they were before time: also he alleged sumptecus buyldings, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruauntes, fat feastes, and delicate dishes, which things were all tokens of great abundaunce: with which repeting of mens substaunce, as though he had repined or disdayned, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed but hymselfe, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparell of the commodities of this realme, abundance of plate, and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall. After long debating, the commons concluded to graunt two shillings of the pounde, of euery mans landes or goods, that was worth twentie pound, or might dispend twentie pound to be taken for the king and so vpwarde of euerie twentie shillings, two shillings, and from. xl. shillings to twentie pound, of euery twentie shillings, twelue pence, and vnder. xl. shillings of euery head. xvj. yeres and vpward foure pence, to be payde in two yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therewith was sore discontent, and sayde, that the Lordes had graunted foure shyllings of the pound, which was prooued vntrue, for in deede they had graunted nothing, but harkened all vpon the commons.

Then a knight called syr Iohn Hussye of Lincolneshire, sayde, to please the Cardinall somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pounde lande and vpwardes, geue to the king of our landes twelue pence of the pounde, to be payde in three yere: with which motion diuers gentlemen were sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or twelue of the Gentlemen said yea, and when the nay should be asked, the commons sayd nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the Gentlemen to charge themselues, and so by ten or twelue persons, the gentlemen were burdened, with twelue pence more then other, for the which graunt, syr Iohn Hussye had much euill will. *A franke offer of a Gentleman.*

After thys graunt made, the. xxj. day of May, because of Whitsontyde, the Parliament was proroged to the tenth daye of Iune: Duryng which prorogation, the common people sayde to the Burgesses, Sirs, we heare say you will graunt foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to doe so that you may go home, with many euill wordes and threatnings.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, dissolued the Conuocation

at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and called him and all the clergy, to his Conuocation to Westminster, which was neuer sene before in England, wherof maister Skelton a mery Poet wrote.

Skelton.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy Sweard:
For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy Beard.

When the parliament was begunne againe, the landed men of fiftie pounde and vpwarde, seyng that they were charged, with twelue pence of euery pound of their landes, moued that all such as were worth fiftie pound in goods and vpwarde, should pay also twelue pence of the pound, in the fourth yere. At the which motion was much reasoning, and at the last the. xxvij. daye of Iune, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were most, then was the house deuided, and all the commons seuered themselues, from the knightes of the sheeres, so that one yea part remayned onely in the knightes of the Shire, and the commons stiffely affirmed that the motioners of thys demaunde, were enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called them altogether, and after long perswading, and priuie labouring of friendes, it was agreed that twelue pence of the pound should be payde the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

A hard triall.

After this the Parliament the. xxxj. day of Iuly, was adiorned to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiij. day of August, and that day at. ix. of the clock in the night dissolued. Duryng the time of this Parliament the. xxvij. daye of Aprill, was syr Arthur Plantagenet, Bastarde sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created Viscount Lisle, in the right of his wyfe, which was wife to Edmond Dudley beheaded.

Christian king of Denmarke.

This yere Christierne king of Denmarke with hys wyfe, which was sister to the Emperour Charles, and his three children, with. xviij. shippes arriued in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by hys Vncle Frederick Duke of Holst, and hys awne subiectes, for his crueltie as is written. Which Christierne with his wife, was well entertayned of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to him to liue on, in Brabant and Holland. During the time of his there soiornyng, he made much sute to come into England, to see and speake with the king, which request was to him graunted, and so he and hys Queene, with foure Gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourtie persons, pore and euill appareled, landed at Douer the. xv. day of Iune, where he was nobly receyued, by the Erle of Deuonshire, and the Byshops of Excester, and Rochester, and dyuers knightes and Esquiers, and so brought to Grenewiche: where the king and Queene, standing vnder their clothes of estate, receyued them into the great hall of Grenewiche. And he dyned with the king, and she with the Queene, both set vnder the cloth of estate, and were sumpteously serued of all delicate viands.

The king of Denmarkes comming into England.

And when he had soiourned there a season, euery daye feasted at the Court, he was conueyghed to London, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watch in London, on saint Peters euen, desired to see it, and so was accompanyed with the Duke of Suffolke, the Erles of Oxford, Essex and Kent, and dyuers other Lordes and Ladies, and brought into the Kings head in Chepe, where the Citie of London made to him and hys wife a costly banquet. And when he had sene the watch, he sayd, I would to God I had so many archers, Pikes, and Halberders, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would punishe suche, as haue wrongfully dispossessed me, of my realme and Country. And after he had solaced himselfe in London he resorted to the king, of whome he had many great giftes, and likewise had hys wyfe of the Queene her Aunt, and so tooke their leaue, and were conueyed to Douer. And when he had bene in England. xxij. dayes, he toke shipping, and sayled agayne into Flaunders, praisyng much the king of Englande and hys Court.

The king of Denmarke commendeth the watch of London.

Duryng all thys season and session of the Parliament, the warre was fierce, both betweene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotland, in so much that eche part, did as much as in them lay, to hurt the other. For on the borders of Scotland lay the valy-

gaunt Erle of Surrey, great Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and hys three brethren, Syr Wylliam Compton, and sir William Kyngston, with dyuers other knightes and Esquiers, sent to them by the king, which daylie inuaded the realme of Scotlande, and threwe downe the Castell of Wedorberne, the Castell of West Nesgate, the Castell of Blakkater, the Tower of Mackewalles, the tower of East Nesgate, and many other, and brent to the number of. xxxvij. villages, and haried the Countrey from the East Marches to the West, and neuer had skirmishe: but they oftentimes shewed themselues in plumpes, wayting their auauntage, howbeit in all thys iorney were fewe Englishe men lost. Wherefore the Lordes perceyuing that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into England, fortefied the frontiers on euery part, with men and all things necessarie for defence, for stealing or other small rodes. After all which things set in a perfitenesse, they returned toward the king, and came to the ende of the Parliament. Scotland sore haried and spoyled.

In this season, the Frenchmen hauing a great desire, to haue the kings towne of Calice deuised first to destroy the hauen, by the which they supposed, that Calice might haue bene lightly gotten, for fault of rescue. Whervpon they laded an olde Ship of foure hundred Tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Deepe, which Ship had no Mast, but came with a foresayle, as though the Mast had bene cut, and cast ouer the boord in the sea in a tempest. And when shee came before Calice, euerye man that sawe her, thought she had bene weather driuen, and lost her mast by tempest, and so about ten of the clock at night the. xxiiij. day of May, the sayde Ship came before Calice hauen, as though she would enter for harborow, and so was enteryng and missed the Chanell, and turned to the sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frenchmen supposyng that they had bene in the very chanell, launched out their Boate, and sodainly set the ship on fire, and lept into their Boate and so scaped by the shore. When they of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore troubled, and at the last when the water was gone, they perceyued the Shippe consumed, and the goodly Cane stone liyng whole. A ship sonke with stone in Calice hauen.

Wherefore the Lorde Barnes Deputie of Calice, the Lorde Barkley Lieutenaunt of the Castell, the Lorde Sandes Treasorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the laborers that might be gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the Ship, and to carie awaye the stone, and so the sayde stone was brought to Calice: wherevpon the sayde Capitaynes sent a letter, to the Capitaine of Bulleyne, by Calice pursiuaunt at armes, desiring him to geue thankes to Mounsire Lodowyke Capitayne of Deepe, for the sendyng of so fayre a Ship, and goodly stone to Calice, which stone the sayde Lordes sent word, they had receyued into the towne of Calice, and that it did them much profite, for the fortification of the sayde towne, desiring him to send more, and they would receyue it on the same price. To the which letter, the Capitayne of Bulleyne aunswered, I haue nothing lost, nor they haue nothing gotten of me, tell him that hath lost, with which aunswere the Pursiuaunt departed. Wherevpon the Englishemen beyng greeued, there issued out of Calice an hundred light men of warre, called auenturers, and came neere Bulleyn, and obteyned a great bootie, whereof the garrison of Bulleyn beyng aduertised, issued out and folowed the Englishmen, and sharply them encountered. The Englishemen shot so, that the French men which were fiue hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appered euidently, that there were dead on the ground, xlvj. Frenchmen, and. xxij. Englishe men, and the Frenchmen tooke twentie Englishe men, prisoners, the residue of the Englishe men kept them together, and so came to Calice, the Capitayne of thys enterprise was one Latheberie.

The Lorde Sandes Tresorer of Calice, entending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen, called the Counsayle of Calice to hym, and declared to them how the Frenchmen, and in especiall Mounsire de Bees Capitaine of Bulleine, dayly imagined to destroy the English pale, and that they on the English part, had nothing done yet against them, wherefore he aduised them all to do some acte, and he himselfe would be present, and foremost man. Wherevpon it was concluded and commaunded, that euery man shoulde be in a readynesse,

at

at the sounding of a Trumpet, vpon which warning, the sayde Lorde Sandes the ninth day of Iuly carely in the morning, sent forth two hundred light horses, through the English pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one toward the other, least his enterprice should be ascried, and so the people were kept in all that daye, and in the euening about seauen of the clocke, he himselfe with a Capitayne called Guyot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Rafe Broke and other, set forwarde with light ordinaunce and vitayle, and embattayled themselues in good aray, and marched toward Sandifield by a. xj. of the clock, and there refreshed them selues, and in good order, they came to the water of Sclaukes, not far from Bulleyn, which was the tenth day of Iuly.

When they were ascryed *Atarme* was rong all the country, and the Capitaine of Bulleyne sent forth. lxx. men of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morice pykes, Crosbowes, and hand gunnes, wherfore capitaine Guyot was sent with his bande of horsemen, to ayde the English footemen, which were farre behinde, and Capitaine Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchmen, and sir Thomas Palmer, and Rafe Broke, with the remnaunt of the horsmen, stode for a stale. Then Capitaine Ripton profered forwarde with the speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiantly, then began a sore skirmishe, the Frenchmen both horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Sclaukes, which is but a gut made by force of land water, but after long fight the Englishmen gat ouer the water by pure force, and tooke the Frenchmens standard, and a Gentleman which was a man of armes of Bulleine, called Charles de Maruiele, and euer Sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, stode and ayded where necessitie was most. Thus the skirmish continued from foure of the clocke in the morning, till nine of the clocke, before noone, and euer the Frenchmen encreased, but at the last they retreyted themselues toward Bulleyne, in which retourne diuers of them were slaine. Or the skirmish was ended, came the Lorde Sandes with the footemen, with his speare on his thigh and his helme on his head, and greatly encoraged his company: during which conflict, diuers of Picardye had gathered them together, and had taken the Church of Odirsael, which was well fortefied, and a strong place: whereof the Lord Sands beyng aduertised, he marched thetherward, and in the way burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer at armes, to them that kept the churche of Odirsaell, to yelde the church to hym, which to hym aunswered that they would stand at defence: then he commaunded an assault, which quickely was done, and the Frenchmen defended themselues, with hande gonnes, Crosbowes, and pykes, so that the Englishmen could not enter. Then the Lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, which he had with him, to be shotte to the church, and pierced it through: then they within saw that their defence could not holde, yelded themselues body and goodes. Out of the Church came lxxij. Frenchmen, which were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes which they had caried into the church were taken for a bootie. Thus by one of the clocke, the sayde tenth day of Iuly, was the church of Odirsaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchmen manned the steple of Odingham, which was a very strong Tower, much like a Castell, to whome the Lord Sandes sent an officer at armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they aunswered, that they were Frenchmen, and to him they would not yeelde, and if he came thether, they would withstande him: wherevpon he and his army marched thetherwarde, and about foure of the clocke at after noone, he assaulted the steple, and the Frenchmen themselues valiauntly defended, but sodainly by a chaunce vnknowne, the steple was a fier, and the Frenchmen fled downe to the quyer, then the Englishmen lightly entered the body of the church, and assaulted the Frenchmen, which cryed mercy and yelded themselues, and at twelue of the clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the Church fortie prisoners.

After which time the Lord Sandes encamped himselfe, and made good watch for feare of enimies, and in the morning called to him all the Priestes, which were in both churches,

and

and stode at defence, and sayd to them, that they ought not to be men of warre, & not withstanding he had them as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released them, admonishing them, that if euer after they were taken at defence, they should be hanged on the next Galowes: after which monicion done, he deliuered them freely.

About eyght of the clocke in the morning, he marched forwarde in good order of battayle, and came to the Castell of Hardingham, the which he brent and spoyled, and so the. xj. day of Iuly he and his company which passed not. xij. hundred men, of which he had lost but only. xij. returned to Calice with great store of bestyall and pyllage. Hardingham Castell brent and spoyled.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of. xviij. thousande men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, which secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betweene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Fleminges, whereof they beyng aduertised, arrayseda great power of. xiij. thousande and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchmen syx hundred: then the Frenchmen recuied, and seuered themselues: some went to Mount Orry, and some to Saint Omers, and some brent the Suburbes, they within Mount Orry defended themselues, and hurt the Capitaine of Bulleine, called Mounsire de Bees and slew his horse: wherefore the Frenchmen went thence and brent a village called Arkus: thus was all the frontiers full of Frenchemen, in so much that in the moneth of August, they bette into the towne of Guysnes, the scourers and the scoutwatch, whereof began *Alarme*, and the Frenchmen which were many in number, alighted as though they they would geue assault mayntenaunt, and fiersly profered towarde the Ditches, but when the ordinaunce beganne once to shote, it was no nede to bid them go. Then the Englishemen coragiously folowed the chace, but sodaynly out came an embushement of Frenchmen and tooke two Englishmen, and thus all the army of Fraunce, remoued to Gyngate beside Tyrwyn.

The French king seeyng the king of England, dayly more and more encouraged to make warre on him and his dominions, and that the Scots did nothing to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke Iohn of Albany, whom the Scottes called their Gouernor. He therefore caused great preparation to be made on all parties for men, Shippes, Harnesse, and Artillary, for the sendyng of the Duke Iohn of Albanye into Scotland, which Duke of a great presumption promised to the French king to driue the king of England out of his realme, as before ye haue heard, which promise was not kept.

The king of England, heeryng, that the Duke of Albany, should passe into England, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and therefore he prepared a fleete of tall and strong shippes mete to encounter with the sayd Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iourney, sir William Fitzwilliam, and with him sir Fraunces Brian, sir Anthony Poynez, Seriant Rot, Iohn Hopton, William Gunstone, Anthony Kniuet, Thomas West, and other, which with great diligence laye in wayte to meete with the sayd Duke of Albany, and as they sayled on the French coast, they determined to lande, to do some harme to Tray porte, and as they houered there, they were espyed: then the Capitaine of the towne fired the Beakens, sent for ayd of all the fortresses about, and strengthed and manned the towne very warlyke. This notwithstandyng, sir William Fitzwilliam and other Capitaynes, left not their enterprice, and so the. xxiij. day of August beyng Sunday, at seuen of the clocke in the mornyng, they tooke lande in the Hauen of Trayport, at whome the Frenchmen shot out ordinaunce, quarelles, and stones, the Englishmen in the Boates shot likewise, and encouraged by their Capitaines, assaulted the Frenchmen in their Bulwarkes, the French men them valiauntly defended, and the Englishe Capitaynes as men wythout feare, them assayled, and yet the number was nothing egall, for the English men were but seuen hundred men, and the French men sixe thousand. For the well fighting of the Frenchmen, their Bulwarkes were taken, and theyr ordinaunce seased, and all that were about, fled to the towne of Trayport, and euer the Englishemen folowed shotyng arrowes at them, and sleayng them, in which skirmishe Seriant Rot had his Bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne. Then the Capitaynes

taynes cryed Saint George, to the Gates of Trayport, then euery man aduaunced forwarde, and as they were goyng, Christopher Morres mayster Gonner, espyed a piece of a Maste, which he caused to be taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet and Fraunces Neudigate, with their men, ranne with the sayde Maste to the Gate, but the Gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe lay a piece of ordinaunce, which continually shot at the Englishemen, which caused them to leaue the gate, and then they set fyre in the suburbes, which was a fayre strete and all was brent, and while the Suburbes brent, the Englishemen went to the hauen, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on them, & brent there vij. faire ships, besyde other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the Gates, and much murder on both sydes, for the Frenchmen in flyng from their Bulwarkes to the towne, lost lxxx. persons, and many were hurt with arrowes. The men of the Countrie came thether still, insomuch as the number became very great, which Sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng, caused his trumpet to blowe a retreat, and with suche prisoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten, they returned to their Boates, and the Capitaynes sent their Souldiours before, the Frenchmen perceiuyng the Englishmen returned, issued out and found on land, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Vagham, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaynes to the number of xij. and ranne hastily toward them in great number, which perceiuyng that, bended themselues to sell their lyues dere. Sir William Fitzwilliam perceiuyng the great ieopardie that they were in, turned hys boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, and with much paine saued these gentlemen, and them toke into Boates, notwithstandyng a great number of Frenche men, which were in the water to let him: and thus the whole army returned to their shippes, after they had bene fiue houres on lande, and brought with them xxvij. pieces of fayre ordinaunce, which were in the Bulwarkes, and lost of theyr men not fully xx. persons, and then euery Capitaine tooke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lookyng for the Duke of Albany, but they heard no tidynges of him.

Charles Duke of Suffolk entered with an army into Fraunce.

In the Parliament (as you haue heard) it was concluded, that the king of necessitie, must nedes make strong warre on the realme of Fraūce, wherfore the noble Charles Duke of Suffolke, was appoynted as Capitaine general, to passe with an army royal into Fraunce, in the ende of August, which with all diligence, prepared all thinges necessary for such a royall enterprice: and for the forniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on him, the Lorde Mountacute, and Sir Arthur Pole his brother, the Lorde Harbert sonne to the Erle of Worcester, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lord Marnay, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkeley, the Lord Powes, and Baron Curson, and of knightes, Sir Richard Wingfield, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaster, sir Iohn Veere, sir Edward Neuel, sir William Kingston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Winsore, sir Anthony Wingfielde, sir Edward Guildford, sir Edward Griuel, sir Edward Chamberleyn, sir Thomas Luce, sir Euerard Dighby, sir Adrian Foscew, sir William Skeuyngton Maister of the ordinaunce, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard Cornwal, sir William Courtney, sir William Sidney, sir Henry Owen, all these lords and knightes, with many other knightes and couragious Esquiers, and actiue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kings commaundement at last, with all theyr people and retinue to Douer, where they mustered at seuerall tymes, as they passed to the sea, and so the number taken, that is to say of Dimilaunces, sixe hundred, of Archers on horsebacke, two hundred, of Archers on foote three thousand, of Bilmen fiue thousand, of Pioners and labourers two thousand sixe hundred: and when the view was taken on the other syde of the sea, there were adioyned to this number xvij. hundred, which might be spared out of the Fortresses, and crewes of Hams, Guysnes, and Calice, so that all the army were xiij. thousand, and an hundreth well harnessed, and apparayled for the warre, the Pioners onely except: But the Duke himselfe arriued at Calice, the xxiiij. day of August, with his retinue and Counsaile

saile abidyng the armye, and caused all thinges, as vittaile and other, to be prepared for the same.

Much commonyng was in England, whether this army should go, because that no man except a fewe, knewe the secretnesse: some sayde to Bulleyn, some to Parys, and so euery man iudged according to his awne opinion, as the common vse is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was great in Calice, the Duke of Suffolk caused his army to be lodged in Tentes and Paulions, vpon the faire grene beside Saint Peters Church for their more helth, and he accompanyed with dyuers noble men, the. viij. day of September roade to Grauelyng, and thether came to him Christierne king of Denmarke, and the Lorde Isilsten, Capitaine generall of Flaunders, which amiably enterteyned the sayd Duke, and after they had secretly commoned of dyuers matters concernyng diuers armyes to inuade Fraunce, in sundrie places, the Duke tooke leaue of the king and other, and came to Calice.

While the armie laye without Calice, they dayly came into the towne, and so it happened that a simple felow cut a pursse, as he made to buy apples, which incontinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to warde, which thing diuers Welshmen perceiuyng, and not knowyng what apperteyned to iustice, ranne in great companies to the Maiors house, & would haue broken the house, the Officers of the towne entreated, and the Welshmen more and more approched, the number of the Welshmen were so great, that the watch of Calice strake *alarme*. Then the Lorde Deputie and the Lord Sandes, did all that in them lay, to bring them to conformitie, but they were so rude that they nothing them regarded, the priestes brought forth the Sacrament, which also was not regarded. Wherefore the Lord Ferrers was straightly commaunded to appease their rage, for with him they came thether, which with great paine and entreatie them appeased: and then all the Welshemen were commaunded to the field, and to depart the towne and so were all other Capitaines, and afterward diuers of the hed rioters were apprehended and sore punished for example. And when all thinges necessary were prepared, the Duke issued out of Calice and toke the field, & ordeyned his marshall, and Capitaine of the vauntgard, the Lord Sandes, Capitaine of his right wing sir William Kingston, and Capitaine of his left wing, syr Euerard Dighby, sir Edward Guyldford Marshall of Calice, was Capytaine of all the horsemen, sir Richard Wingfielde Capitaine of the rereward: then the Duke with all his armye, as Capitaine of the middle warde, wyth Standardes, Banners, and Penons displayed, marched forward in good order of battaile, and came to a place called Kalkewell, and there lodged the. xix. day of September. In which place diuers Souldiors, as Cariers, and vp land men, which were vnmeete for the war, (for euery thing to them was paine) fell sicke and diseased, wherefore the Duke gaue them leaue by pasport to returne.

A ryot at Calice.

The Sacrament.

And on the. xxij. day of September, he tooke vp his campe and came to Hamswell, and their pitched his field, he thus lyng in abode for the army of Flaunders, which promised to ioyne with him, which as then were not come to Saint Omers. He entendyng not to lye still ydlely, sent Clarenseaux king at Armes, to sommon the Castell called Bell Castell, to yelde to him, or else he would destroy it with fyre and sworde, the officer at Armes did his message accordyngly, to whome the Capitain aunswered, that he would deliuer no Castell to the Duke, and if the Duke came thether, he should nothing get, for he sayd he was sure of such rescues, that should not be to the Dukes aduauntage: which with this aunswere returned toward the Duke, and in the way he met the Lorde Sandes, and the Lord Ferrers, in array of battaile, with fiue hundred horsemen, and a thousand footemen, to whome he rehersed the aunswere, then sayde the Lordes, we must compell him, if otherwise he will not. Then the Maister of the ordinaunce was commaunded to prepare for a battery, which was done, and thether came fiue hundred horsemen of Burgonions, and fiue hundred footemen, then the ordinaunce with great difficultie was brought nere the Castell, and although it were night, the Gunnes seased not, and bet the

The Castell called Bell Castel assaulted, taken and spoyled.

place sore, they within defended the best that they might, and when the day began to spring, the Lordes caused to blowe to the assault, which heeryng, the Capitaine of the Castell sayd to his Companions, that they were not able to abyde the assault, and that their succors fayled them, wherefore of necessitie they must deliuer the Castell, wherto they agreed, and so he yelded the Castell, his life onely saued, and all other at the mercy of the Duke which pardoned them, and toke them as prisoners and deliuered the Castell to sir William Skeuington, which was shortly rased downe to the ground, the. xxvij. day of September.

Fraunces Duke of Burbon did sodainely become English against the French King.

Monday beyng the. xxviij. day of September there was a Proclamation made in the armie, how that Fraunces Duke of Burbon, and Constable of Fraunce, was become friend to the king of Englande, and enemie to the French king, and was sworne to the king of Englande, and had in hys wages for the king of England ten thousand Almaynes to inuade Fraunce, or to let the French kings purposes, and for this intent to him was sent money in no little sommo, but the common people sayde, that neuer was French man true to England, howbeit he was true as long as he liued.

To make thys proclamation more apparaunt, you must vnderstande that in thys season the French king was ruled by his mother the Countesse of Angulesme, and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lorde Bonyuet, which as was reported and sayde, loued the sayde Lady as his Paramour, of which all the Court of Fraunce spake much. These two persons so ruled the king, that what they sayde was done, and no iudgement nor sentence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at which thing the nobles of Fraunce sore disdayned, and especially the Lorde Fraunces Duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce, which hauing a sute for the Erledome of Montpelyer, could not be heard speake nor hys counsayle neyther. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkinde and vniust handlyng, came to the French king beseechyng him of iustice and fauor, which flattering him sayde, that all that was in hys power to doe he would gladly accomplishe, and other aunswere had he none, and to encrease hys grudge the more, the French kings mother made a tytle to the whole Duchy of Burbon and Auerne, and the Admyrall and shee so entised the king, that he sayde openly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as pore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, which wordes reported to hym, caused him to hate mortally the French king and hys mother, and so in displeasure departed into hys awne Countrie. The king of England beyng hereof aduertised, sent to the Duke of Burbon a knight of hys chamber called sir Iohn Russell, a man well languaged, which wisely and couertly so behaued himselfe, that he came to the Duke to Molyns, and knewe all his intent how he would forsake his king, and serue the king of England and the Emperour agaynst the French king, and therevpon toke his othe. The French king not mistrusting the allegeaunce of the Duke of Burbon, sent to the Duke to prepare him to go into Italy, for he had prepared a great army to passe the Mountaynes agaynst the Duke of Myllaine, in which armie he had sixe thousande men of armes, and. xxv. thousand footemen. The Duke hearing hereof fayned himselfe sick, and the French king passyng by Molyns, visited and comforted him: to whome the Duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie three dayes amongst a certaine of his Souldiours, as though he were there, but he himselfe fled secretly into the Countie of Burgoyne pertayning to the Emperour, where he retayned ten thousand Almaynes to inuade Fraunce, assone as the Frenche king was passed the Mountaynes.

This Sir Iohn Russell was after Lorde priuie seale, and after Erle of Bedford.

When the French king heard of thys, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his armie, and sent his great mayster to seaze all the Dukes landes. Of all these doyngs Sir Iohn Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armie, and returned vnespyed, wherefore he deserued and had of the king and his counsayle great thankes. Wherevpon the king caused the proclamation to be made in the armie, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what

what with the warres of Italy and for the Duke of Burbons power they might doe what they lust, and be vnfought withall, which so proued after. Which tydings much encouraged the Englishe Souldyours.

After this proclamation, there were tydinges brought to the armie for a truth, that one Iherom Vicount, a great familier friend with the Duke of Myllayne entised by the French king, had almost slayne Fraunces Duke of Millayne with a dagger behinde at hys backe, with the which doyng the Frenche king aboue all persons fayned himselfe to be most displeased. The morowe beyng the. xxix. day of September the Duke with his whole army remoued to Arde and there lodged, and the last day of September he remoued to a Village called Arlke, and from thence the first day of October he came to a village betwene Tyrwyn and saint Omers, called Esqwerdes or Cordes, where the Duke lay and encamped himselfe abyding his enemies.

Now must I returne to tell you what was done betweene Englande and Scotland this same season. Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was thus inuading the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinking the warre turned into Fraunce, and that nothing should be attempted agaynst them, began to robbe and spoyle on the Marches of Englande, whereof the king heeryng sent agayne thether the valyaunt Erle of Surrey, Treasorer and Admyrall of Englande, which in all hast sped him to the West Marches, and sent for an armie of sixe thousand men, and with banner displayed entered by the drie Marches, beating downe Castels and fortresses on euery side. And although the Scots be men of high courage, yet they seyng the wise conduite of the Noble Erle of Surray and his chosen companye, durst not once encounter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, till he came to the strong towne of Iedworth, in which lay a great garrison of Scottishe men, which did all the hurt they could to the Englishemen, and hardely in great number skirmished with the Englishe men, so that on both parties dyuers were slain, but in the ende the Abbay, Castell, and towne of Iedworth were brent, and all rased a sunder in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped himselfe in the Scottish ground abidyng battayle, and lay there from the. xxij. day of September, to the. xxv. day. Duryng which time he sent the Lord Daker of Gyldersland to a strong holde of Doncar called Fernhurst, the which Castell stood very euill to come to, for the wayes were hylly, stony, and full of Marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the English men so fiercely set on that they gat the Castell, notwithstanding that the Scottes fought valyauntly, and many of them were taken, as Dan Car the Lord, the Lord of Gradon and dyuers other which was there taken, and so the Lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordayned to keepe the watch that night, which set his watches and hys wardes surely. In the night sodaynely three hundred good Geldyngs brake out of a pasture, which were in custodie of the sayde Lorde Dacres campe, and as beastes wood and sauage ranne enraged, and notwithstanding that men did as muche as they might to stop them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of battayle, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armie sounned *alarme*, the horse still in array ranne to the campe where the Erle laye, and bare downe many persons in their way, and so sodainly ranne away, whether it was vnknowne: the Lorde Dacres men sayde that the Deuill was sene amongst them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

The Castell of Fenhurst in Scotland taken.

A straunge chaunce.

When the Erle of Surrey departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the Duke of Albany of all their affaires, which was commyng into Scotland. But when he heard that the Nauie of England laye in a wayte to fight with him, he durst not auenture, but sate still: And when he heard there was no Capitaynes of name on the borders of England toward Scotlande, he deuised by policie that all his ships should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayde himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would not sayle into Scotlande that yere. So ranne the voyce all the coastes of Normandie and Britayne, and so passed till the ende of September.

The craftie policie of the Duke of Albany.

The king of England was informed by such as knew none other, that the Duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherefore the king of England in the middest of September caused his ships to be layd vp in Hauens till the next spring: The Duke of Albany beyng thereof aduertised, boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with. lxxij. sayle in sight passed by the West partes of England, and coasted Wales, and with great labor landed at Kyrcowbre in the West part of Scotland with all hys people, the. xxj. day of September, which were in number three thousand or there about, and with him was the Traytor Richard de la pole.

Richard de la poole.

When it was knowne in Scotlande that the Lorde Gouernour was landed, muche gladnesse there was amongst the people. Then the Duke was highly receyued and his people well cherished, and then began a parlyament. The king of England heering that the Duke of Albany was landed in Scotland and was vnfought withall, was not a little displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceyued him, but there was no remedie: Wherfore he made prouisions and put all things in a readynesse, if he would attempt any thing agaynst him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany landeth in Scotland.

The Duke of Albany gouernor of Scotland being in the parliament of the realme with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraunces the French king bare to the realme of Scotlande, in somuch that he being aduertised of the great murders, slaughters, and burninges done by the Englishmen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and dammage then they did, accompting himselfe one of their members, and them likewise the members of him and his realme, and for the reuenging of the same, he to be partener as their member, and for the more credite he shewed the French kinges letter, affirming his declaration. When the letters were red, there start vp a Baron of Scotlande called the Lorde Forbos, which sayde: the realme of Scotlande for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as dayly doth appere, for our Nobles be dayly slayne or taken, our Commonaltie murdered, our landes ouerrunne our houses and fortresses brent and rased, the profites of our landes we lese: which mischiefe we nede not to haue had but for the loue of Fraunce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A far friend is not sone fet? A mightie neighbour may be a cruell enemie. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbid said the Duke of Albany, that Scotland euer should seeke a new friende or profer their amitie, to the destroyers of their countrie and nation, but you my Lords of Scotland ar sufficient of your selues to maintaine your landes, liberty and fredome against your common enemies the Englishmen. And therefore now let vs together reuenge the hurtes done to vs and oure countrye: and I on mine honor shall go with you, and therefore I haue brought with me both treasure, men, and artillery into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so doe that all christendome shall speake of oure noble conquest. To the Dukes request all the court of parliament agreed, and then were commissions sent through Scotlande and cryes made that all men should assemble at Doglas dale with vittayle for. xxviij. dayes. The Scottes in all hast prepared, so that the Lordes were come to the place appointed the. xviij. day of October, with vittaile, gunnes, and all other artillery, and so came by easy iourneyes to the riuer of Twede on a ground beside Hume castell, and from thence came to Cawdestrene and there lodged.

The Duke of Albany raiseth a great power of Scotland against king Henry and the realme of Englande.

All this doing the king of England knewe well, wherefore with all diligence he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent whereof there were thre thousand bering coates of armes with their power and strength, which all were commaunded to resort to the Erle of Surrey with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appoynted to kepe Barwicke with sixe thousand men, least the Scottes would therto laye siege.

The Duke of Albany which lay on the frontiers heering of the Erle of Surreyes preparing, sent to him an Herauld promising him of his honour to geue him battaile, and if he

he tooke him in battaile he would put him to curteous raunsome and his bodye to be safe: To whome the Erle aunswered, that much he thanked the Duke of his offer, and that he would abide battaile, promising him that he would geue him battayle if he durst abyde: and if that the sayd Duke were taken prisoner by him or his men he would strike of his head and send it to the king of England his Maister, and bade that he should trust to none other, at which aunswere the Duke of Albany and the Scots toke great despyte.

A bitter and yet a valiant answere made by the Erle of Surrey vnto the Duke of Albany.

The Erle of Surrey being at Alnwike, to him came the Erles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Clyfford, the lord Dacres, the lord Lumley, the Lord Ogle, the lord Darcy, and many noble knightes, squiers, and yomen, to the number of xl.M. And from the kings court was sent to be at the battail sir Nicholas Carew maister of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edward Baynton and diuers other. All this army lay on the borders abiding the Scots comming into England which lay still in Scotland, and did nothing till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent ouer the water into England three or foure thousand men, to laye siege to a litle Castell called the Castell of Warke, which standeth nere the border: the great ordinaunce of Scotlande sore bet the Castell, and Dan Car and the Frenchmen which came out of Fraunce with the Duke of Albany gaue to the Castell a strong assault: within the Castell was sir William Lyle with a hundred persons, but the Scottes were so many in number that they gotte the vttermost ward called the Barnkyns where the Beastes and barnes were, which seyng, the Capitaine sent in all haste to the Erle of Surrey aduertising him of their distresse, which in all hast assembled his Capytaines to reskue the Castell, therby hopyng that Duke Iohn of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay still about the Castell continually shooting ordinaunce, Sonday and Monday the first and second day of Nouember, and then the Scots thinking the place assaultable, coragiously set on the Castell and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lisle perceyuing that the Scottes had gotten the false brayes and that nothing remayned but only the inner ward or Dongeon, sayde to his company, Sirs for our honor and manhood let vs issue and fight with the proude Scots & stately frenchmen, for more shall our honor be to dye in fight then to be murthered with gunnes, to the which his company that were left agreed: for of his hundred men he had lost almost fortie at the other assaults. Then they issued out boldely and shot coragiously as men that shot for a vantage, and with shooting and fighting they draue their enemies cleane out of the place and slew of them, and chiefely of the Frenchmen three hundred which lay there dead in sight when the Erle came thether, beside such as died of woundes and were drowned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great hast ouer the water, and by that time was the Erle of Surrey come with fiue thousand men on horsebacke and all his great army folowed and was very sory that his enemies were gone, and much praysed Sir William Lyle for his valiauntnesse.

When the Duke of Albany and the Lordes of Scotland knew that the Erle of Surrey approched with his puissaunt army, they thought it not conuenient to ieoperd all the nobilitie of Scotland in one field, considering their chaunce ten yeares before, and therefore they concluded to returne, and so on the second day of Nouember in the night the Duke with all his army retreated more for his suertie then honor.

The Scots retire and fly againe into Scotland.

The horsemen of Scotlande kept the fordes that no man should passe to greue the footemen as they returned, and when all the baggages were gone they cast themselues in a plumpe and returned.

When the daye appered, then the Englishmen might plainelye see the Scottes how they fled fiftie mens thickenesse, many a lustie Englishman woulde fayne haue folowed them on horsebacke, and so woulde the Erle of Surrey with all his hart, but his commission was only to defend the realme and not to inuade Scotlande, which thing him sore displeased. Thus brake vp the great army of Scotlande to the great rebuke of the Duke of Albany and the nobles of Scotlande which two yeres together had made bragges and assembles and durst

not abyde battaile. The Scottes made much brags that they had beaten downe the walles of Warke Castel, but they spake nothing of their men that they left there, now how cowardly they returned and would not abyde. After this returne Queene Margaret of Scotland and mother to the yong king, sent to her brother the king of England for an abstinence of Warre to be taken betweene the realme of Englande and Scotland, to the entent that some way might be taken, that an amytie might be had betweene them: which request was to her graunted, and so the great army of Englande was dissolued & the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast.

A present, sent by the Emperor to the king.

In this season, the Emperor Charles sent to the king of England two Mules trapped in crimosyn Veluet curiously enbroudered, all the Buckles, stiroppes and all such other garnishyngs were siluer and gilt of maruelous connyng worke. He sent also. xj. Genets full goodly to beholde, trapped with russet veluet richely wrought, and foure Speares, and two lauelynges of straunge timber and worke richly garnished, and fiue brace of Greyhounds: and to the Queene he sent two Mules, with riche trappers & high Chayers after the Spanishe fashion, all these presentes were thankfully receyued both of the King and Queene.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke which lay at Cordes or Esqwerdes the. xx. day of September, and thether came to him the armie of Flaunders, whereof was Capitain the Lord of Isilsteyne, which had with him of Spaniardes, Almaynes, Cleues and other, three thousand footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen well apparayled for the warres in all poyntes.

The towne of Anker taken.

The Duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forwarde in wet weather makyng bridges and wayes, euer lookyng for battaile, and on the. xvij. day of October he sent the Lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him three thousand men to a good towne called Anker, which accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen in good order of battaile marched toward the towne. The French men perceiuyng the Englishmen commyng toward their towne, fled out as fast as they might, and left the towne desolate: then entered the Englishemen, and had there a great bootie, and tooke the Castell called Bonegard, & therein put a garrison of Englishmen, whereof was Capitaine the Lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduct vittaylers to the armie, which now was farre from any succors of the Englishe part. In this towne was an Abbay of Monkes which receyued humbly the Lordes and Nobles of England, which to them did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the Duke.

After this, the. xix. day, the Duke with his army, passed to a village called Qwede: and there after long counsailyng it was determined that the whole armie should passe to a strong towne and well fortifyed called Braye, which towne was well ordinaunced, and had in it. xvj.C. men of warre, the Capitain thereof was called Adrian, and for succors to the towne were come Mounsire Pontdormy, the Vicount Lernerdam, the Vicount Turraine, Mounsire Applyngcort, and Mounsire Dampney, with fiue hundred horsemen, so that in the towne besyde the Inhabitauntes were two thousande good men. This towne standeth on the ryuer of Some. xxiij. Englishe mile from Arras, and. xiiij. myles aboue Amias: This towne was well ditched and strengthned on euery side.

The towne of Bray besieged.

The. xx. day of this moneth, the Duke commaunded all his great ordinaunce to be brought by foure of the clocke in the mornyng before the towne of Bray, they that had the charge thereof so manfully acquited them, that notwithstandyng all the dammage that their enemyes could do, brought the ordinaunce before the towne at the houre appoynted. Then eche part shot dreadfully at other, but the Englishe Gunners shot so well, that the walles of the towne were beaten downe and rased with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by. ix. of the clocke the towne was made assaultable. Then the Duke caused to blowe to the assault. Then the Englishemen and Flemynges, and Burgonians lept foorth quickly, and notwithstandyng that the ditches were deepe, yet they so couragiouslye entered by the good comfort of the Lorde Sandes, and other noble men that they gat the ditches.

The

The Frenchemen perceiuyng that the towne should be gotten, hastily made traynes of Gunpowder from streete to streete, and house to house, saiyng that the Englishemen after their entry into the towne would fall to pillage, and then sodainly sodaine fyre should destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frenchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen were entryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stoode yet at defence with Pykes, Crosbowes, Handgunnes, and Halberdes, but they were to weake, for on all parties entered the Englishmen, and sodainely the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishemen folowed and killed and slue in euery part.

The towne of Bray taken by the Duke of Suffolke and destroyed.

Nowe you must vnderstand that this towne of Bray standeth on the riuer of Some which is there deuided in diuers braunches, and betwene euery braunch is a marishe ground, where on the farsyde of the towne was fortifyed a Bulwarke full of ordinaunce to kepe the passage ouer the water, and the Frenchmen had losed the plankes of the bridge nere a myle aboue Bray, and the horsemen of Fraunce passed by a mille which was to the French fotemen a great ayde, for they stood and kept the passage till the footemen were come ouer the bridge, and then they plucked away the plankes of the bridge, so that no man shoulde folowe, but euer the Englishe men folowed, and cast plankes on the bridge, and passed ouer the bridge, in which passyng diuers were drowned, but with great trauaile all men passed, horsemen and footemen, and fiercely assaulted the Bulwarke, and tooke it with al the ordinance, and in it was taken, Capitaine Adrian, and Capitaine Vlterlew. The Englishe horsemen folowed the Frenchmen, and diuers of them were slaine and taken, sir Robert Iernyngham brake a speare of the Lorde Pountdormy. The Lord Leonard Gray did valiauntly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the towne, they forgat not to lay a match to the traine of Gunpowder which they had made, which in short space set the towne all on fyre, so that when the Englishemen returned againe, all was on fyre, so that there they had little profite but Wyne, which to them did great pleasure. Thus was the towne of Bray taken, and destroyed the. xx. day of October.

The Duke consideryng that little succors were for him and his Souldiors in the towne of Bray, because the sayd towne was consumed with fire, he therefore commaunded the bridges to be well repayred for to passe ouer the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraunce: and when the passage was sure, the Lorde Sandes the. xxj. day of October in the mornyng was prest to passe ouer with the Vawarde. Then some Gentlemen sayde that they would passe no farther forward, and diuers Souldiours were of the same opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they aunswered that if they were past ouer the riuer, they were past all succours and vittaile, none coulde be brought to them. By reason of this noyse, the Souldiours stayed, which the Lorde Sandes perceiuyng, saide to the Welshemen which were euill willyng to passe the riuer: Sirs sayde he, beholde what I do, and with that he tooke a Banner of Saint George, and sayde, as many as loue the king of England, and be true to him and to the Crowne, folow me, & then he and sir William Kingston set forwarde and passed the water, which there runneth in three streames, then al other persons couragiously folowed, with the ordinaunce and vittayles.

After the foreward folowed the Duke and all his battaile: At this time the armie was sore minished by reason many were diseased, and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the settyng out of Calice. When the Englishmen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this armie came to a towne called Kappe, and there encamped themselues, all the Inhabitauntes were fled both out of the towne and Castell: there the Englishemen found a hundred tonne of Wyne, and other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker, knowyng that the Duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the towne and Castell, and came and ioyned with he Dukes armie at Kappe.

There the Duke caused Proclamations to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vittaile the armie of England should be well entreated, and haue their vittayles

vittayles well payed for, and safe goyng and commyng, by the which Proclamation the host was well vittayled, for the people of the country resorted with all thinges necessary.

The towne of Roy yelded to the Duke.

The Duke thus lyng at Kappe sent to the towne of Roy to yeeld them to the king of England. The towne perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliuer the towne to the Duke. This was a strong towne well walled, ditched and ordinaunced, but not manned: the Duke sent thether sir Richard Cornwall, and other with foure hundred men to receyue the towne, which went thether in good array, and had the towne to them deliuered, and then they set the Banner of Saint George in the highest part of the towne, and full well this garrison kept the towne of Roy till the Duke came thether with his whole armie.

The towne of Lyhome taken.

The Duke and his army the. xxv. day of the sayde moneth remoued to a village called Lyhome, & had there great pillage: for this towne was much haunted of Marchantes, & there kept great markets. The next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the. xxvij. day he remoued and came before the strong towne of Mountdedier, where for defence of warre lacked neyther ditches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsemen of the English army roade about the towne to view it, at whome the Capitaynes caused diuers peeces to be losed, which shewed well their strength. The Duke sent an officer of armes to sommon the Capitaine to deliuer the towne: the officer departed, and wyth him a trumpet which blewe before the Gate, but no person would aunswere, because they would haue no summons made to them: the officer of Armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyrrers made profer afore the towne, out of the which issued a great company of horsemen and skirmyshed with the Dukes horsemen, and fought valiantly, but at the last. xl. of the horsemen were taken, with which the Lorde Roche Baron Capitaine of the towne was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintain the towne agaynst the whole army. Then the

The towne of Mountdedier besieged.

Duke of Suffolke pitched his field and layd his siege round about the towne of Mountdedier, and kept good watch and warde on euery syde: which thing the Lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng, comforted his men of warre, and bad them not be afrayed, but to be of good courage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothing. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from rescue and that lyng still and nothing doyng was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the towne of Mountdedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen: wherefore he sent for all the Lordes and Capitaines of his army, and much praysed their hardinesse, and sayd that the noble courage that he sawe in them did much auaunce him to set forward in all things, the prayse whereof should be to them, and not to him, and therfore nowe he encouraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doyng, for with Gods grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next mornyng before the towne, to the which all the Lordes agreed, and praysed much the Dukes courage and forwardnesse.

Sir Wylliam Skeuington.

Sir Iohn Walop.

Then was sir William Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinance, commaunded to prepare for the battery, which with all diligence made trenches, and prepared all things meete for the purpose. In this season sir Iohn Walop knight, had with him almost a thousande proper men and hardy, hauyng little wages or none which liued alonely on their auenture, wherefore of some they were called aduenturers, of some they were called

Aduēturers. Kreekers.

Kreekers. These men were light, hardie, and politike, and by their manhood and hardinesse had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great booties, and dayly brought to the army horses, mares, vitaile, cloth, corne, and other necessaryes which might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchmen, and especially they of villages, and passengers were sore afrayed, for they were neuer ydle, but doyng somthing in one part or other. The Lord Pountdormy, or Pountremy, heering Mountdedier was besieged, called to him diuers great Lordes and Capitaynes to the number of fiue hundred men of Armes and dimy Launces, and a great number of footemen, entendyng to bring Gunpowder and other necessaryes to the towne of Mountdedier: and as they were thether commyng by night, Thomas Palmer, Capitaine of the skout watch of the Englishe armye

armye them askryed and skirmished with them although they were more in number: manfully fought the French men, but for all that, they were compelled to flie backe, and then the Englishmen them folowed, and slue diuers, and two Speares were broken on the brother of the Lorde Pountdormy, but by the swiftnesse of his horse he saued himselfe, and in this chase were an hundred prisoners taken, which much reioysed the Englishe men.

When the maister of the ordinaunce had all thinges readie, at the houre of foure of the clocke in the mornyng, he discharged the ordinaunce continually in such fashion, that by viij. of the clocke the xxviij. day of October the walles were made low, and the towne assaultable. All which while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the towne till thwalles and towne were beaten downe. The Capitaine of the towne perceiuyng this, called him all the Capitaynes, declaryng to them that theyr towne was in foure houres made assaultable, and that surely the Englishmen would assault the towne which should be to their confusion, wherefore he asked their aduise what was best to be done, all they aunswered, do as you will: Then he went into a Tower, and caused a Trumpet to blow, and set forth a Banner of truce. Then the Duke commaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir William Skeuyngton came to the walles and demaunded what they would, and the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the Duke for the loue of the king of England, and his honor, to graunt to him and the other Gentlemen that were there, licence to depart with life, bagge and baggage, they would deliuer the towne of Mountdedier. Then sir William Skeuyngton made report to the Duke which thereto consented, saiyng: they be men of warre, their ryches is not great. Then the Lord Sandes and diuers other were appoynted to receyue the towne, and so they entered and set Standardes on the top of the Gates, and tooke the keyes of all the strong houses, Towers, and Bulwarkes. The French men were redie to depart with trussages, and cariages, wyth Crosbowes, Pykes, and Handgunnes, with which doyng the Lord Sands and the Englishmen which were within the towne were not content, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this poynt was much alteration, and the Frenchmen were stayed, but the Lord Roche Baron gaue many fayre wordes, and passed forward with a red standard, with a whyte Crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the standarde and plucked it in pieces. Then sayde the Lord Roche Baron, that it was vngently done: to whome he aunswered that he should beare no standard there lyke a conquerour. Then after long disputation, the Frenchmen sayd, that it was promised them that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The footemen likewise had a standard before them, which was rent by sir Robert Iernyngham. The number which departed truely accompted, were two thousand footemen, fiue hundred horsemen and odde, well and warlyke appoynted, and they left muche baggage behinde them, because they sawe the Englishmen so fast come into the towne, they were in feare of losse of all.

The towne of Mountdedier yelded and taken.

When the Frenchmen were departed, the Duke with his whole army entered the towne and there the Englishe men founde fine Fetherbeds, napery, couerings, and much housholde stuffe, and especially of Wyne great plentie, and there the armie rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the towne rased and throwne downe, and all the Bulwarkes lykewise, then the Duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken, and so remoued to the towne of Roye, where he and all his armie rested for a whyle: whereof they were glad, for they had trauayled sore, and the weather was wet and colde. On the feast of all saints called Alhalon day, the Duke in the chiefe Church of Roye made knightes, the Lorde Harbert, the Lorde Powes, Olyuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richard Sandes, Robert Iernyngham, Robert Salisbury, Edmond Benyngfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworthe, Wylliam Storton, Water Mantell, George Warran, Edward Seymour after Erle of Hartford, and Duke of Sommerset, and most worthy gouernour of the kinges maiesties person, and Protector of all hys realmes, dominions and subiects.

The morrow after, the armie remoued to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions began

began to waxe wearie, and so did the Englishmen, for euery day was foule weather, and raine both day and night. Wherefore dyuers companies fell to grudging saiyng, now you may see that by our remouing we shall be led from place to place all this Wynter, which is to the vtter losse of our lyues: for daylie we see that of our companye dyeth no small number (and truth it was that some dyed but not many) they sayde farther, the Burgonions haue the great gaine, and doe least for it, for they haue Wagons and carie their booties to their Countrie, which is nere hande, and we go before and fight, and we haue no meanes to conuey anye thing into our Countrie for lack of cariage, and so we beate the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was seassed by gentle wordes for a time.

In these iorneys was commonly spoken that the Duke of Burbon with his ten thousand Almaynes would haue inuaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this armie, but the truth was contrarie, for he turned his host another way and went into prouince and layde siege to Marcelles, whereof the Duke beyng aduertised, not a little mused, and also seyng his men daylie fall sick, was sorie, and yet he so comforted them that euery man was glad to folow his will and entent.

On the sixe day of Nouember the Lorde Sandes beyng Capitayne of the foreward, and the Duke of the middle warde, and syr Richarde Wyngfield Capitaine of the rereward came in order of battayle prest to fight, to a village called Veane, and there rested for that night, and the morrow after the whole armie returned agayne ouer the water of Some, and came to a place called Beaufford: At thys passage the Duke made knightes, Iohn Dudley, and Robert Vtreyght Esquires.

This Iohn Dudley was after made Erle of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland.

The eyght day the Duke remoued to a place called Mount saint Martyne, a very meete place for an armie, and then was the Dukes instructions looked vpon by the Capytaynes, and they perceyuing that they hard nothing of the Duke of Burbons comming, ayde nor counsayle, all they thought and determined to send the Lorde Sandes in post to the king, to declare all the case as it stoode and their necessitie, according as he himselfe knewe and sawe in all poyntes: which Lorde Sandes tooke great paine, and made good diligence toward the king, and while he was ridyng, the Duke remoued his armie to a place called Permount and there lodged for a time to rest, and the armie was well vytayled, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

A great frost.

After the great raynes and windes that had fallen, came a feruent frost, so sore that many a soldiour dyed for colde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nayles of their hands, which was to them a great griefe. The Duke all thys notwithstanding remembring that he came not thether to lye still, the xiij. daye remooued to a place two Myle from the Castell of Bowhen and still it frised, in so much that the Maister of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheeles of his ordinaunce on Hardels for sinking. In the morning the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed home, home, the Krekers hering that, cryed hang hang. For which matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by pollicy it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford Capitaine of the horsemen vewed the Castell of Bowhen or Boghan, which euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the Castell was enuironed with marises, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to winne it: But nowe he perceyued that the Frost was so great and strong that it might be besieged, and al that night it frised againe: wherefore he desired the Duke to geue him leaue to assault it, which thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set foorth ouer the marrishe. When they within the Castell perceyued that the marrishe fayled them, they were sore dismayed. Then syr Edward Guildford shot three great pieces at the Castell, and the Castilian shot three pieces agayne. Then as the Englishe Gonners were preparing to the batterie, the Capitayne seyng hys Castell could not hold by reason that the marishe fayled, and that he coulde defende none assault, delyuered the Castell to him to the behoofe of the Emperor, and the king of Englande, and after a small communication had betwene the sayde syr Edward Guildforde and the Capitayne, the Capitayne with all his retinue departed, leauing behinde

The Welshmen waxed wery.

The Castell of Bowhē or Boghan is yelded to the king and the Emperor.

behinde the ordinaunce of Bombards, Curtawes, and demy Curtaux, Slinges, Canons, Volgers, and other ordynaunce, there were. lxxvj. pieces, plentie of pellettes and powder. The Duke of Suffolke perceyuing that this Castell stood on the border of Henaude: Wherefore the more to please the Henawders he made Capitain of the same Castell of Boghan the Seneshal of Henaude, to the behoofe of the Emperour and the king of Englande. In thys place the armie was euill vitayled, because the Frenchmen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitayle should passe ouer the ryuer: wherefore the Duke sent to them of Henaude, and especially to them of Valencien to haue ayde of vitayle, which of their little sent to the armie a little, but yet it did them some seruice, and all thys whyle the feruent frost with bitter windes contynued, which caused many people to die: yet still lay the armie abidyng the aunswere of the Lord Sandes, which as you haue heard road in poste, and so much trauayled that he came to the king of Englande to his Castell of Wyndsore, and there declared to the king his message, which was that his people which were in the Frenche ground abode much miserie, for the weather was wet, the wayes deepe, long nightes and short dayes, great iorneys and little vitaile, which caused the souldiours daylie to die. Also they trusted when they passed the seas according to their instructions to haue ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whome sithe their departing they neuer heard worde) wherefore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your armye hath sent me to your highnesse to declare their state and condition, their good will to tarie, and the euill chaunces which daylie happeneth to them by God and not by their enimies. Well sayde the king, all thys we knewe before your comming: wherfore we haue appointed the Lorde Mountioy with sixe thousande men, to passe the seas for the reliefe of our armie, which Lorde Mountioy is almost in a readynesse: For we will in no wise that the armie shall breake.

Then the king came to Westminster to the Cardinals place, and there receyued letters from the Duke of Suffolke by syr Robert Iernyngham, of the getting of the Castell of Boghan or Bowen: wherefore incontinent it was by the king and his counsayle determined that the Lorde Mountioy should make speede, which did suche diligence that manye of hys Souldiours were come to London well harnessed and weaponed readie to passe the seas. Wherefore the king sent in all haste syr Robert Iernyngham agayne to declare to the Duke the kings pleasure and what ayde was comming towarde him. But or syr Robert Iernyngham could come to the Duke, the armie was remooued from Boghan and brent the towne, and so came to the Citie of Valencine in Henaude, and there layde vp their ordinaunce, and from thence came to the Citie of Tournay (which then was vnder the Emperour and out of the French kings hands) and so tooke their iorney homewarde thorow Flaunders and the armie there broken and dispatched. But when the Duke met with syr Robert Iernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kinges minde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiours, which could not be, for many Englishe men shipped at Andwarpe, and many at Scluce, and at Newport and other Hauens, and they that were at Calice were stayed for a time, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bring al his armie together scarcely the fourth part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of thys breaking vp of the armie were letters sent to the king, which incontinent stopped the Lorde Mountioy and sent his men into the Countrey agayne. The Duke and other Capitaynes hearing of the kings displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their friendes that they had perfite knowledge that the Duke of Burbon had broken vp his campe for the extremity of the Winter, and also shewed that their souldyours dyed, and vitayle fayled, which caused them to breake the army, for of truth the souldiours would not abide: with which reasons the king was somewhat appeased, and so on good hope the Duke came to Calice the twelfe day of December, and there abode long, till their friends had sued to the king for their returne. And when it was graunted, and that they were returned, the Duke and the Capitaines came not to the kings presence in a long season, to their great heauinesse and displeasure: But at the last all things were

The duke of Suffolke breaketh vp his army, and returneth agaynst the mind of king Henry the eight.

taken in good part, and they well receyued, and in great loue, fauour, and familiaritie with the king.

While the Duke of Suffolk was in Fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that euery man that was worth. xl. pound should pay the whole subsidy before graunted out of hande, and before the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipation, which is to say, a thing taken, or a thing comming before his time or season: This terme was new to ỹ Communaltie, but they payd well for their learning, for their money was payed out of hand without delay.

An anticipation.

The king this yeare kept his Christmas solempnely at his Castell of Wyndsore and thether came to him the thyrde daye of Ianuarye the Erle Pountiuer of the royall bloud of Brytayne and pretending to be Duke of the same, which was nere Cosin to the Duke of Burbon and banyshed Fraunce. Thys Erle came hastily from the Duke of Burbon and was well entertayned and feasted of the king, and after aunswere made to him by the king, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd Duke into the countrie of Prouince.

In the same season was brought to the court a Gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Steward taken on the sea with diuers letters by one Water Iago a yoman of the kinges, with diuers letters from the Duke of Albany to the French king, by reason whereof the king knew much of their counsayle. This Gentleman payed raunsome and was very soone redeemed.

The. xix. day of Ianuary six fayre shippes of Fraunce well appoynted met with a ship of the kinges of England called the Caterine Galley a shyp of forty tonne, the Capitayne whereof was one Iohn Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a lande: But he so encouraged his men that all feare was set asyde, and euer as the Frenchmen approched, they bette them of with arrowes, pikes, and fighting, and still they continued from foure of the clocke in the morning till nine of the clocke, and euer on the coast of England, and the Englishmen dyd the best they could to saue themselues: For by that time shee had spent her powder, arrowes with shooting, and her byls with hewing, and her pikes with keping them of from comming abord, and al the company almost sore hurt, and the Capitaine wounded to the death so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceyued by one called Capytayne Markam, Capitayne of the Barke of Sandwyche hauen and with good winde came to rescue the Kateryne Galley. The six shippes perceiuing that, left their chace and made with the Barke of Sandwiche. The Capitaine comforted his men and made the quarters of his shippe defensable. The Frenchmen set on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the English shippe. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the French shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly again and when the Frenchmen profered to enter, the Englishmen bette them of with bylles. The Frenchmen at the last with a great gunne bette downe the toppe of the Barke and slue the men in the same, and lastly they strake downe his Mast. This conflict continued from ten of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shifte, but to sayle: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, and while the Englishmen had any arrowes the Frenchmen durst not enter: But when their arrowes were spent, the Frenchmen came aboord all at once and entred the Barke. In this fight were slayne of French men out of hand. xxvij. and. lxxx. sore hurt, and of the Englishmen were slaine. xxiij. What should I saye, the Englishmen fought valiauntly but they were to weake for six talle shippes. Wherefore they were taken and brought to Depe for a price, but the Frenchmen saide they neuer bought price so deare. After this Iohn Marmer Capytayne of the Kateryn Galley dyed and many Frenchemen that were hurt died at Depe, so that neyther part wan greatly.

An insurrection moued at Couentry.

In the last month called December were taken certaine Traytors in the Citie of Couentrie, one called Fraunces Phillip Scholemaister to the kings Henxmen, and one Christopher

topher Pykering clerke of the Larder, and one Anthony Maynuile Gentleman, which by the perswasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to haue taken the kinges treasure of his subsidye as the Colectors of the same came towarde London, and then to haue rayseđ men and taken the Castell of Kyllingworth, and then to haue made battayle against the king: wherefore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthonye were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyborne the. xj. day of February, the residue that were taken, were sent to the Citie of Couentry and there were executed. One of the kinges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

The. xvij. day of Ianuary there was a fayre or marquet at the towne of Marguyson in the French kings dominions beside Calice, and for defence of the people and their marchandise, there were appointed two hundred men in harnesse well weaponed: the Souldiers of Guysnes heering of this, departed in the night and came nere to the towne of Marguyson, and closely kept themselues tyll the Market was faire and at the best, then the Englishmen which were. lxx. Archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchmen stood manfully at their defence with handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishe men shotte so wholy together that they draue the Frenchmen out of the towne, and would for succors haue taken the churche but the Englishmen were betweene them and the Churche, so that they had none other remedy but to flee and many French men were slayne. Capitaine Iohn de Pounde, and Capitaine Iohn de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers Marchantes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchmens wagones to Guysnes and no Englishman slaine but diuers were sore hurt.

The first day of February the valiaunt knight sir Robert Ierningham and with him fiftie Demilaunces of the garison of Calice skoured the countrye to Odirsaell and there tooke a hundred hedde of Beastes, by that doing an askry rose through the country, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the number of twelue score, and or Sir Robert and his companye came to Houndingbridge they were beset rounde about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with handgunnes, Crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encounter, but the Englishmen as men desperate (because of the number) fought so fierslye that they caused the Frenchmen to geue backe and slew many of them and tooke. xiiij. prisoners, and in the chase they tooke seauen more which made vp one and twentie. Then the saide sir Robert retourned with his bootie and prisoners and lost no man, but almost all were hurt.

The. x. day of March the king hauing a new harnesse made of his owne deuise and fashion, such as no Armorer before that time had seene, thought to assay the same at the tilte, and appointed a Iustes to serue him. On foote were appointed the Lorde Marques Dorset and the Erle of Surrey, the king came to the one ende of the tilte, and the Duke of Suffolk to the other: then a Gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the king is come to the tiltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my faith, for my Headpeece taketh from me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the King had his speare deliuered him by the Lorde Marques, the viser of his Headpeece beyng vp & not downe nor fastened, so that his face was cleane naked. Then the Gentleman sayde to the Duke, sir the king commeth, then the Duke set forewarde and charged his speare, and the king likewise vnaduisedly set toward to the Duke: the people perceiuing the kinges face bare, cryed hold, holde, the Duke neyther saw nor heard, and whether the king remembred that his visar was vp or no, fewe could tell: Alas what sorrow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the Dukes speare strike on the Kinges Hedpeece: for on a suertie the Duke strake the king on the browe right vnder the defence of the Headpece on the very coyfe, scull, or bassenetpece whervnto the barbet for power or defence is charneld, to which coyfe or bassenet neuer Armorer taketh heede, for it is euermore couered with the visar, barbet and volant peece, and so that pece is so defended that it forceth of no charge: But when the speare on that place lighted, it was great ieoperdie of death inso-

The ieopardie that the king was in at a Iustes.

much that the face was bare, for the Dukes speare brake all to shyuers, and bare the kinges visar or barbet so farre backe by the counter buffe that all the kinges Headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were much blamed, and so was the Lord Marques for the deliuering of the speare when his face was open, but the king saide that none was to blame but himselfe, for he entended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The Duke incontinently vnarmed him, and came to the king, shewing him the closenesse of his sight, and sware that he would neuer runne against the king more: But if the king had beene a litle hurt, the kinges seruauntes would haue put the Duke in ieoperdy.

Then the king called his Armorers and put all his peces together and then tooke a speare and ranne sixe courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, which was great ioye and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

In this yere the king sent the Lorde Morlay, sir William Hosy knight, and Doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando Archeduke of Austrich, and brother to the Emperor Charles, with the order of the Garter, which in the towne of Norrynberge receyued the same, where then were all the princes of Germanie assembled at a counsail or dyet, against the bishop of Rome, agaynst whom the Germaynes put a hundred grieues.

The. xiij. day of Aprill one Capitaine Brearton one of the Capitaines of the aduenturers at Guysnes with. xvj. tall men, came to a village called Waste, and there tooke a bootie of beastes, by which takyng an askrie arose, and by chaunce certaine of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abroade, and by the cry of the people came where the Englishe men were, the Frenchmen were two hundred horsemen, and with great cryes enuironed the Englishe men about, so that the Englishemen could make no defence. Then Capitain Brearton called to the Capitaine of the Frenchemen, and sayde, sir I am a Gentleman, and this enterprice was mine, I haue brought these good felowes to this ieopardie, wherefore we yeelde vs all prisoners to you, and so they deliuered their weapons, the Capitaine was a Gentleman and gently them receyued, then to the men of warre drewe all the peysantz or chorles of the Countrey nye hande to the number of. vij. or. viij. score, which desyred to bye the Englishemen that were taken, the Frenchemen were content, and tooke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre roade away.

Capitaine Brearton murdered,

When the men of warre were departed the rybaudes with Pykes, Iauelyns, and Knyues, fell on the Englishmen which had no weapon, & them slue all. xvij. and cut them in pieces the most shamefully that euer was seene.

When knowlege hereof was brought to the Capitaine of Guisnes sir Iohn Gage, he sent for the aduenturers, willyng them to reuenge their Capitaynes death. So all the aduenturers the. xiiij. day gathered together to the number of. xl. archers and pykes, and by good guyde the next day in the mornyng they came to the same village of Wast, and there toke. xxxvij. prisoners, and most part were at the murder of Brearton and his company, and of the. xxxvij. they slue. xxxvj. and so they left one, and caryed him with them, but or they departed they set the towne on fyre, and spared nothing, their yre was so great: the men of warre of Fraunce costed the English men, but they would not meddle with them in that rage.

The murder reuenged.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frenchman that was left on line, to declare their message to the Capitaine of Bulleyn, which was that after that day they would saue neyther man, woman, nor childe, that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the Peysantz had done to Capitaine Breerton and his companye, wyth which message the Frenchemen were discontent, and sayde that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeaunce for their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes and Pronostications made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore afrayd for the sayd wryters declared, that this yere should be such Eclipses in watry signes, and such coniunctions, that by waters and floods many people should

should perish. Insomuch that many persons vittayled themselues and went to high groundes for feare of drowning, and specially one Bolton, which was Prior of saint Bartholomewes in west Smithfield in London, builded him an house vpon Harow of the hill, onely for feare of this flood, and thether he went and made prouision for all thinges necessary within him, for the space of two Monethes: But the faithfull people put their trust & confidence only in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February, wherefore when it began to raine in February, the people were much afrayde, and some sayde now it beginneth, but many wise men which thought that the worlde coulde not be drowned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raynes might fall by inclinations of the stars, and that water mylles might stande still and not grynde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, and at the last the Astronomers for their excuse sayde, that in their computation, they had mistaken and miscounted in their number an hundred yeres.

Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes buylded a house vpon Harowe of the hill for feare of a flood.

The Emperour Charles which also was enemy to the French king, seeyng the great armye that the King of Englande his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraunce that ioyneth to Spaine, and in especially he imagined how to recouer the towne of Fountraby, which the Frenchmen before that tyme had gotten: wherefore he assembled a great puissaunce, and made Capitaine the Lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castile, which with great diligence came before the towne of Fountraby which was strongly fortefyed, and the Capitaine thereof was a Naueroys: but when the Capitaine and his company saw the towne besieged with such a puyssance, and also that the sea was so narrowly kept that they could not haue vittaile nor succor, they determined to geue vp the towne: but yet the Capitaine of a high stomack shot out his ordinaunce, and sent his trompet to the Capitain of the Spaniardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communication thereof he desyred abstinence of warre till he had commoned with the Counsaile of the Spanishe hoste, which to him was graunted. Then was communication for fiue dayes, and nothing ended, for the Spaniardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen prowde on the other syde, but on the sixt day it was concluded that the towne should be delyuered with ordinaunce and Artillarie, and all the men of warre to depart with bagge and baggage, and so the. xxvij. day of February was the towne of Fountraby brought againe to the handes of the Emperour, and he that was Capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Nauerre by the Emperour and became his man.

The Bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seeyng the great warres that were this yere on all parties, and in especiall betwene the Emperour and the king of Englande on the one partie, agaynst Fraunces the Frenche king and his alyes, sent an Archebishop of the realme of Naples first to the French king, and after to the Emperour, which declared to the French king the manifold mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for vniust warre and specially for the death of innocents and effusion of Christen blood, and shewed farther, that the sayd French king made dayly warre on the Emperor, and the King of England without cause, but only because he himselfe would do no right to them, nor to their subiects.

An Archebishop sent from the Pope to entreat peace betwene the Emperor and king of England & the French king.

The French king after counsaile taken aunswered, my Lorde Legate, we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, & we stand at the defence, notwithstanding our right is kept from vs, both the Duchy of Millain, and realme of Naples, by the Emperour, and the vsurped Duke, to the which we haue good tytle, and the king of England warreth on us without cause, notwithstandyng that we haue geuen him and many Lordes of his Counsaile diuers fayre pencions, not because we be afrayde of hym, but because we woulde haue his loue and amitie, & when we perceyued that he toke part with the Emperor our mortal enemy, we withdrew our pencios as with right we might, and now with all his power he would conquere our good will, which is against reason, and we claime

nothing

nothing of him. Well sayd the Ambassador, I will first speake with the Emperor, & after with the king of England, and then I will declare to you theyr rightes and demaundes, with which the French king semed to be content.

Then the sayde Ambassadour tooke his leaue and in post came to the Emperour in Spaine, and there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons, affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the French king, as the sayd king affirmed. Then the Emperour like a noble prince aunswered, that the warres were neuer of his beginning. For the French king or he wist had taken the towne of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquere the realme of Nayerne, and not with this contented, retayned the Swyches which be the Emperours subiectes, and caused them to be enemyes to the Empyre, and he also withholde the Duchie of haute Burgoyne, and the Countie of Arthoys with diuers other Countries, and seignories belongyng to him: wherfore his quarell was alway iust, and because the College of Rome should perceiue ỹ whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to ỹ said Ambassador a scedule, with which he departed, refusing all giftes which the Emperor offered him, & came again to the French king, and rehersed to him the Emperors saiyng, but the french king himself highly excused and sayd, that he might not lese that that his predecessors left him, & so the Bishop of Romes Ambassador tooke his leaue and came into England.

1524 16 In the beginning of this. xvj. yere, the king lay at his Maner of Newhall in Essex, and there kept the feast of saint George, and hearing that the Bishop of Romes Ambassador was comming into Englande, remoued to his Maner of Grenewiche where the sayde Archebishop and Legate came to him, and was highly entertayned, which declared wisely and eloquently the message and entent of his maister, which was to make a peace and concorde betwene the princes of christendome, and especially betwene the Emperor, the king of England and the French king, & for that cause he had bene with the Emperor, & also with the French king, which as he sayde affirmed, that without cause the king of Englande made on him warre, consideryng that he to the intent to haue the more amitie and fauor of you and your nobles hath liberally geuen to you and them honorable pencions, which by no duetie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his beneuolence and bountie. Also he sayeth that you claime his crowne, realme, and possessions, which toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothing, and therefore he thinketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherefore maye it please your highnesse to tell me your mind, and I shal it declare to the whole Court of Rome God wylling and forget nothing.

It to the crowne of Fraunce, and to the tribute of the same and certain other rightes.

Then the Kyng called to him his counsayle and after diuers consultations had, the Ambassador was sent for, and there was shewed to him many recordes, prouing the king of Englande to be inheritour to the realme of Fraunce by bloud, and also confirmed by dyuers Charters in the time of king Charles the seuenth. And as concernyng the pencion, to him was shewed dyuers Charters, that it was no pencion of friendship, but due rent for the Duches of Normandie and Guyan, and the Countries of Aniow and Maine, which are the king of Englandes verie enheritaunce. Farthermore there were shewed to him diuers bondes of the sayde French kinges for the payment for the Citie of Tournay, and other duties which he ought to the king of Englande, all which articles to fulfill, the French king hath oftentimes bene required by Ambassadors, and yet he euer dissembled, and would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these things were notes written and delyuered to the Byshop of Romes Ambassadour, which tooke his leaue of the king and returned in post accompanyed but with three persons. By reason of the comming of this Ambassador men hoped that peace should ensue, but it succeeded not this yere: for the thirde daye of Maye the garrison of Bulleyne with dyuers other in the most secret wise that coulde be, came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas, and sodainely strake vp a Dromme or Drounslade: the people hearing this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked and some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenche-

men

men them folowed, and tooke. xxj. prisoners, and then set fyre on the Churche: By this time was all the pale raysed, which thing the Frenchmen perceyuing, left their bootie and returned in all haste with their prisoners to Bulleyn.

In this season the Lordes of Flaunders laye at the siege before Tyrwyn, and were lykely to haue taken it by famine, whereof the French king beyng aduertised assembled an armie of. xxij. thousand horsemen and footemen vnder the conduit of the Duke of Vandosme, and the Lord Pountdormy, and the French king himselfe came downe to Amyas, and there caused it to be noysed that he would besiege the towne of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke in the last yere had left the king of Englandes ordinaunce. The king of England hearing of this, sayde, that if the French king besieged Valencyen, he in person would go thether for to rescue hys ordinaunce. The Lorde Fynes and other Lordes of Flaunders which laye before Tyrwyn with. ix. thousand men were aduertised of the French army, but because of the fame that the hoste should go to Valencyen, they sent for no more succours. Tirwyn besieged.

When the Frenchmen had all things ready, they left the waye to Valencyen and toke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the Lordes of Flaunders perceyued that, they were sore abashed, and then they knewe that they were deceyued, and that they were not able to abide the puyssaunce of the French armie. Wherefore they raysed their siege, and put themselues in order of battayle on the Southeast side of Tyrwyn: the French armie passed forward the sixt day of Maye toward Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight: Howbeit some of them skirmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the towne, wherevnto they were welcome, and the Lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased, but there was no remedie. Then ranne a brute that the French army would lay siege to Guysnes: wherefore the king caused men and all other thinges to be put in a readinesse for the speedie rescue thereof if it had so chaunced. But the Frenchmen tooke a better aduise.

In thys Month of May syr Robert Iernyngham Capitaine of Newnam bridge commoned with Christopher Coo, a Capitayne of dyuers Englishe ships that kept the Sea, which then was in Calice hauen for vitayle, and sayde, Capitaine Coo you know how the Bulleyners haue visited here to Calice the Englishe pale, and haue burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set manye of your men a lande at the hauen of Bulleine the. xix. daye of Maye, I with as manye as I can furnishe will meete with you there in Base Bulleyne at the time and houre betweene vs appointed, to the which the sayde Christopher agreed and faythfully promised, and so prepared accordingly euery thing necessary and so sayled toward Bulleyn, syr Robert Iernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to syr William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guysnes to know if he would aide any part toward this iourney, which sent worde that he would be at the same auenture himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be Captaine of that enterprise, which he thankfully and with hart receyued: then all the men of warre and the aduenturers and the Baylie of Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together, they were three hundred horsemen, and of the Countrey and Marke three hundred and of the auenturers. C. lx. and so one an other they were seuen hundred men. All these persons met at an houre appointed at Sandyngfield: the night was short so that it was daye or they came neere Bulleyne all set in good order of battayle, but they were ascried before they came nere Bulleyne, and so it chaunced that Christopher Coo with his ships which had winde at will, was come with his foure shippes before Bulleyne somewhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watch him espied, & then he manned his Boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched towarde the lande, by that time was all base Bulleine in harnesse readie to defende the Englishemen from landing, but Capitayne Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Base Bulleyn were on the shore, that seyng the garrison, made them readie and bent their ordinaunce. Sir William Fitzwilliam hearing the Gonnes towarde the hauen side, knewe well that Christopher Coo was in his businesse, and so encouraged euery man to do well and

marched forward with as much spede as might be, in so much that all the Englishe men were on the hilles before Bulleyne in sundry plumpes, then issued out the horsemen of Bulleyne betwenee the Castell and Cardons Tower, the light horsemen of the English part them encountered, there was a good fight, the French men shot with Crosbowes, and the Englishe men wyth long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the English men approched the towne walles, this skirmishe was fierce and euer the archers ayded the horsemen. While the horsemen were thus skirmishyng, the eyght score aduenturers which were hardie and valyant men cast themselues about and came to base Bulleyne, and there they were hardily receyued of the French men, yet notwithstanding they lost their barriers and the English men entered, there was shooting on all sides, and a strong fight. The Frenchmen cryed Bulleyne, and the Englishe men saint George Calice: but at the last the Frenche men were driuen back and many slayne, and. xliiij. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their Capitaine syr William Fitzwilliam. All this while was Christopher Coo on land on the sea coast, and bet the French men vp to the towne, and when the tide turned, he with all hys came agayne in safetie to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke three of the Frenchmen of armes, and the other reculed to the towne. By thys time by reason of the *alarme* was all the Countrie of Picardie raysed and much people resorted to Bulleyne on all sides, which doyng syr William Fitzwilliam wisely perceyuing, by the sounde of a Trumpet brought all his men together in a plumpe, and then sent them hither and thether to fet hys driftes of Beastes that were nere in the Countrie on euery side, which was quickly done, for the aduenturers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages, and so met together, and with their bootie returned in safetie.

The Tuesday folowyng, beyng the last day of May, syr William Fitzwilliam, with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, and the aduenturers, and a hundred other persons mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the sayde Capitayne wisely considered, that in that place the Frenchemen had dyuers times lurked, and taken at auauntage the Englishe men, wherefore he layde his horsemen, & his archers on horseback in a wood, in a waite if the french men folowed the stale: then he sent forth the aduenturers, which passed farther then the Capitaine would that they should haue done, and sodainly they were ascryed: then on came the Frenchmen, the aduenturers sware that they would not flie, but bent themselues to defend their enemies, which were thre hundred horsemen. The Frenche men knewe well their hardinesse, but yet they called them Crakers, which by missoundyng was commonly called Krekers, for a suretie these men were hardie, and full of pollicie, and verie farre would ieoparde, the Frenchmen sent about a Valey, a hundred of the best horsemen, and two hundred footemen, then were the Krekers betwene two bendes of the french men: syr William Fitzwilliam, beyng assured of the conduit of the french men, much doubted the chaunce of the aduenturers, wherefore in great haste sent for his stale of horsemen that he had left couered: and the frenchmen that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen that were gone about an hill in the Valey. The Englishemen them valiauntly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the aduenturers were come on a playne: then the horsemen that were come to syr William Fitzwilliam, set on the french horsemen, there was a hard and a fierce encounter, for the french men fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chase were taken. lvj. horsemen, and. xliiij. slaine one and other, and many Englishe men sore hurt and dyuers slayne, thus the Krekers scaped a narow hazard.

In Iune, syr William Fitzwilliam, Capitayne of Guysnes, syr Iohn Wallop, and Sir Iohn Gage, secretly called to them. ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe Countrie of Picardie vnto the Castell of Hardyngham, or Rigsam and they caried with them but one piece of ordinaunce called a Curtall, thys Gonne they bent against the castel, which was well furnished with harnesse, ordinaunce, and al other artilierie, and things needefull, and the Capitayne also was a valyant and

hardie gentleman. The Englishmen euer shot that peece and remoued it from place to place with great paine, & in conclusion made a battery of the walles, so that they might assault it, then the Trumpet blewe to the assault, and the Capitayne with his companye stoode at defence: then Syr Iohn Wallop, & syr Iohn Gage with the auenturers or Krekers entred the diche, and the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes, and the Frenchmen likewise shotte quarelles: the Englishemen set vp Ladders to the walles, but the Frenchemen threwe them downe, at this assault was slaine a Gentleman called Butler, and. xv. other Englishe men, but for all that the assault was not left, for some climed by pikes, and some amended the Ladders, and cryed againe to the assault: but sir William Fitzwilliam chiefe Capitaine of this enterprise, perceyued that they lacked engynes and other thinges for the spedie assault of the Castell, and not willyng to lose his men without cause, caused them to stay, while he and other Capitaynes counsayled together, and as they were concluded once againe to attempt the assault, they heard newes that two thousand horsemen, and two thousand footemen, were at hande to fight with them, they then perceiuyng that nine hundred men beyng wery, were no power to encounter wyth foure thousand Frenchmen, they in good order returned to the English Fortresses.

Mounsire de Bees Capitaine of Bulleine, well considered all the enterprices, that the Englishmen had done in Pycardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite them, to his honor and fame, and for that purpose, sent for the Erle of Dampmartine, the Lorde Pountremie, and the Lorde Chastillion, which concluded to enter the English pale, and to shew themselues before Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and Souldiers, of the garrisons about and so they were. viij. hundred good horsmen, and with pikes, Gunnes, and Crossebowes. viij. hundred footemen: and when all this company was assembled Mounsire de Bees as Capitaine of this iourney, with the other Lordes, the fourth daye of August wyth banner displayed, came towarde Calice in the euening: and the next daye in the morning by six of the clocke, they came to a village within the Englishe pale, called Bonyngs. Then the *Alarme* rose through al the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce, sent out their forerider to serch and ouer see the country, & then they laide an embushement of three hundred horsemen, at the said towne of Boninges, and with that bend abode Mounsire Pountremy and Mounsire de Bees rode to Kalkewel with thre hundred fresh horsemen, and all the footemen with banner displayed, and forraged all the Country, of which three hundred speres, they let one hundred go at large and kept the residue with them.

When the *Alarme* came to Calice, euery man made to horse and harnesse. Then sir Robert Iernyngham with. lxxx. horsemen with all speede, rode out of Calice to beholde the companie of the Frenchmen. And he sent forth hys light horsemen, which met with the skourers of the French men, and because the French men semed a fewe in number, the Englishe foreryders profered toward them, which fledde towarde Sandiffielde, and the Englishemen chased after, not beyng of knowlege of the embushements, that lay at Bonynges, and Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his light horsemen chase, he folowed after soft, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the Frenche men that were in chase returned, for some of their ayde was nere them. When the Englishemen which passed not. xvj. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, they encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchemen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishemen were constrayned to flie another way, to the hye land in great ieopardie, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light Geldynges, the Englishemen gat the Sea syde, or sea sandes beyonde Skales: Then were the Englishemen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchemen hande to hande, for the Frenchemen behinde folowed not the chase, but onely twentie horsemen, and with pure fightyng the Englishemen tooke one of the Frenche horsemen, and came with hym to Calice, and so were saued.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his men in chase (as you haue heard) and sawe that

they were in great ieopardie, he aduaunsed for theyr rescue all that he might, which was the sauyng of the light horsemen, for the French men left them, to encounter with sir Robert Ierningham, and so it was that he went so farre forwarde, that the Frenchmen were betweene him and Calice. And when he sawe all the bendes and embushments breake out, he said to his companie: sirs Saint George to borow, let these French galantes know what we English men be: Sir sayd his companie, they shall buy vs dere. Then he marched towarde the high lande: Then approched a great number of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen them valiauntly receyued, and manfully defended, but euer the Frenchmen came fresh and fresh, so that the Englishemen beyng werye and oppressed with multitude, were faine to flie: and in this chase was taken Thomas Cheyney an Archer, whose horse was tyred, and two other Archers on horsebacke, one called George Karre, and the other Rowlande Atkinson, and three other of the Englishe pale: sir Robert and the remnaunt saued themselues the best that they coulde.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen souned their trompet, and reculed to Bulleyn, and sent worde to Calice, that they would visit them oftener. Sir Robert Ieraingham remembryng this chaunce, thought to be reuenged of the same, and so aduisyng himselfe to what place hee should repare, he remembred that when soeuer the Englishmen made any iourney to Marguyson, the Frenchmen would flie ouer the water or creke, to a highe ground by botes, and there as it were in an Island saue themselues, because on that syde they might euer haue succors, for the creke or water, is beyonde the towne of Calice. Therefore the sayd sir Robert caused fiue great boates to be caryed in Wagons, and so he with other Capitaynes, of Calice, and Guisnes, to the number of three hundred fotemen, with the Kreekers, and. lx. horsemen the. xij. day of August, with Banners displayed, tooke their way to the towne of Margison, and in the night the light horsemen gaue *alarme* to the towne of Bulleyn, and tooke two Souldiours prisoners, and brought with them certaine Cattaile to their companie. Then the Englishmen marched forward, towarde Margison, that seyng the Frenchmen, tooke their Boates in trust of the water, and passed ouer, the Englishemen perceiued that, and launced their Boates, and so like aduenturers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till a hundred. lx. were passed ouer: the Countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen were three hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would haue letted the Boates to land, but the Archers on the other syde draue them backe, and the Englishmen slue at the first encounter. lx. men, and tooke. xl. prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with new succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardily, but at the ende they fled, the most poorest of the people, on the other syde of the water, fled to the Church, and abode at their defence, then was there fyre set in the Church, then the French men lept out of the Church, to their destruction, for of three hundred there was saued but sixtie on liue.

The whole power of Bulleyn was come downe, nere to the place: but when they perceyued that it was to late, and that the Englishemen were returned, they came no further. Thus was sir Robert Iernyngham euen with the Frenchmen, and brought a good bootie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore grieued the Capitaine of Bulleyn.

The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that they gat litle at the Englishmens handes, thought to take their aduauntage of the Fleminges, wherefore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bulleyn and Tirwyn, fiue hundred footemen, and three hundred horsemen, and so in good order marched toward saint Omers & they sent to go a forraging one hundred fotemen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kept themselues in a stale. These Frenchmen came by Arkus, nigh to saint Omers, and forraged all the Countrie, the *alarme* sprang al the Countrie to Turnahan, the Capitaine of Turnahan sent worde to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitaine of Guisnes, that the Frenchmen were abroade, which made aunswere, that if the Frenchmen came nere to him, surely he would speake with them, with which aunswere the Capitaine of Turnahan beyng encouraged, sent forth two hundred Fle-

minges on foote, still the Frenchmen marched toward Turnahan, the Flemynges that were sent from Turnahan, marched toward the waye, where the Frenchmen shoulde come, thinking that when the Capitaine of Guisnes had set on them, that then they would haue lyen in the chase at the receipt.

The sayd Capitaine of Guisnes valiauntly marched forwarde, with a hundred horsemen and foure hundred footemen, entending to meete with the Frenchemen, and sodainely as he was passing forwarde, worde was brought him that the Erle of Damarten, with the garisons of Mustrel and Abuile, to the nũber of. vj. hundred horsemen, were cõming forward toward Guysnes. This heering sir William Fitzwillyam, sware that the Erle should not take paine to come to Guysnes, for he would meete him on the way: by this meane he left his first enterprise, & marched toward the Erle of Damartin.

The Frenchmen of Tirwin being thereof aduertised by a Spye, called all the people together, and with their bootie came on forwarde towarde Turnahan, and sodainely they askryed the poore Fleminges, which were sent out of the Castell of Turnahan, and when they perceyued the Frenchmen, comming toward them, they turned their backes, and fled like sheepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, & slue the most part of them, for few escaped.

The Capitaine of Guysnes came to a fayre Greene, fiue myle from Guysnes, and there in good order of battayle, taried for the Erles comming, which heering that the Capitaine of Guysnes, was redie to receiue hym, made his returne backeward, without any thing doing: when the Capitaine knew the truth of the Erles returne, he then in all hast, sped hym to meete with the Frenchmen, that were comming to Turnahan, and in the meane waye, he heard tidinges of the chaunce of the Fleminges, and how the Frenchmen were reculed toward Tirwin, which aduenture sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guysnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen went awaye vnfought withall: The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherefore let vs now returne, and shewe what warres were kept on the frontires, betwene England and Scotland, in this season.

The one and twentie day of Maye being Trinitie Sonday fiue hundred Scottes in the morning by seuerall fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertly by the high waye, to distresse Marchauntes and Market men, that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire: for euery Trinitie Sonday, there is kept a great Fayre, which the Scottes knew well, and as they lay thus lurking, they robbed many Marchauntes, and tooke rich prisoners but at the last they were perceyued, then the *Alarme* rose, and people began to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branxstone, and the Englishmen them assayled, which so manfully them defended, that if the yong Lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one hundred lyght horsemen, the Scottes had gon away with their bootie, but then began a sore fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slayne, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselues. The Scots enuadeth England.

After this the fift daye of Iuly, sir Iohn a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diuers other, gathered together. ix. hundred men and entred into Scotland, in the countrye called the Marche, and robbed and spoyled all the countrie, and by chaunce the same season, the Scots had assembled two thousand men, to inuade Englande, and none of these knewe of other, tyll they by aduenture met together. Then began a strong medlye, for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while, and the Englishmen them hardely assayled, and at the last by fine force, caused them to leaue the grounde and flie, and in the fight were taken two hundred Scottes, and many slaine, of the which prisoners diuers were Gentlemen Sir Raufe of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and Bastard Heron, with. xxx. other Englishmen well horsed, folowed so far the chace, that they were past rescues of their company, which perceyuing the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with multitude, were sone ouercome, and there

was

was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and syx other, and Bastard Heron, and seauen other slayne, the remnaunt by chaunce escaped: the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned safely into Englande: the slaiyng of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the taking of the two hundred was displeasure, they hated hym so.

The seaueuth day of Iuly the Lorde Maxwell of Scotlande, and Sir Alexander Iorden, with banner displayed, and Scottes to the number of foure thousand, entered into England at the west Marches by Carleile, and began to burne on euery syde: then the Englishmen assembled on euery side and so they were in number two thousand men, and fiersly set on the Scots, there was a great fight, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and tooke three hundred Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners: For sir Alexander Iorden and his sonne & diuers were taken prisoners, & by their departing, the company of the Englishmen was much minished, the Lorde Maxwell being a politique man, perceyuing that, and sodainly called his people together, and them encorraged, and beganne a new skirmishe, and recouered all the prisoners almost, and tooke diuers English men prisoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

A parliamēt holden by the Scots wherin they shewe many causes for the which they ought to beare with Fraunce before Englād.

After this iourney, in the courte of parliament of Scotland, was much commoning of the warres, which were betwene Englande and Scotlande: some of the Nobles sayd, that Fraunce neuer did so much good to Scotland in twentie yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, in one yere, for the loue and cause of Fraunce: wherefore they thought it conuenient to make a perpetuall league of amitie, with the King of Englande, and to leaue the Frenche kinges parte. Other Nobles which had pencions in Fraunce, declared the olde amitie betweene Fraunce and Scotlande, and how the French king, brought vp many Gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte, geuing them great liuinges, which the king of Englande would not doe: they also alleged the franches, and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraunce, and specyallye they shewed, that if the kyng of Scottes shoulde breake with Fraunce, and then if it happened the king of England, to inuade Scotlande, which beyng without ayde of any friend, might well by the power of England be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, and a truce graunted tyll saint Andrewes daye.

This yere the first day of September, was Doctor Thomas Hanibal Mayster of the Rolles, receyued into London, with Eples and Byshops, and dyuers other nobles and gentlemen, as Ambassador from Clement Bishop of Rome, which brought with him a Rose of Golde (the which sayeth Sledane was consecrated as is accustomed three weekes before Easter) for a token to the king, of the great loue that he bare vnto him, the people as he passed thought to haue sene the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the king to Wyndsore, on the day of the Natiuitie of oure Ladie, on which day after a solempne Masse song by the Cardinall of Yorke, the said present was deliuered to the king, which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues and flowers, resembling Roses: this tree was set in a pot of Golde, which pot had three feete of antike fashion: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the vppermost Rose, was a fayre Saphier loupe pereed, the bignesse of an Acorne, the tree was of height halfe an Englishe yarde, and in bredth it was a foote. The sayd Ambassador in delyuering the same rose, made an oration, declaryng the good minde, loue and fauor, that the Byshop of Rome bare to the king, in token whereof he sent him that present, which the king thankfully receyued, and deliuered it to him agayne, and so he bare it open before the king, from the College to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the mayster of the Iewell house, and so there ended hys Legation.

A Rose brought frō Rome.

Before this time in the month of Iuly, Lorde Archebalde Douglas Erle of Anguishe, which had maried the Quéene of Scottes, sister to the king of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrarie to hys will and pleasure, and

and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the king of Englande, to his manor of Grenewiche, and there besought him of his aide and comfort, to whom the king made a gentle aunswere. Thys Erle was not in the fauour of his wyfe the Queene of Scottes, wherefore she caused him to be sent into Fraunce: some sayd that she loued the Duke of Albany better then him, but whatsoeuer the matter was, she wrote to the french king, that if the Erle euer came againe into Scotlande, that the french king should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the Erle being in Fraunce, was in ieoperdie of his life. Wherefore secretly he fled and came into England as you haue heard, and one daye at the Castell of Wyndsore he declared, that in the counsayle of Fraunce when he was there, they happened in communication, to talke of the warres that were then, betweene the Emperour and the french king, and betwene the king of Englande and the french king: there was a Lorde of the counsayle that stood vp and sayde, it were better that one person suffered, rather then all the realme should be daylie in this mischiefe. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one person, he aunswered, that if the french Quene, which was lame and vgly were dead, that then wayes might bee found, that the french king should marry the Emperors sister, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her marriage, the king of England shold be payde, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no aunswere was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth the french Queene was dead the. xvj. day of Iuly, & was buried at S. Denise.

The Duke of Burbon this Sommer made sharpe warre on the french kings dominions, and did high enterprises: wherefore the king of Englande sent his letters to diuers Lordes and gentlemen in this season, the tenor wherof ensueth. Trusty. &c. For as much as (our Lord God be thanked) our armie, vnder the leading of our Cosyn the Duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the realme of Fraunce, gainyng and attayning many townes, Cities, Castels, and places, with the whole countrie of Prouince, without anye resistance of our auncient enemie the french king, but also goeth daylie marchyng, and continually doth chace, and driue before them suche men of warre, as our sayd enemie hath prepared for his defence, in resistance of our Cosyn the Duke of Burbon, and our sayde armie. In such wise that it is thought vndoubtedly, nowe to be most conuenient time and season, eyther in our person (although the yere be somewhat past) or by a Lieuetenaunt with a puyssaunt armie to inuade Fraunce on the other side, both for the recoueryng of the Crowne, and to compell our sayde enemy, to knowledge his obstinate, wilfull, and erronious demeanure, wherfore we will and commaund you to be readie with such power as you shall be able to make, vpon the next proclamation to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

The tenor of the kinges letters sent to diuers gentlemen in England.

After which letters sent forth, euery man made preparation accordinglye, and the people murmured and sayde, that it were much better, that the king should maintayne his warres with his awne subiectes, and spende his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a straunger to spende his money.

The king beyng at Wyndsore, to him came syr Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Iustices of the common place, a man of excellent learning in the lawe, as appereth by his workes, syr Raufe Egerton knight, Doctor Denton Deane of Lichfield, which in the beginning of thys yere, were sent as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeuored themselues, that they reformed manye iniuries done in the Countrie, and brought dyuers of the wilde Irishe by fayre meanes to a submission, and made by the kinges auctoritie, the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oneele bare the sworde, and the Lord Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, which was Deputie of Ireland, was by the sayde commissioners, made high Treasorer of Ireland. And when they had set all things in good order, in the Moneth of September they tooke shippyng, and in the same Moneth came to the king, which gaue them hys hartie thankes for their good doyngs.

In this Month the king sent maister Iohn Magnus priest, and Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into

into Scotland, for the suretie of his nephewe the king of Scottes, for diuers Lordes of Scotland, wrote to the king, that they doubted the suretie of their king, because the Duke of Albanie, which was heyre apparaunt to the realme of Scotland, had the king in gouernaunce, and also they thought, he beyng a Frencheman borne, should not rule their realme: wherefore they amongest themselues, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke heering that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the king of England, and also that they repyned and grudged at his doynges, sodainly with all the treasure that he could make, departed from Scotland, and sayled into Fraunce, with which departyng the Commons were nothing sory, and sone after his departyng, the Ambassadors of England were ioyously receyued into Scotland, and there the sayd Ambassadors taryed, till Marche twelue moneth, in which tyme, there were many conclusions driuen, betweene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The. xxiiij. day of September, three horsemen of the garrison of Bulleyn, which well knew the Hauen of Calice, came at a deepe tyde, and passed ouer Calice hauen, by Rise banke in the night, and went behinde the East Wyndmill, and then toke land, and went to a little village called Middleway, and passed the Turne Pikes, and entred into a Whelers house, and tooke the man and the wyfe, and. xx. pound in money sterlyng, and went away clere without ascrie or perceiuyng of the watche of Calice, and no man wist where they were become, till the Trompet of Bullein brought worde, and demaunded the raunsome.

The last day of September, fiftie light horsemen of Calice, apperteynyng to sir Robert Iernyngham, rode toward Bulleyn, and passed the water of Marguison, and came to the water of Sclakes nere Bulleyn, where sodeinly they encountered. lx. Frenchmen, of the garrison of Bulleyn, there was shotyng with long Bowes and Crosbowes on euery syde, strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishmen folowed, and tooke three light horsemen, and when they perceyued the *alarme* on euery side, they put themselues in array, and with their bootie came to Calice.

The same day sir Thomas Palmer, with. lx. horsemen of Guisnes, encountered with the Capitaine Bertram, leader of the horsemen of the Erle Dammartyn, with. lx. horsemen, there was a strong fight two houres together, but in the ende the Frenchemen fled, and the Englishemen folowed, and tooke. xviij. prisoners, and. xvj. good horse, and with this bootie they returned to Guisnes.

In this busye season, the aduenturers heeryng what the horsemen on their parties had done, and especially perceiuyng that the English horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned amongest themselues, what was to be done: then one of their Capitaines sayd openly: sirs you see howe long we haue beene here, and wages we haue none, our liuyng ryseth on the gaine of our enemyes, and sith our beginnyng, we haue had good chaunce in all our enterpryses, God be thanked: nowe the Winter draweth neere, let vs now aduenture to get some good bootie, to make vs merye with, in the colde weather, and if you will, we shall enterprise a thing, that I trust to vs shall be profitable. Then all the companie cryed forth, forth. Then with a Banner of saint George, they marched toward a village, liyng towarde Moustrell, hauyng only. xxv. light horsemen, to be their scourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This companie folowyng their scourers, went farre on and had gotten a fayre bootie, of Oxen, Kyne and other beastiall, and were nere at their returne, and by chaunce the same day, was the Erle of Dammartyn, & the Capitaine of Moustrell, with the power of the Duke of Vandosme, goyng toward Saint Omers, to burne and destroy that Countrey, and for that purpose they had gathered together. xv. hundreth horsemen, and eight hundreth footemen, howbeit, the footemen were a large myle behinde the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke espyed the Englishe horsemen, which perceiuyng the great number fled, and as the sayd Frenchmen marched forward, they espied the aduenturers on foote, and made toward them: the Englishmen seeyng the great number of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge, or strong place to fortifie them, but there was no such

such place in sight, and also they had no such tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitain sayd: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time bene called aduenturers, now is the time come of our aduenture, the Frenchmen will not raunsome vs for nothing, we be amongest them so feared: if any thing saue our lyues, it must be God and our hardinesse, and therefore sayd he, if you see me begin to flie, slay me out of hand. Then euery man cryed God mercy, and made themselues prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery syde, the Englishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they coulde: the Frenchemen perceyuyng that the Englishemen kept themselues so close, caused diuers of the horsemen to light a foote, and so they did, and fought with their speares agaynst the pykes, and shot with Crosbowes, on euery syde. Alas the while, for while the Englishmen had arowes to shote, they were not broke, but close without perill, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiauntly, and slue many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their company slaine, and tooke few of them prisoners. This was the end of these Companions, called the Krekers or aduenturers, which were as hardie men, as euer serued Prince or Capitaine. The end of ye aduenturers.

The Duke of Burbon, with the Marques of Picardie, in the moneth of October, with a great puyssaunce, layd siege to the strong towne of Marcell in Prouince, and lay there a great space. The French king raised a great armie, and swore that he would rayse the siege, whereof heeryng the Duke of Burbon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and his other Capitaynes, and declared to them that his entent was to giue the French king battaile: the Marques of Piscare sayde that the French kinges puyssaunce was great, and theirs small, and sayde: although the Duke of Burbon, which was a banished man from his Countrie, had no other remedie to reuenge him, but by battaile, yet he said he would not put all the Emperours men, of the which he had the guide, in such a hazard, till the remnaunt of the Emperours power were come. Well sayde the Duke of Burbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperour, and to the king of England, which shall be a reproche to your honour: Nay sayd the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then sayd Doctor Richard Pace, Ambassador for the king of England: my Lorde you haue had the King my Maysters wages, I woulde be glad to heare what way you would take: I will tell you sayd the Marques, the French king hath a great armie gone into Italy, and he himselfe foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but only to take the Duchie of Millaine vnprouided, which shall do him more pleasure then he had slaine all vs. Also the Emperour shall leese more then ten Marceles be worth, and the French kinges power shall be more elated, that he will not set by the Emperour, nor the king of England. Therefore my aduice is, to breake vp this siege, and with all speede to preuent him in Italy, and if we be entered the townes, and put munitions in the same, he shall lye a colde in the fieldes, and then you shall see what shall become of him, when his beastes dye, and his vittayle spent. To this counsaile the Duke and all the Capitaines agreed, and so brake vp the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the townes in the Duchie of Millain, with men and other necessaryes.

The French king heeryng of this, with all his army passed the Mountaynes and camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this Moneth of Nouember the. xiij. day, about the towne of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Kause besyde Newnam bridge, and tooke. xl. beastes, then the *Alarme* was brought to Calice, which heeryng, the Marshall of Calice, called to him sir Robert Ieruingham, and they had with them a. C. xx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthonie Browne to tell the Capitain of Guisnes, what they entended to doe, but they taryed not for the companie of Guisnes, but marched so farre forward, that they came to the water of Sclakes, which is nere Bulleyn, and there they set their stale. And in the morning betime, they sent forth

a Gentleman called Richard Lamberd with. xx. light horsemen on swift Geldinges, and they came by moone lyght nere Bulleyn, and then they sawe the men of Bulleyn and other thereabout put out their beastes into the field. Then the Englishemen with great diligence brought all the beastes together, and so began to driue them together toward their embushment. Then the *alarme* began at Bulleyn, and the men of warre issued out of the towne, and fought with the Englishmen, their horses were freshe: wherefore they had a great aduauntage, but in conclusion three Frenchmen were slaine, and their horses taken, and so the light horsemen came with their cattaile, nere to the embushment, and the Frenchmen folowed, that seyng, the Englishmen that kept the stale, came in all haste and rescued their light horsemen, and draue the Frenchmen backe, and then made returne with their beastes, and as they were returning, they had worde brought to them, howe that sir William Fitzwilliam Capitaine of Guisnes with his retinue, were besiegyng a pile called the Castell of Capell, wherefore they sped them thether in all hast, and when they were come thether, the Capitaine of Guysnes them hartily welcomed, and then they concluded to giue an assault to the Castell, and so wyth good courage set on, the frenche men defended it very valiauntly a great while, but at the last the Englishmen gat ouer the ditches, and scaled the walles, but the Frenchmen still them defended, till the Englishmen had gotten to the highest of the Dungion, and then was there slaiyng a pace. For there were. liij. persons slaine out of hand, in reuengyng the great obstinacie of the Frenchmen, and the Castell was rased and brent. Then sir William Fitzwilliam with his bootie, and sir Iohn Wallop Marshall of Calice, and sir Iohn Iernyngham returned, he to Guisnes, and they to Calice. The same day. xiiij. Burgonions, and. xiiij. Spaniardes, all horsemen of Guisnes, came to the Church of Falske, not far from Durnam at high Masse tyme, and there drewe their swordes, and so much did, that all the men in the Church, to the number of fiftie, yelded themselues prisoners, of the which number they tooke eight persons with them, which shoulde be gages for the remnant, and with these eight they came to Guisnes.

Ambassadors sent from Iames the fift king of Scottes.

The. xix. day of December were receiued into London, Lorde Gilbert Keuet Erle of Castelles, sir Robert Cockeburne Bishop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenell, Ambassadors from Iames the fift king of Scottes, by the Bishop of Lyncolne, the Lord of Saint Ihones, and diuers other noble men, and were conueyed to their lodgynges at Taylers Hall.

The. xxiij. daye of December, the sayde Ambassadors were conueyed to Grenewiche, accompanied with the sayd Lordes by water, and when they came to the vtter gate, they were receyued of the officers of the house, and so passed through the haule, which was well furnished with people, and so through the vttermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they were receyued and welcomed of all the Princes and Nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came foorth, and set himselfe in a throne of three steps high, vnder his cloth of estate, which was very riche, but his apparell was exceeding rich, both of Goldsmithes worke and perle, and stone, which the Scottes well auised, and then they wisely and humbly made their obeysaunce, and the Byshop in good playne Latine made a solempne oration, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he had often times heard the renoume and fame of hym and hys Court, both for the giftes of grace and nature, which were in his person, yet he sayde that his princely countenance, his louely fauour, which he himselfe did see, did much surmount the fame and name, which he hath heard of report. He declared further, that although fortune had him fauored in conquering of regions, and vanquishing of battayles, yet that thing was not so honorable to hym, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, which pleaseth both God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that king Iames the fift his Nephewe and felow to the king of Englande, had sent them his Ambassadours, to entreate a peace, so that a conuenient mariage might be made, betwene him and the

Ladie

Ladie Marie daughter to the king, which should be a linck necessarie, to knit together the realme of Scotland and Englande, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which oration, the Byshop of London Doctor Tunstall aunswered and sayde: that the king was at their desire, content to haue peace vpon reasonable conditions, and as touchyng mariage of his daughter, he woulde so answere them, that they should be contented. Then ỹ king rose from his place and welcomed them, and all the honest persons of the traine, and after communication had, they toke their leaue for that time, and so toke their Barge and came to London.

Friday the. xxx. day of December the Erle of Castelles one of the Scottishe Ambassadors tooke his leaue and departed toward Scotlande: for to commen with the counsayle of Scotland, for things which were not in their commission, and left behinde him the Byshop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenell: some sayde the article was, that the Scottes should forsake the French king, and that the king of Scottes should come into Englande, but whatsoeuer it was euery man knewe it not.

The Obseruaunt Friers would not obey the Cardinall.

In thys Moneth the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue visited the Friers Obseruauntes, but they in no wise woulde therein condiscende, wherefore. xix. of the same religion, were accursed at Paules Crosse, by one of the same religion, called Fryer Forest. Of thys Fryer Forest ye shall here more hereafter, in the thirtie yere of thys king.

Myllayne yeelded to the French king.

In thys season the French king was in Italy with all his Nobilitie, and to him was Millaine yeelded, but because of pestilence he would not enter, but departed and layd siege to the strong towne of Pauia, whereof was Capitayne a valyaunt Spanyard called Anthony de Leua. The Frenche kings mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceyuing that the king her sonne with all his good Capytaynes were in Italy, doubted that the king of Englande, in the next spring time would inuade Fraunce. Wherefore shee by the aduise of the counsayle of Fraunce, did so much with the king of Englande, that her Stuard of houshold called Iohn Iokin, had a safeconduit to come into Englande, which was kept close in the house of Docter Larke, a Prebendarie of saint Steuens, and euery day priuily spake with the Cardinall and so secretly he remayned till the. xxiiij. daye of Ianuarie, at which daye came into London, the President of Roan called Mounsire Brynion, as an Ambassador from Fraunces the french king, and was lodged with Iohn Iokyn: this Iohn Iokyn was kept priuie, because that no man shoulde knowe that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the French king, which after grewe to great trouble. For he shewed hymselfe to straungers, which fauored the french partie, and so at last it was openly knowne to the kings counsaile, and almost to all men: but when the Emperours Ambassador knewe thys darke dealyng, he mused not a little & sayde, that the Cardinall did driue priuie drifes, and that by his meanes onely, Iohn Iokyn was come into Englande, to entreat a peace in secret maner, or the kings friendes might know it, and all people sayde that Iohn Iokyn was but a cast away of Ieane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the Lady Regent, and marueyled why he should be kept close, and so much cherished of the Cardinall. For this keping close of thys Iokyn, Englishemen were rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador, and the Bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why thys Iohn Iokyn should be kept as a spirite in close, consydering that there was open warre betwene the two kings, & feared that the kings counsaile should be corrupt. This Iohn Iokyn was much with the Cardinal, but neuer was sene with the king nor his counsaile, but for all the secretnesse, Mousire Prat the Emperours Ambassadour knewe all the offers that he made for peace (which in deede were very great) and howe he had offered pencions to dyuers yong men about the king, of the which some were very glad, and so the noyse by reason of such offers ranne, that a peace was likely to ensue in short space.

Iohn Iokin a priuie messenger.

Mounsire Brynyon an Ambassador frō Fraunce.

The Cardinall did now grow in suspicion.

Mounsire Prat the Emperors Ambassador.

Mounsire Pratt wrote of this matter in all haste to the Emperour, in the which letters he highly commended the king of Englande for his stedfastnesse: but he saide some of

the kinges counsayle loued neyther the Emperour nor the king of England, and wrote to him farther all the maner of the secret keping of Iohn Iokyn. These letters at last were brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowne, and so he sent for Mounsire Pratt, and declared to him the matter, which answered him that he was counsaylour and Ambassadour to the Emperour, and that it was his part, to asserteyne the Emperour of euery thing, that was or might sounde preiudiciall to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his aunswere was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he sayde openly that it was not well ment to the Emperour to stop his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes sayde, that the Emperour sent them not into Englande to sleepe, but to doe him seruice. The Byshop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his maister, that peace was lykely to be concluded betweene Englande and Fraunce, and wylled him to be the first friend to the French king, rather then the second. Of which writing came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this Month tydings came to the king, how the Marques of Piscaire in Italye, had gotten from the french king a Castell, called the Castell saint Angell, which was a great fortification of his siege at Pauie.

There was in this Moneth a Flemyng in Heddyng Castell, which came oftentimes to saint Omers, and promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would delyuer the Castell: vpon thys worde they of saint Omers gathered together seuen hundred foote men, and fiue hundred horsemen, and poynted wyth the spie, that the fourth daye of Februarie, they would come thether, and when the false knaue knew the day, he told Mounsire Pontdormie Capitaine of Heddyng, which incontinent filled the castell with men of warre, and layde bushements on euery side, and had layde the ordinaunce, all on the one syde of the Castell, that waye that the Flemings should come. The men of warre of saint Omers were conueyed by their spie, mistrusting nothing, to a posterne which was little vsed, and when there were as many in, as the french men thought sufficient, they let fall the Portcolis: Then Mounsire Pontdormie cried, slay, slay, then the Flemings wist that they were betrayed, and put themselues to fight for their lyues, that seyng Mounsire Pountormie, commaunded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and furie, that the flame was so great and fierce, that it brent the sayde Lorde Pontdormie, and. xxvij. of hys companions all Gentlemen, the trayne was so hastily fired, that they had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight ten of the Flemings were slayne, and thirtie kept themselues so hardily together, that their liues were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remuant that entred, lept ouer the Castell wall, and so saued themselues, and tolde newes to their horsemen, which were without, which heering the mischaunce, returned toward saint Omers.

Treason at Heddyng Castell.

Sunday the fift day of Marche, were receyued into London, Mounsire de Beuer Lord of Camphere, Admyral of Flaunders, and the President of Malines, called Maister Iohn de la Coos, and Maister Iohn de la Gache, as Ambassadours from the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the low countryes, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zeland: and on Tewesday they were brought to the king, to Bridewell, which nobly them enterteyned, and then they shewed how the Emperors maiesty had commaunded them to obaye the king of England, as Protector and Gouernor, wherfore they and all theirs, were at hys commaundement, and if they had done otherwise, and not obayed him as their gouernor, they asked him mercy, then the king and they talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadoures demaunded three thinges.

Ambassadors of Flaūders.

Articles demaunded of king Henry in the behalfe of the Emperour.

1 First, they demaunded the Lady Mary the kinges onely daughter, to be deliuered to them out of hande, and she to be named Emprise, and to take possession of al the low countries, and to be gouernor of the same, this article was not agreed to, for causes.

2 Also that all such sommes of money, as the king should geue with her in maryage for a dower to be made to her, should be payed incontinent this article was also denied.

3 Thirdely,

3 Thirdely, that the king of England himselfe, should passe the Sea and make warre in Fraunce, the next Sommer, to this the king sayed he would take aduisement.

Thursday the. ix. day of March, at seauen of the clocke in the morning there came a Gentleman in poste, from the Lady Margaret Gouernesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewyng how that the foure and twentie day of February, the siege of Pauia, where the French king had lien long, was raysed by force of battayle, and the French king himselfe taken prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples called Myngnouale, and the Marques of Piscaire, and other the Emperors Capitains the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, and how the Duke of Albany with seauen thousande men, was going to Naples, and how the Byshop of Rome was become French against the Emperour, and had sent his Cosyn in ayde of the French king, wyth a great power. The same day the President of Roan and Iohn Iokin, were going to the courte (for they had not yet spoken with the king) and in Holborne in their way was tidings brought them, of the taking of the king their Maister, & of the losse of the field, which hering this misaduenture, returned to their lodging sorowfull, and within short space returned to the Regent of Fraunce. It was thought surely ỳ the king of England, would haue had peace with the French king, if this chaūce had not happened, for al the people of England, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entreating, in the time of warre, & also the king was displeased with them, for enhaūsing his coine there, which was a cause that money was dayly conueied out of the realme, & many other causes there were of grudge.

The French king taken prisoner at Pauia.

The Bishop of Rome become French against the Emperor.

Saterday the. xj. day of Marche, in the Citie of London for these tydinges, were made great fiers and triumph, and the Maior and Aldermen road about the Citie with trumpettes, and much wyne was layed in diuers places of the Citie, that euery man myght drinke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadours of Rome, of Flaunders, and Venice, had a great banquet made in a goodly tent, which pleased them well, and as they returned homeward, all the streates were full of harnised men and Cressets, attending on the Constables, which they praysed much.

A triumph for the taking of the French king.

Sonday the. xij. of Marche, the king accompanied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, & Venice, of Millaine & Florence, roade in his estate to Paules Church, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, & a. xj. Prelats waighted on him in pontificalles, & after Masse was done, the quere sang *Te Deum*, & the Minstrels playd on euery side, & when all was done, the king returned to Bridewel, and there kept a solempne dinner. The Bishop of Scotlande was much marked this day, for whensoeuer he came to the court before this time, his apparel was sūpteous, his whood was euer Veluet or crimosin satin: but after the taking of the French king, he ware onely blacke chamlet, by which token men iudged his French hart.

From the. ix. day of Marche to the. xvj. day, the king had no mo letters, of the maner of battaile of Pauie, and that day he receyued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a Gentleman called Gropayne: when the king had redde the letter, he came into the Queenes chamber, and their the sayd Gropaine declared the manner of the siege, and how well it was planted, and how the Emperors men entered the French campe by force, and threw downe their bastiles, and fought with the Frenchmen, within their campe, and tooke their king prisoner in the same, and many other which was maruell. For when the French king entred Italy, he had in his gard. xj. hundred men, and of speres furnished two thousand three hundred & fifty, and of light horsemen eyght hundred and. xx. and of footemen. lvij. thousand and of these the Duke of Albany had but eyght thousande so that there remayned with the French king nine and forty thousand, nine hundred and fifty men, wherof was taken. xiiij. thousande and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance, which were twelue great Bombardes of brasse, and foure and twentie great Canon peeces. xxiiij. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eight other peces. After the fielde was done, the French king was put in the

The true reporte of the taking of the French king.

custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, which much comforted hym, and prayed his valiauntnesse, and prayed him to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, then he desired to wright to his mother, which was to him graunted, the very wordes were these.

The french kings letter written to his mother when he was prisoner.

To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce nothing is left but the honor, and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shall recomfort you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the whych liberally hath bene graunted to me: beseching you to regarde the extremitie of your selfe, in ensuing your accostomed wisedome. For I hope that at the length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infauntes and mine, suppliyng you to geue saufeconduite, to passe and returne from Spaine, to this berer that goeth toward the Emperor, to know in what wise I shall be intreated, and thus right hnmbly to your good grace, I haue me recommended: This subscrybed by your humble and obedient sonne Fraunces.

The Cardinall first began to suppresse Abbayes.

This season the Cardinall obteyned licence of the Bishop of Rome, to suppresse diuers Abbayes, to the entent to erect two Colleges, one at Oxford and another at Ipswich, and to endue them with the landes: which Colleges he began so sumptuously, and the scholers were so prowde, that euery person iudged, that the ende would not be good, as you shall heere, fiue yeres hereafter.

The Scots returned into Scotlande.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the xix. day of March, but because the French king was taken, his commission for the most part was determined, and so he and all his companie tooke their leaue of the king and without any rewarde returned into Scotland, the fourth day of Aprill.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperour.

In this moneth of Marche, the king sent Cutbert Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wingfield, Chauncelor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and knight of the Garter, into Spaine to the Emperour, for great causes concernyng the takyng of the french king and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraunce, on euery side. For so the king of England and his Counsaile were agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed againe into Flaunders.

Commissions.

The Counsaile remembring that it was determined, that the king in proper person should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thinges, great treasure & plentie of money, must needes be had in a redinesse: wherefore by the Cardinall were deuised straunge Commissions, and sent in the ende of March to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, which were the greatest men of euery shire: & there were priuie instructions sent to them, to say & order the people, & the tenor was, that the sixt part of euery mans substaunce, should without delay be payed in money or plate, to the king, for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chiefe Commissioner for London, sent for sir William Bayly knight, then Maior of the Citie, and the Aldermen, and diuers head Commoners, and sayd to them in maner folowyng. You the kinges welbeloued friendes and subiectes, of the Citie of London. I must declare to you, how the king contrary to his awne minde and will, but compelled of very force, is determined to enter into a new war, and for the more explanation of the truth, you shall vnderstande, that after that Fraunces the French king that now is, had obteyned the Crowne and scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he most humbly sued to the king our mayster for peace, loue and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes to keepe the league then concluded, and also to pay to Lady Mary Queene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and dowar, to her graunted by king Lewys her husband. After this he by his Ambassadors, humblie desired the Citie of Tournay, which king Lewys before tyme had loste: the king which woulde that the Citie of Tournay should be no cause of grudge, betweene him and the French king, consented that for certaine summes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the more to bind amitie betwene them, the king was content, that a communication of mariage shoulde bee had, betweene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the Ladie Marie, Princes of Englande, yet for to entreate more loue, familiaritie, and acquaintaunce, the king to his great cost and charge passed the sea, and met in person with the French king,

The proposition of the Cardinall.

king, thinkyng that by reason of personall sight and actuall communication, the stable and firme loue, should growe betweene them, then by writyng at which tyme vndoubtedly thought, that there could no more loue be knit betwene two persons. were couenauntes made and sworne, and the king our maister sayde to the French Brother, now that you and I be thus knit, I require you to kepe firme peace, & amitie, with my nephew the Emperour: and also suffer not Duke Iohn of Albany, to go into Scotland, for puttyng the yong king my nephew in ieopardie of his person, wherfore if you loue me, in especiall keepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and all other couenauntes betweene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer Prince a surer friend, then you shall haue of me. Then the French king layde his hand in maine (sayd the Cardinall) and sware by the othe of a king, he would obserue and kepe firmely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the kings were departed, and that the Emperour was come to the king to Calice: the French king sent Mounsire de la Roche Baron with letters, declaring that he was in perfect league and amitie with the Emperour, and this notwithstandyng, he within lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche to inuade the Emperors lande, and made warre in Nauerre, and other places. The king our maister heeryng this, of his meere charitie sent me, and other Nobles with a great traine to Calice, to knowe by whom the warre began, for he promised to be enemie to him that brake first. To which place came from the French king, his Chauncelor, and Mousire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperour came his Chaucelor, and the Lord Cheuers, and there in open counsaile, the Emperors Ambassadors did shewe the French kinges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced & began the warre: to which point the french Ambassadors could not aunswere. What should I say, the warre was open on both parties, I sent to the French king Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in no wise he would consent: wherefore I with my company returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothing, the French kinges fayth towarde our Mayster) yet for a more suretie I obtayned a saieconduit for the Englishe Marchauntes, that they should go to Burdeaux, and vpon suretie of that, our Marchauntes passed, yet he contrary to his safeconduit, tooke the Marchauntes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, which the Turke would not haue done. The king sent gently to him his Herault Clarenseux, desiryng him to redresse all these enormities, and to pay him his summes of money, due to him, and to the Queene his sister, for her dowar, which to do he refused and denied, which thinges you knowe, the king of his honour might not suffer. Wherefore mightily he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually both on land and sea, and inuaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their townes, Castelles and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Some, and profered battaile to the Frenchmen, in their awne Countrie, and hath brought the Countrie in such penury and wretchednesse, that in many yeres it will not be recouered.

The saiyng of the Kyng of England.

The othe of the French king.

And the more to hurt and dammage the French king, the king hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, which was the greatest strength on the french part: by whose power and ayde of other, which had great summes of money of the king our maister, the French king in person is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pauia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the king our maister, and that for great reason: for our maister sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, and the Marques Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crownes, so that they would fight with the French king: For the which money they assented, and so gaue battaile, in the which they slue. xij. thousand men, & drowned seuen thousand, and. xiij. thousand taken prisoners, and now sith God hath geuen vs victorie, the king remembring the saiyng of the Poet that saieth: It is more maystry to vse victory gotten, then to get it, thinketh it necessary now in all hast, to make an army royall, and he in person to passe the seas, and to recouer his right inheritaunce, both of the Crowne of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascoyne, Aniow, and Maine, the writynges whereof comprehend-

yng the very title, you may see heere present if ye list, but I doubt not but you know them well ynough. And now I aske you this question, whether that you thinke it conuenient, that the king should passe with an armie or not, for the king will do by the aduise of his subiectes: to the which many sayde yea, yea.

The Cardinals demaūd of a subsidie.

Well sayd the Cardinall, then must he be made able to go like a Prince, which cannot be without your aydes, and for to shewe you what the Archbyshop of Cantorbury and I which be primates of the realme haue done, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes appertainyng to the Church, the thirde part, and the temporall Lordes, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the sixt part, and to ieopard their bodyes in paine and trauaile, and now sith they which shall aduenture theyr lyues, doth profer the sixt part, what should they geue which abide at home? Forsooth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were to little, not meanyng that the king so asketh. For he demaundeth only no more of fiftie pound, the sixt part, and so vpon euery fiftie, aboue fiftye pound, to what summe soeuer it amount to, the sixt part, that is thre shillings foure pence of the pound, and from. xx. pound, to fiftie pound, and so vpward two shillinges and. viij. pence of the pound, & from. xx. pound to. xx. shillings. xij. pence of the pound, and thus to be leuied accordyng to the first valuation, as appereth by your awne valuation, which is but a small matter to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonyed, at last the one sayd, my Lord, sithe the last valuation, diuers Marchauntes be decayed, by the seas, and suretiship, and other wayes, so that valuation can not be had. Then aunswered the Cardinall, sirs, speake not to breake that thing that is concluded, for some shall not pay the tenth part, and some more, it were better that some shoulde suffer indigence, then the king at this tyme should lacke, and therfore beware and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heddes: But I will speake to the king to be good to you, so that if he go not ouer the sea in person, then you shall haue your money redeliuered, but first let the money be gathered, and lay it where you will, and if the king nede it not, you may take it againe.

The Cardinalles threateninge.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior and his brethren and other head Cominers, they tooke their leaue, and euery day after by the space of a fortnight, he sent for a certayne number of Comyners, and tolde them lyke tale, but some spake suche wordes to him, and some goyng from him, that they were sent to warde.

The saiyng of the Clergy.

Nowe were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euerye assembly the pristes aunswered, that they would pay nothing, except it were graunted by conuocation, otherwise not: for they said that neuer king of England did aske any mans goods but by an order of the lawe, and this commission is not by the order of the lawe: wherefore they sayde, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the king, and to the common wealth. Thys infamie was spoken in preachings, and euery where.

The grudge of the common people.

When thys matter was opened through Englande, how the great men toke it, it was maruayle, the pore curssed, the riche repugned, the light wits rayled, but in conclusion, all people curssed the Cardinall, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the lawes and libertie of England. For they sayde, if men should geue their goodes by a commission, then were it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened in this time at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the commissioners sat for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt part: but of their awne mere minde, for the loue they bare to the king, they graunted the twelth part, that is twentie pence of the pound, the commissioners hearing this, sayde they would send to the Cardinall, desiring him to be content with this offer, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that syr Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the Countrey, the sayde syr Richard tooke vpon him to carie, and roade to the Cardinall: which therewith was sore grieued, and sayde, but because that the

Lorde

Lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of, and not concluded, it should cost the Lorde Lisle his head, and his landes should be solde to pay the king the values, that by him and you foolish commissioners he had lost, and all your lyues at the kings will: these wordes sore astonied syr Rychard Weston, but he sayde little. Stowte wordes of the Cardinal. Sir Richard Weston.

Then the Cardinall wrote letters to all commissioners of the realme that they should keepe their first instruction, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon paine of their lyues, and euery man to be valued, according to the valuation taken in the. xiiij. yere. This last poynt sore touched the Citie of London, for the Cardinall in the. xiiij. yere sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapeleine, to the Chapter house of Paules, promising to the Londoners that whatsoeuer they valued themselues at, that no man should knowe it but the king, the Cardinall, and he, vpon which promise, many persons for their more credite, and to be higher esteemed valued themselues at a greater substaunce then they were worth: thinking neuer to lend or pay by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were payde, accordyng as men were sessed, and not by maister Tunes booke, when men valued themselues, not knowyng what should succeede. Presidents are daungerous.

Now in this time was that subtile valuation layd to their charge, which when they perceyued, they murmured muche and sayde, they woulde paye nothing, except the kings lawes, vnder which they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the sayde money, but for all that could be perswaded, sayde, lyed, and flattered, the demaunde could not be assented to, saying, that they that sent forth such commissioners were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as Traytors. So that in all the realme were Billes set vp in all places: Some Billes sayde that the king had not payde that he borowed: Some sayde that the subsedie amounted treble, more then he had bestowed: other sayde whatsoeuer was graunted, no good came of it: and other sayde that the Cardinall sent all the money to Rome, thus was the muttering through all the realme, with curses and wepings, that pitty it was to behold. The muttering of the people.

Duryng thys season that the commissioners sat, and that the Bishop of London, and other the kings Ambassadors were abidyng winde to sayle into Spaine to the Emperour (as you haue heard rehersed) Mounsire Pratt the Emperours Ambassadour, which was sore angrie for Iohn Iokyns commyng into Englande, as you haue hard before, departed priuely out of the realme of Englande, the. ix. day of Aprill, wythout speaking with the king or the Cardinall, and so much did by safeconduit, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperour before the Ambassadours of England came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauor that the Emperour and his counsayle shewed to the Englishe men, began then to decay, and to shew themselues vnkinde to the Englishe nation without cause, as you shall hereafter perceyue.

In thys yere the kyng folowyng of his Hauke, lept ouer a diche beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Moody, a footeman had not lept into the water and lift vp his head, which was fast in the clay, he had bene drowned: but God of his goodnesse preserued him. The icopardie the king was in.

This yere at Whitsontyde died Thomas duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Suffolke. The death of Thomas Duke of Norffolke.

In the beginning of thys. xvij. yere, the commissioners in all shires sat, for the leuie of the sixt part of euery mannes goods, but the burden was so grieuous, that it was denied, and the commons in euerye place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When thys mischiefe was shewed to the king, he sayde that he neuer knew of that demaund, and therefore with great diligence, he sent his letters to the Citie of London, and to all other places, in the which the king gently wrote, that he woulde demaunde no somme certayne, but such as his louyng subiectes would graunt to him of their good mindes, towarde the maintenaunce of hys warres: wherefore the Cardinall, the twentie and six day of Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsayle 1525 17

of the same, with the most substanciall persons of the common counsayle, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he sayde: the king our souereigne Lorde, most graciously considereth the great loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beare vnto hym, and where lyke louing subiectes, without any grudge or againe say, of your louing mindes you haue graunted the sixt part, of all your goodes and substaunce, freely to be payde, according to the first valuation, the which louyng graunt and good minde, he so kindely accepted, that it was maruaile to see. But I my selfe doe consider the great losses, and other charges that daylie hath, and doth to you growe, and that notwithstandyng anye losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withstood nor againesayde, any of the kings demaunds or commissions, as it appereth now of late, of which doyngs, I haue highly the king enformed, for the which he gaue you hartie thankes. Then I kneeled downe to his grace, shewyng him both your good myndes towarde him, and also the charges that you continually sustaine, the which at my desire and peticion, was content to call in, and abrogate the same commission, and where he by reason of your awne grauntes, might haue demaunded the sayde somme as a verie debt, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and will nothing take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherefore take here wyth you the kinges letter, and let it be read to the commons, and I doubt not but you wyll gladly doe, as louyng subiectes should doe.

The saiyng of the Cardinall to the Londoners.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not sayde, that the king had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the Citezens would haue aunswered the Cardinall, that they neuer made no such graunt, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they held their peace, and departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the liyng of the Cardinall, and openly saiyng that he was the verie cause, and occasion of this demaunde, and would pluck the peoples hartes from the king.

The cõmon counsayle.

The xxviij. day of Aprill, in the common counsayle of the Citie, was read the kings letter, according to the effect aboue rehearsed, wherefore the Citezens sent foure Aldermen, and twelue Cõminers to Hampton court to geue thankes to the Lord Cardinall, which for businesse as was sayde could not speake with him, wherefore they returned not content. Then euery Alderman assembled hys warde, in their places accustomed, and gently moued them of a beneuolence to be graunted to the king, the which they openly denied, saiyng: that they had payde ynough before, with many euill wordes.

The eyght day of May, the Cardinall agayne sent for the Maior and his brethren, which shewed them what they had done: then sayde the Cardinall, you haue no such commission to examine any man, I am your commissioner, I will examine you one by one my selfe, and then I shall knowe the good will that you beare to your prince, for I will aske of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it aunswered to the Cardinall, by a counsayler of the Citie, that by the lawe there might no such beneuolence be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrarie to the statute made the first yere of Richard the thirde, also some persons commyng before your grace, maye for feare graunt that, that all dayes of their lyfe they shall repent, and some to wynne your fauour, will graunt more then they be able to paye of their awne, and so runne in other mens debtes, so that by dreadfull gladnesse, and fearefull boldnesse, men shall not be maisters of themselues, but as men dismaied, shall graunt that, that their wyfes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall heard this saiyng verie paciently, and answered: Sir I maruaile that you speake of Richard the thirde, which was an vsurper and a murtherer of his awne Nephewes: then of so euill a man, howe can the actes be good, make no such allegations, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace sayde the counsayler, although he did euill, yet in his time were many good actes made, not by him onely, but by the consent of the bodye of the whole realme, which is the Parliament. Then Syr Wyllyam Bayly Lorde Maior kneeled downe and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted by the common counsayle of London, that euery Alderman should sit in his awne warde, for a beneuolence to be graunted, which he perceyued to be against the law, that the same act by the same cõmon counsaile, might

The answere made to the Lorde Cardinall by a counsaylor of the Citie of London.

be reuoked and no otherwise: well sayde the Cardinall I am content. But now will I enter into the kings commission: you Maior, and you maister Aldermen, what will you geue? my Lorde sayde the Maior, I praye you pardon me, for if I should enter into any graunt, it might fortune to cost me my life: your lyfe sayde the Cardinall, that is a marualous word, for your good will towarde the king, will the Citezens put you in ieopardie of your lyfe, that were straunge: For if they would that waye, then must the king come with strong power them to oppresse, wherefore speake no more suche words, and with that he studied a little and sayde: My Lorde Maior, let you and your Citezens, if you be grieued with any thing in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashion come to me, and I shall so entreat you that you shall be content, and no displeasure arise, and so I praye you shewe your neighbors, and so the Maior for that day departed. The flattering of the Cardinall.

The Maior did wisely not to assent to graunte to anye thing, for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaile would neuer haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common counsaile, that their act y was made that euery Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: wherevpon the saide act was anulled: and then was it declared, that euery man shoulde come to the Cardinall, and to graunt priuily what he would, with this saiyng the Citizens were sore grieued, then the Maior gently shewed them, how he durst warrant, that they should be entreated gently, and exhorted them to go thether when they were sent for, which saiyng nothinge pleased them: and then in a fury they would haue had Richard Gresham, and Iohn Hewster Mercers, and Richard Gibson Sergeant at armes and merchant Taylor, banished out of the common counsaile, and so without aunswere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied, so that the Commissioners could bring nothing to passe, and yet they assayed both by fayre wayes and foule: some spake faire and flattered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet coulde not bring their purpose about. For in Kent the Lorde Cobham was Commissioner, and handeled men roughly, and by reason one Iohn Skudder, aunswered him clubbishly, he sent him to the Tower of London: For which doyng the people muttered, and grudged against the Lord Cobham, and saide expresly, that they would pay no money, and then they began to accompt the loanes and subsidies graunted, so that they rekened the kings treasure innumerable, for they accompted that the king had taken of this realme, twenty fiftenes, sith the xiiij. yeare of his reigne, and in this grudge, they euill entreated sir Thomas Bulleyn at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the Commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntingdon shire, diuers resisted the Commissioners to sit, which were apprehended, and sent to the Fleete.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke this season in like commission, and by gentle handeling he caused the riche Clothiers to assent, and graunt to geue the sixt part, and when they came home to their houses they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weuers, and other Artyficers, which were wont to be set a worke, and haue their liuings by cloth making, and sayd, Sirs we be not able to set you a worke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefore trust to your selues, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to weepe, and yong folkes to crye, and men that had no worke, began to rage, and assemble themselues in companyes. The Duke of Suffolke heeryng of this, commaunded the Constables, that euery mans harnesse should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumor waxed more greater, and the people rayled openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Drurie, and threatned them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other townes about, there rebelled foure thousand men, and put themselues in harnesse, and rang the belles *alarme*, and began to gather still more: then the Duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this began to rayse men, but he coulde get but a small number, and they that came to him sayd, that they would Insurrection in Suffolke.

defend him from all perilles, if he hurt not their neighbors, but agaynst their neighbours they would not fight: Yet the Gentlemen that were with the Duke did so much, that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The Duke of Norffolke pacifieth the Commons.

The Duke of Norffolke high Treasurer and Admirall of Englande, heeryng of this, gathered a great power in Norffolke, and came toward the Commons, and of his noblenesse he sent to the Commons to knowe their intent, which aunswered that they would liue and die in the kinges causes, and to the king to be obedient: when the Duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they ment. Then he asked who was their Capitaine, and bade that he should speake: then a well aged man of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graunted with good will. My Lord sayd this man, whose name was Iohn Grene, sithe you aske who is our Capitaine, forsooth his name is Pouertie, for hee and his Cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs to this doyng, for all these persons and many mo, which I would were not here, liue not of our selues, but all wee liue by the substantiall occupiers of this Countrie, and yet they geue vs so little wages for our workemanship, that scarcely wee be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we, our wyues, and children, and if they by whome we liue, be brought in that case, that they of their little, can not helpe vs to earne our liuyng, then must we perish, and die miserably. I speake this my Lorde for that the clothmakers haue put all these people, and a farre greater number from worke, the husbandmen haue put away their seruantes, and geuen vp housholde, they say, the king asketh so much, that they bee not able to doe as they haue done before this tyme, and then of necessitie must we die wretchedly: wherefore my Lorde, now accordyng to your wisedome consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to here their complaint, and well he knew that it was true: then he sayde, neighbors seuer your selues a sonder, let euery man depart to his home, and choose foorth foure that shall aunswere for the remnant, and on my honour, I will send to the king, and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obteyne, so that you will depart, then all they aunswered they woulde, and so they departed home.

Pouertie. Necessitie.

At the two Dukes requestes, Commissioners of great aucthoritie were sent to them, then the Duke of Norffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke, came to Bery, and thether came many people of the Countrey, in their shirtes, and halters about their neckes, meekely desyring pardon for their offences: the Dukes so wisely handeled themselues, that the Commons were appeased, and in especiall one Mayster Iermyn, tooke much paynes in ridyng and goyng, betweene the Lordes and Commons: then the demaund of money seased in all the Realme, for well it was perceyued, that the Commons would none pay.

After this, the two Dukes came to London, and brought with them the chiefe Capitaynes of the rebellion, which were put in the Flete, and then the king came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Wherevpon this matter, he assembled a great Counsaile, and openly he sayde, that his minde was neuer, to aske any thing of his Commons, which might sound to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherefore he woulde knowe of whom it was long, that the Commissions were so straight, to demaunde the sixt part of euery mans substaunce: the Cardinall excused himselfe and sayde, that when it was moued in counsell, how to make the king rich, the kinges Counsaile, and especialy the Iudges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any somme by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole counsaile it was done, and tooke God to witnesse, that he neuer maligned nor desired the hinderaunce of the Commons, but like a true Counsaylour, deuised to enriche the king: And the spirituall men say, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Ioseph caused the king of Egipt, to take the fift part of euery mannes goodes, but because euery man layeth the burden from him, I am content to take it on me, & to endure the fame and noise of the people, for my good will toward the king, and to the comfort of you my Lords, and other the kings Counsaylors, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well sayd the king, some haue enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should

The excuse of the Cardinall.

thanked the king. Then lette
howe to declare the kinges pardon
neuer assented to the first demaunde
Lordes and the Iudges, and other of the king
and that the Cardinall folowed the minde of the wh
contrary one to another, which were well marked. A
at the humble peticion, and supplication of the Cardina
were demaunded, by the kinges auctoritie royall, were
wherfore the Commissioners willed the people to pray for
tooke all this for a mocke, and sayde God saue the king, fo
ynough, the Commons woulde heere no prayse spoken of the
so much.

The xix. day of May the Cardinall sent for the Maior and
commoners, and made the Maior to sit downe by him, and then
king was determined, in proper person to passe the sea into Fra
asked of the Citizens of London, and his other subiectes, an ayd
which request (he said) that the Londoners were at all times
subiectes, but sith the king considereth, the great fall of the F
prisoner, and that dayly he hath sute made to him for peace, gre
fite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to him deliuered
I trust you shall haue peace, and therefore at my humble request,
you, of all these sommes of money, that of you were demaunded:
not passed the seas, although the money had bene gathered, suerly i
restored againe, and consequently the king thanketh you as hartely, a
thanke his subiectes: and forasmuch as peace, is not yet concluded, I couns
your selues, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to saie that you be the ky
goodes at his will and pleasure, so that your louyng mindes towardes him
Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane said the Cardinall.

Then the Maior and his companye kneled downe and most hartely thanked
him, and so departed. The next daye all this was rehersed to the common counsa
which humbly thanked the king for the pardon: but two thinges them sore displeased, one
was that the Cardinall bad them saye, they were the kinges body and goodes, they sayd
that they vsed no dissimulation, for they would not saye they were the kinges, but they
thought and were the kings in dede, and not in saiyng: the second was, that the Cardinall
excused himselfe, that he was ignorant of the first commission: For all they knewe and
were present, when he himselfe made to them the first motion, and what soeuer was saide
by the Recorder, in his excuse, was taken as a cloke for the raine, and a dissimulation or
a mocke, for wisemen perceyued all the handelyng of the matter: after the king had par-
doned euery offendor.

The xxix. day of May the Lordes sat in the Starre chamber, and thether were brought
one Deuereux a Gentleman of Huntingdon shire (which woulde not suffer the Commis-

sioners

...rged, and had money to bring
..., but not an end of inward grudge
...ll, and to all those Gentlemen, that
...demaund.
...handishe men of Germany, called the Bowres, rose
...eth thousand, and rebelled agaynst the Princes of Ger-
... were slaine and destroyed.
...all men, with the ayde of the Scottes, to the number of.
... robberyes in Englande. For to represse this nest of theeues
...mer, and sir Christopher Dacres, with a great company of
...n dyuers men came, and submitted themselues, but the great
...Iountaynes of Cheuiot, and dayly skirmished wyth the Englishe-
...e be taken: but after long liyng abroade, they scuered, and many

...re how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the which
... in Sussex, the which was verie commodious to the countrey: but
...t a riotus company, disguised and vnknowne, with painted faces
...same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put
...ne, and promised them that whensoeuer they rang the Bell, that
... great power and defend them. Thys doyng came to the eare of
..., which caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the Ca-
...ere imprisoned, and sore punished.
... about this season, by his power Legantine, sent a Chapeleyne of his,
...ohn Aleyn, a man of more learning then vertue, or good conscience, to
...s religious: this priest road in his Gowne of Veluet, with a great trayne, &
... into euery house of religion with procession, as though the Legate had bene
...oke such great sommes for his visitation, that the religious sore were grieued,
...ured much against it, and in especial, for they were charged with great sommes
...y to the king, and now this sodaine visitation or * Predation, cleane shaued them.
The common people spake much against this, and also they sayde, that the Cardinall by visitations, making of Abbottes, probates of testaments, grauntyng of faculties, licenses, and other pollynges in his Courtes Legantines, had made his treasure egall with the kinges, and yet euery yere he sent great sommes to Rome: this was their communication euer against the Cardinall and his high aucthoritie, and the spirituall men most disdayned it.

Elizabeth Blunt the mother of the Duke of Richemond.

You shall vnderstande, the king in his freshe youth was in the cheynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to Syr Iohn Blunt knight, which damosell in synging, daunsing, and in all goodly pastimes, exceeded all other, by the which goodly pastimes, shee wanne the kings hart: and she againe shewed him such fauour, that by him she bare a goodly man childe, of beautie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought vp lyke a Princes childe, and when he was six yere of age, the King made him Knight, and called him Lorde Henrye Fitz Roy, and on Sunday beyng the.

xviij. day of Iune, at the Manor or place of Bridewell, the sayde Lorde led by two Erles, was created Erle of Notyngham, and then he was brought back againe by the sayde two Erles: then the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke led him into the great chamber againe, and the king created him Duke of Richemond and Sommerset: and the same daye was the Lorde Henry Courteney Erle of Deuonshire, and Cosyn Germaine to the king, created Marques of Excester, and the Lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the French Quene the kings sister, a childe of two yere olde, was created Erle of Lincolne, and syr Thomas Manners Lorde Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and syr Henry Clifforde, was created Erle of Cumberland, and the Lorde Fitz Water syr Robert Radcliffe was created Viscount Fitz Water, and syr Thomas Bulleyne Treasorer of the Kings housholde, was created Viscount Rocheford, and at those creations were kept great feastes and disguisings.

The creation of the Duke of Richmond.

After this the Cardinall tooke vpon him as the kings chiefe counsayler, to see a reformation in the order of the kings houshold, wherein he made certaine ordynaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, which was then newely begonne: Also at that tyme he ordeyned a counsayle, and stablished another household for the Ladie Marie, then beyng Princesse of the realme, so that all thing that was done, was done by him, and without his assent nothing was done: he toke so much vpon him, and made the king beleue that all thinges should be to his honor, and that he needed not to take any payne, so that to him was the charge of all things committed, at the which wise men becked, and light men laughed, thinking great foly in his highe presumption. And at this time, the sayde Cardinall gaue to the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lease of the Lorde of saint Ihonnes, and on which he had done great coste. Therefore the king of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his Manor of Richemond at his pleasure, and so he laye there at certaine times: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had beene king Henry the seuenthes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinall kepe house in the Manor royall of Richemond, which king Henry the seuenth so highly esteemed, it was a maruayle to heare how they grudged and said, see a Boochers Dogge lye in the Manor of Richemond: these with manye opprobrious wordes were spoken agaynst the Cardinall, whose pride was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of most men.

The Cardinal reformeth the kinges housholde.

They called him Boochers Dogge because he was a Boochers sonne.

In this season the French kings mother Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the realme, assembled together, concerning the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solempne Ambassador to the Emperour, with articles (as they thought reasonable) for the deliueraunce of the Frenche king, and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the king of Englande, for a safeconduit for an Ambassadour to be sent into England, for a treatie of peace, which to the messenger was graunted and deliuered.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Iohn Iokyn nowe called Mounsire de Vaux, which as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Maister Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcommed of the Cardinall, and there betwene them were such communications, that at the sute of the sayde Iohn Iokyn, a truce was concluded, from the xiij. day of Iuly for fortie dayes, betwene England and Fraunce, both on the sea and on the lande. Full well wist Iohn Iokyn what he ment, when he desired peace for fortie dayes, for in that season the Picards might haue a quiet haruest to carie in their corne, which they should not haue, if the garrisons of Calice and Guysnes: and other within the Englishe pale, had not bene restrayned from warre, and also the Fishermen of Deepe, Bulleyn and Traiport, had quyet fishyng, by this truce, for the Nauie of England, was come home to harborough, thys truce grieued the men of warre on both parties, it was so sodaine that they wist not well what to doe.

Iohn Iokin now called Mounsier de Vaux Ambassadors fro Fraunce.

A truce take w Fraunce for fortie dayes.

When the Fleminges hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in the same, they began to rayle and sayde, that the king of Englande had not done truely with them, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishe men aunswered, that they had

no-

no Ambassadour in Englande, and if that they had had any, they should haue bene made priuie, but the king would send them no worde of his affayres, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their maister, nor yet them no such seruise.

The French men in this season, enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newdike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the French men passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothing done to them, the Flemyngs were sore displeased with the English men of Calice.

In the latter ende of Iuly came into Englande Mounsire Bryond, chiefe President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence at the Manor of Richmond, and when hys commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the auctboritie were sufficient, because the king his mayster was prisoner in Spaine: but then he shewed auctboritie, geuen to the Ladie Regent, and certaine nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the French king in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all things that did or might concerne the realme during his absence. When the commission was thought reasonable, then was rehersed to the Frenchmen their doublenesse, their vnstedfastnesse, and how they had behaued themselues toward the king of Englande: then they aunswered, if we haue offended you, you haue vs punished, for you haue brent our townes, slayne our people, destroyed our Countrey, so that you haue brought the lowe parties to a long miserie without recouery, and therefore sithe we be the leesers for our offence, yet wee sue for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultation, they offered many offers: first to paye all such sommes of money as were due, both for the yerely tribute, and also for the Citie of Tournay, and the Frenche Queenes dower, and farther to recompence the king of Englande his expences done in the warres.

A truce concluded with Fraunce by the Ladie Margaret for fiue monthes.

Duryng thys treatie, worde was brought to the king of England, that there was a truce sodainely concluded, betwene the realme of Fraunce and the Ladye Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and gouernour of Flaunders and the low Countries, for the space of fiue Months, so that no entercourse should be betwene them for Marchaunts, but by safeconduit, and that thys Proclamation was proclaymed at saint Omers, the first daye of August, wherevpon the king was contented, that a peace should be taken from the xiiij. day of August, to the first day of December, which was proclaymed in London: and by this truce euery Englishe man without safeconduyt might passe into Fraunce, and they likewise into England. When thys truce was proclaymed, the people murmured and sayde, nowe hath the French men gotten their fishyng quietly, and if they had bene kept from that, they had bene vndone, and so with faire wordes they helpe themselues, which if we haue warre againe, shal hurt vs, for this Herryng shal vittayle their townes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

Ambassadors into Denmarke.

This yere the king sent Doctor Henry Standishe, Bishop of saint Asse and sir Iohn Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to common and entreat with the nobles of the Country for the reduction of kyng Christiern, to his realme, crowne, and dignitie, but all that coulde be sayd or perswaded could not bryng the Danes to any reason, they hated him so for his great crueltie, and in especiall for the great tirany that he committed at Stokeholme in Swethen, where he desyred a great number of his nobles to a banket, and after the banket, strake of their heades. When the Ambassadors of Englande saw that they coulde not bring him in againe: they then began to require, that his sonne might haue the crowne and dominion, which neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of Lady Isabell, sister to the Emperour Charles the fift which also made great labor and instance for the same: but the Danes aunswered they woulde none of his procreation, for they sayde, the sonne would folow the father, or else at the least he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and so with this aunswere they departed.

So much did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, both by offers and entreaties, that the king of England and his counsaile, did condiscende to appease, and the more soner because they saw if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the commons, which had

and leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue heard in the last yere. When peace was concluded then were proclimations of the same, sent to euery Citie and good towne, and the. viij. day of September this peace was proclaymed solempnely with a trumpet through the Citie of London, the effect whereof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and the three estates of the same, a peace, league, and amitie, was concluded betweene both the kings of England and Fraunce, and their countries and subiectes, so that the subiectes of eyther realme may lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to by and sell frankely and freely, wythout let or interruption, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken with the Emperor and the Lady Margaret, Gouernesse of Flaunders in no poynt, but that the sayd Emperor and Lady Margaret, and al other the kings old & auncient confederates and alies, were comprehended in the same, and for due restitucion to be made to the frenchmen, there was appointed the reuerend father Cutberd Bishop of London, & for restitution to be made to the Englishmen, was appoynted the chiefe President of Roan.

Peace concluded and proclaymed betweene the king of Englande and Fraunce.

And on the. xj. day of September, was a truce concluded in Spaine, in a towne of Vale Dolito, betwene the Emperour and the French king, from that daye to the ende of December next ensuing, at which time the Emperor had not seene the French kyng, which was conueighed by sea out of Italy into Spaine, to a Castell called Madrill, and there remayned: and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in great ieoperdy, for the which the Frenchmen cared litle, for they sayd that if he died, they should pay no raunsome, and then their realme should be quyet.

A truce proclaymed in Spaine betweene the Emperour and ye french king.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemyngs, wherfore when they had dronke well, they spake largely, and bosted how they had vittayled the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kindely done, to refuse them as olde frendes and make peace with olde enemies, but they did not consider what money the Englishmen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishmen, would not inuade Flaunders, so that they liued quietly, all this they considered not.

In the same moneth this peace was proclaymed, in Paris, Lions, Roan and Amias: by this peace the king of England, should receyue at certaine daies. xx. hundred thousand Crownes, which then was foure hundred thousand pounde sterling, of the which one payment of fiftie thousand pounde was payed in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were about the retinue of Calice, Hammes & Guysnes, were called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Creker wist not how to liue.

The conclusion of the peace.

In the moneth of October were sent into Fraunce, Sir William Fitzwilliam Treasorer of the kings house, and Doctor Taylor, as Ambassadors from the king of England, and were receyued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iourneys at the last, came to the Citie of Lions the. xxiiij day of Nouember, where to them were presented, Wine, Fishe, Fleshe, and Waxe, and they were visited with diuers noble men. And on the. xxvj. daye they were conueyed to the court by two Erles, and at the gate receyued with two Cardinals, and so brought to the Lady Regent, which with much honor them receyued, and then they delyuered the kinges letters, which she tooke in great reuerence, and so with her counsaile, departed into her priuie chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out againe, to whome Doctor Taylor made an eloquent oration in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the king his Maister for very loue, and not for no dred nor nede did not condiscend to peace. To whom the Bishop of Besanson, Chauncellor to the Lady Regent made aunswere: And that done, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with men of great estate, and after that they were conueyed to their lodginges.

Ambassadors sent out of England into Fraunce.

And on Sonday next ensuing, the Ambassadors were conueyed to the Court, and from

thence the Lady regent and all the Court, roade solempnly to the cathedrall Church of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was done, the Lady Regent tooke the two Ambassadors, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand, and so went vp to the high Aulter, and there she layde her hand on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse booke, and there sware to obserue, fulfil, and kepe all the articles and agreementes, concluded in the league and treaty of peace by her Commissioners. And when this was done, the Bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, taking for his antheme. *Quis est homo qui vult vitã: diligit dies videre bonos, inquirere pacem. &c.* In this sermon he much praysed the king of England, which assented to peace, & lauded the Cardinall whome he called the Legat of God, for counsailing him to peace: for now was Fraunce free, and all hostilitie seased, and when this sermon was done, *Te Deum* was song. and then the trumptes blew, and all other instruments musaicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her traine returned to the palace, and there were the Ambassadours highlye feasted, and then Sir William Fitzwilliam tooke his leaue, and came shortely into Englande, leauing behinde hym Doctor Taylor, which taried there till the French king was deliuered.

The league sworne.

When the articles of peace, were knowne to the Emperor and his counsaile, full well wist they that the king of England now would be friend to the French king, wherefore he and hys subiectes, shewed themselues more straunge and vnkinde to the Englishmen, then they had bene accustomed. Insomuch that the English Marchauntes, put vp a supplication to the Emperor, shewing him how their goodes were taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrayned, new imposicions taken of them, and most of all they complayned, that by an act made in Spaine called *Premetica* which ordaineth that euery cloth, should be of a certaine number of threds, the clothes of Englande here could not be solde, to the great hinderaunce of the English Merchauntes: For the Clothiers of Englande know not the number appoynted by the statute, and when they make cloth, they know not to what countrie that cloth shalbe solde, of these thinges the English Marchauntes desired a redresse.

At a day appoynted the Englishmen had an aunswere deliuered them in writyng, conteinyng certaine articles. The first if any wronges be done vnto you, our iustice is open in euery place. The seconde, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be aduised by our Counsaile. The third, as touching your shippes we freely graunt that you shall haue our friendship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you may go at your pleasure, passyng or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or impositions of new: The accident may cause vs so to do, but that shall be in suspence. And finally as touchyng our *Premctica,* made by the Lordes of our counsaile, and by vs affirmed, we will not breake, but we will suffer to the entent that you English Marchauntes, may bring true and well made cloth, for the which you shall be the better welcome: this was the very aunswere that the English Marchauntes had, of the Emperour and his Counsaile.

The king kepeth a still house.

In this Winter was great death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiorned, and the king for to eschue the plague, kept his Christmasse at Eltham with a small number, for no man might come thether, but such as were appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kings house, was called the still Christmasse.

The Cardinall kepeth opē housholde.

But the Cardinall in this season, lay at the Manor of Richmond, and there kept open housholde, to Lordes, Ladyes, and all other that woulde come, with playes and disguisyng in most royall maner: which sore grieued the people, and in especiall the kinges seruauntes, to see him kepe an open Court, and the king a secret Court.

The Cardinal reformeth the kinges housholde.

The Cardinall came to Eltham the. viij. day of Ianuary, and tarved there till the. xxij. day. In which season the Cardinall, and other of the kings counsaile, sat for a direction to be taken in the kinges house, and first it was considered, that the great number of the yomen of ỹ gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age: which had seruauntes in the Court, and so the king was serued with their seruauntes,

nauntes, and not with his awne seruauntes, which was thought not conuenient. Wherefore first the officers seruauntes, were put out of the Court, and many olde officers were put to liue in their Countries, but the king of his bountie enhaunsed their liuinges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pounde annuitie, without attendaunce, and he that had. xl. shillings, had foure pound, and so euery man after that rate, and yong men were put in their rowmes. Then was there. lxiiij. of the garde, which had. xij. pence the day checked, put out of that wages, and they had sixe pence a day vnchecked, and should dwel in their Countries, and come not at the Court, till they were sent for, except it were for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised them, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, and what lamentation was made, when all these persons should depart the Court. Some sayde that poore seruauntes were vndone and must steale: Some saide that they were found of the reuercions of the officers seruice, so that for them was nothing more set out at the dresser, and it was great charitie to finde them. Other sayd that the yomen of the gard, which were put out, were nowe not able to finde themselues and theyr horse, to do the king seruice. Other sayde, that nowe they would poll, and pill in their Countries, and oppresse the poore people, thus euery man had his saiyng.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinaunces, concernyng the kinges house, which be at this day called the statutes of Eltham, the which some sayde were more profitable then honourable.

This Moneth of Ianuary was peace concluded, betwene the realmes of England and Scotland, for three yeres, and sixe Monethes, of the which the Scottes were very glad, and especially the borderers, for they were sore hurt by this warre. A peace made betweene England and Scotland.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor, and his Counsaile, by the Ladie Regent of Fraunce, and all the realme there, for the deliueraunce of Fraunces the Frenche king, and after many communications which tooke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the noble Ladie Margaret, late Duches of Alanson, sister to the French king, with a great companie of Nobles and honourable personages. The Emperour Charles met the sayd Ladie in the Market place of the Citie of Toleto, and her right hartily welcomed, and after that the Duches and her companie had refused to agree to certaine articles, which the French king had offered himselfe, the sayde Duches had licence of the Emperor, to go to Madrill, where the french king was kept as prisoner, & there to know his minde. When she was there, she and other deuised such a way, that the French king should haue scaped, and post horses were layd euery where: this was not so secrete, but the Emperour was thereof enformed, and tooke certaine French men, which confessed how all thinges shoulde haue beene brought to passe. The Duchesse of Alanson heeryng that her priuie deuise was opened, on post horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, leauyng the whole matter at large. Ladie Margaret Duches of Alanson deuised waies for the French king to escape.

But for all this the Lordes of Fraunce ceassed not dayly to sue for the deliueraunce of theyr souereigne Lord, and at last to the Emperour was deliuered a booke for the French kings deliueraunce. For the Emperour sayde he woulde nothing demaunde of him, for hauyng him he had more then he could geue him. Then the French king and his Counsaile, offered a booke conteyning many articles to the Emperour: and when the Emperour had well vnderstand the contentes of the same, he sayde to the French Ambassadors, is this the full will and agreement of your Mayster, they aunswered yea: well sayde the Emperour, if this be his awne offer, I trust that he will kepe it. Then the Emperor thought best to bring the French king to more libertie and to visite him himselfe, which he had not done but in the tyme of his sicknesse. Where the. xiiij. day of Februarye, the Emperour accompanied with the great Constable of Fraunce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nasso, the Duke of Aluoy, the Duke of Arberkirke, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafranca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the Erle of Boniuent, the Erle of Ieneuer, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowffe, the Erle of Saluator, and.

xij. Bishoppes, and a great number of Nobles, came to the Castle of Madrill, to whome was the Frenche king brought with a noble repayre, to whome the Emperor made low reuerence, and declared to him how all victories consist in the hande of God, and where great debate, warre, and strife, had long continued betweene them, he sayd it was the very handy worke of God, to deliuer him to captiuitie, so that by his restraint of liberty, a generall peace should be concluded through all christendome and now sith you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we entending not your punishment, nor restraint of your liberty, haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande.

And soone after a peace was concluded betwene the Emperour and the French king, and the same openly proclaymed through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders, and the Emperours Dominions, whereof their subiectes were glad, and made fiers and triumphes through all their Countries. The king of England also shewed himselfe to be very glad of the said peace. Wherefore he heryng that the French king was at a poynt to be deliuered, sent a knight of his Chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French king, certefiyng him of the great gladnesse that he had of his deliuery, and also the comfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of which kinde remembraunce, the French king much reioysed. The French king tooke his leaue of the Emperour, and tooke his iourney into Fraunce ward, and came to Victoria, in which season the fame went, that the Dolphyn which should haue bene deliuered, as one of the hostages, for the French king his father was deseased, and so the French king was stayed for. xv. dayes, till the truth was knowne: other sayd that the cause was that there were betwene Fountraby and Bayon. xxx. thousande men, and doubted least if he had bene brought downe to Fountraby, he might haue bene rescued: but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restrayned as you haue heard: but shortly after he was deliuered and returned into Fraunce the. xxj. day of March which was taken the. xxiiij. day of February in the yere last past.

The mariage of the Emperour.

After that the Emperour had concluded, and taken his leaue of the French king, he rode to the fayre Citie of Ciuill, and there he with great triumph maryed Ladie Isabell daughter to king Emanuell of Portyngale, with whom he had great treasures and summes of money, and great friendship of the Portingales, for he had. xj. hundred thousand Ducates with her maryage. When this mariage was knowne in England, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperour beyng at Windsore, in the. xiiij. yere of the king, had faythfully promised to mary the Ladie Mary, daughter to the king of England. But for a very truth the Emperours Counsaile was not content with the aunswere made to Mounsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsayled the Emperor, not to tary for the Ladie Mary which was yong: and also they sayd that she was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife. And also an act was made in Spaine, that he should not depart the Countrie, till he had issue. All these thinges were layd to him, which caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the great offer that the king of Portingall made to him, he was thereto agreeyng, and so maried the Ladie Isabell sister to king Iohn of Portingall.

1526

The. xxviij. day of Aprill, in the beginning of this. xviij. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Mounsire Brenion chiefe President of Roan, and Iohn Iokyn now called Mounsire de Vaux, which President of Roan, before the king set in a Throne, and accompanied with all his Nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperour, of Venice and Florence beyng there present, made in the Latine tongue a solempne oration, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dreadfull the warres had beene betweene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, what great losse the realme of Fraunce had susteyned by the sayde warres: He declared farther of what power the king of England was, and what conquest he might haue made in Fraunce, the king beyng prisoner, and knowledged the king of Englands right in the warres, & their wrongs, where he humbly thanked him of his pittie & cõpassion that he had on them in their necessitie & affliction, that he would consent to peace. To this oration the Chauncelour of the Duchie of Lancaster, by name syr Thomas More made aunswere saying: that it much reioysed the king, that they

28

The oration of the President of Roan.

they first considered how by his power he might haue oppressed, and how by his pittie he had relcued them: wherefore he would hereafter that for kindnesse, they should shewe him none vnkindnesse, but inuiolatly to kepe that league which was concluded. The answere of sir Thomas Moore to the Ambassadors oration.

The next daye after beyng Sundaye, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse in the kinges Chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the king swore before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue rehersed beyng present, that he should keepe the peace and league concluded, betwene him and his brother and perpetuall alie the French king, during his lyfe and a yeare after, and after Masse to all Ambassadours was made a great feast. The peace sworne.

Because all this Sommer the king tooke his pastime in hunting, and nothing happened worthy to be written of: I will returne to the Frenche king, now come agayne into his realme,

When he was at Paris he sayde and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obserue and keepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not iudge: For shortly after he set forth a booke, called the Apologie or defence against the conuention or agreement made betweene the Emperor and him at Madrill, alleaging that he was compelled to make that agrement, or else he should neuer haue beene delyuered: He alleaged farther that the Lawyers of hys realme cleerely determined, all promises and couenauntes made by any persons to his awne hurt, with him that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsion, & so of none effect and not to be performed. He also sayde that the Gouernors of the lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effect, where a man is in ieoparde of lyfe, or of perpetuall imprisonment or bondage, and most in especiall when it is done by compulsion or threatning. Moreouer he sayde that he might geue awaye nothing apperteyning to his crowne, without the assent of his peeres, and the three estates of his realme (to the which he was sworne at the time of his coronation, which would thereto in no wise assent, and therefore he saide that his othe and promise was voyde, and so he declared it to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperour, and offred for his raunsome to paye as much money as euer French king payde, with diuers other articles of newe deuised. The French king is returned into his realme. The vntruth of the french king.

When these articles came to the Emperour, he them refused and sayde, that he had desyred nothing impossible of the Frenche king, and if he might not, or would not kepe the appoyntment betwene them made, yet he had him kepe that poynt of couenaunt, which onelye depended in his will, that was that he should yelde himselfe prisoner againe, and so he should haue his children deliuered: and then he would reasonably common with him of new articles of agreement, and as to the Appollogie set foorth by the French king that his othe and promise was voyde, and made by compulsion and threatnyng, it was aunswered by another booke called the Refutation or Ouercommyng of the Appellogie, of the conuention of Madrill. Which two workes were so eloquently set forth, with such and so many perswasions and allegations, both on the one part and the other, that it woulde comber a wyse man (exeept he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to which part he shoulde most encline, and giue credence, therefore I leaue it at large. The French kinges Appologie. The Emperours Refutation.

After that the French king was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crowned Emperor, wherefore heeryng the Bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of little vertue or learnyng: much doubted in himselfe what dammage might come to him, if the Emperor had both Nables, Scicill, and the Duchie of Millaine, and also were crowned Emperor. Wherfore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Storce Duke of Millaine, which had committed treason agaynst the Emperour, and was depriued by iudgement of his name and dignitie, and the same geuen to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept much of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssaunce the Emperor would come into Italy, and what great possessions he had there, at euery ende of Italy, so that if he were once crowned Emperour, he would looke to haue the seigniorie of all Italy: wher- The Pope stirreth vp newes warres.

fore

fore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie, howe to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as they were debatyng of this matter, they hard word how the French king was returned into Fraunce, and sought all wayes and meanes howe to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an action offered to them, with all diligence they sent theyr seuerall Ambassadors, that is to say, the Pope twaine, the Duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty, one (which was his secretorie) and the Florentines one, and the Duke of Millaine one, these fiue Ambassadors came to the French king, and declared what ioye & gladnesse their maisters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then they shewed to him howe they by the Bishop of Romes exhortation had deuised a league, which should set a perpetuall peace betweene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion, they had set forth and agreed vpon articles, for the whole league. When the French king sawe the articles it was as he would haue it, for he thought by the whole power of the Confederates, his children should be deliuered, and he yet againe once to haue a medlyng in Italy: Wherefore with great gladnesse and solemnitie, he entered into the league, and sware to kepe it, and gaue to the Ambassadors great rewardes.

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the king of Englande, which with great deliberation lyke a wise prince, consulted much with his counsayle of this waightie matter, and when all things were fully perceyued, he aunswered to the Ambassadors, that he thanked much the confederates of their good will, but he would not enter into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betweene both parties and a meane for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperour, which hartily thanked him, and tooke it for great kindnesse: thys league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Bishop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had iust cause of warre agaynst the Emperor for things done in Italy, he sent to him a letter, dated at Rome the. xxiij. day of Iune: But for as much as this is no part ment to the storie of Englande to entreat of the affayres of Italy, I will for a while leaue the Pope and the Emperour, and agayne returne to our matters of Englande.

The holye league of Clement.

Grudge in London against Marchant straungers.

Thys sommer was great grudge agaynst Marchaunt straungers in London, in so much that if the matter had not bene well pacified, much businesse might haue folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, there was an act made in the fourth yere of king Henry, that no straunger should bring in no Wyne nor Woade in any aliens ship: so that the Englishe men after that went to Tholose, and brought much Woade to London, and serued all the clothiers repayring to London: and now in thys yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the straungers had license to bring in woade in straungers bottomes, so that all London was full of their woade, and also they sent their woade into the countrey, so that the Englishe mens woade in London lay vnbought: wherefore syr Iohn Aleyn knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of straungers which were the chiefe Marchaunts of all, and shewed vnto them what gaynes they had gotten in the Citie, by reason wherof they should auaunce the City, and not hurt it, wherfore he willed them to sell their woade to the Marchaunts of London, and they should be payde incontinent and not to resort to other places in the Countrey with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The straungers proudely aunswered the Maior, that they would seeke euery place for their auauntage, and so in mocking maner departed. The Maior perceyuing that, called a common counsayle in the Moneth of August, and there were many billes layde agaynst the straungers, and at last it was enacted, that no Citezen or free man, should buy or sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certaine straungers, called Anthony Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthony Viuald, Anthony Caucler, Fraunces de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sort mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie wyth them contrarie to this act, he should leese his freedome and libertie in the Citie of London: by which act the straungers were so brideled, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The first inhaunsing of the Angell.

In thys season the angell Noble was iust the sixt part of an ounce Troy so that sixe Angels

Angels were iust an ounce, which was fortie shyllings sterling, and the Angell was worth two ounces of Siluer, so that sixe Angels were twelue ounces, which was but fortie shillings in Siluer: but in Flaunders, Braband, and Zeland, the Angell was worth seuen shillings foure pence, so that Marchaunts daylie caried ouer much money to the great hinderaunce of the marchaundise of this realme, for most men caried Golde, and when it was there, it was losse in euery noble eyght pence to bring it hether againe: and when the Englishe men spake to the rulers there, to leaue the enhaunsing of the kings coyne, they laughed them to scorne. The king and his counsayle perceiued to what ende this enhauncement in Flaunders, if it were not met with shortly would bring the riches of thys realme: wherefore in the Moneth of September, he by proclamation, enhaunced the Angell to seuen shillings foure pence, and the Royall to a. xj. shillings, and the crowne to foure shillings & foure pence, and this proclamation was made through all Englande: and to bring out of Flaunders the great number of Englishe Golde which was there, the king by proclamation agayne the fift day of Nouember, enhaunced the Angell to seuen shillings sixe pence, and so euerye ounce of Golde should be. xlv. shillings, and that an ounce of Siluer should be three shillings nine pence in value. The second inhaunsing.

Thys yere on Mighelmas euen, Thomas Hynde which was chosen Shirife before, was called to take his othe, but he made defaute, wherefore one Simon Rice was chosen which refused, then was one George Robinson Mercer chosen, which tooke his othe not to be able. The commons were in such a furie, that they sware that they would haue a Mercer. Maister Nicholas Lambert an Alderman and Grocer, which had a dispensation for the shriualtie for that yere, seyng this discorde, sayde to the commons, maisters although my time be not come, yet to appease your strife, if you will chose me I will take it, and so he was chosen with great thankes.

In this season a sodayne rumour beganne in Spaine, that the Emperour would haue warre with the king of Englande, whereof hearing the Englishe Marchaunts, which lay in Spaine at dyuers Portes, concluded to send to Doctor Edward Lee, Ambassador for the king of England in the Emperours Court to knowe the certeintie, which gently aunswered them, that he trusted that there was no such cause, of the which they should be afeard, for the king his maister and the Emperour were yet in perfite loue and amitie, and farther he sent them worde, that the king of Englande was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would haue him, for he laboreth to make a vniuersall peace, which he could not cōueniently doe, if he were protector or a contractor in the league, this aunswere he sent to them from Granado, the fift day of September.

The. xiij. day of Ianuary came to the Court, Don Hugo de Mendosa a great man borne in Spain of a noble famely, this person was sent as Ambassador from the Emperour to the king of Englande with large commission, for the Emperour put it to the king of Englandes determination, whether his demaundes which he required of the French king, were reasonable or not, and for the declaration thereof, and for to knowe the king of Englandes request and entreatie concerning the peace, was this Noble man sent into Englande, which manye times consulted with the king and hys counsayle, and he taried here two yeres full.

In this yere the second day of Marche were receiued into London, with a greate company of noble men, the Bishop of Tarbe, Fraunces Vicount of Tornaye, and Maister Anthony Vescy, second president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the French king, and so brought through London to the Tailors hall and there lodged, and afterward were conueied to Grenewich to the king, where they were right hartely entertayned, and after their letters red and their requestes heard, they departed for a season to London. Ambassadors from the French king.

The French Ambassadors hauing their recourse to the king and his counsaile, much labored to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the king, and after long counsailing, that matter was put in suspence because the president of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene the king and her mother, beyng his brothers wife were good or no: of this

Of this motion grew all the trouble betweene Queene Katherin and king Henry her husband.

this first motion grew much businesse or it were ended, as you shall heare afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they sayde that she was heire apparant to her father, and if he shoulde dye, they would haue no Frenchman to be king of England, and thus the common people spake, as their mindes serued them.

Ambassadors from the king of Hungary.

On the. xiiij. daye of March were conueyed from London to Greenewiche, by the Erle of Rutland and other, the Lorde Gabriell de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, Iohn Burgraue of Siluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous Clarke, after Bishop of Vien, as Ambassadors from Don Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elect king of Hungarye and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewys, which was slaine by the Turke the last Sommer, as you haue heard before: this company was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kinges presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, the sayd Clarke Maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his grounde of the Gospell, *Exiit seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sowe, and howe that seede was good that fell into the good ground, and brought forth good fruite, which was the Christian faith: and then he declared how contrary to that sowyng, Machomet had sowne seede, which brought foorth euell seede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that day: he declared farther what actes the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaiyng of the king of Hungarye, to the great rebuke (as he saide) of all the kinges christened: he set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what armure, what Capitaynes he had, so that he thought, that without a marueilous great number of people, he coulde not be ouerthrowne wherefore he moste humbly beseched the king, as saint Georges knight, & defendor of the fayth, to assist the king his Maister, to that godlye warre and verteous purpose. To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas More aunswered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres, which were betwene the two great Prynces, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act, wherfore he with all his studye would take paine, first to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendom, and after that he both with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other Prince in Christendome. After this done the Ambassadors were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the Courte, and had great chere and good rewardes, and so the thirde day of Maie next ensuing, they tooke their leaue and departed homewarde.

An oration made by maister Faber.

The aunswer.

After that the Ambassadors of Fraunce were departed, the king sent an other Ambassade into Fraunce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyn knight, Viscount of Rocheforth, and sir Anthonie Browne knight, which came to Parys to the Bishop of Bathe, which lay in Fraunce as Ambassador for the king of England, and then these three went to the Court, and saw the french king in person sweare to kepe the league and amitie concluded betwene him and the king of England, and there they had great cheare and Maskes shewed vnto them, but litle rewards were geuen, and so the Viscount Rochforth returned into England, and so did the Bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauing sir Anthonie Browne behinde for a ligier.

In this moneth of May the tenth day, the king sent sir Fraunces Poynes knight, as Ambassador from the king of England, to Charles the Emperour, and with him he sent Clarenseaux, king at armes, to demaunde the one halfe of the treasure and ordinaunce which was taken at Pauia, for somuchas that warre, was made as well at the kinges charge, as the Emperours charge: he demaunded also the Duke of Orliaunce, to be deliuered to him, and also it was demaunded that the Emperor should deliuer the Bishop of Rome which was taken this Moneth as you shall heere, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, & if he refused to do any of these pointes, then Clarenseaux in the kinges name of Englande shoulde make to hym defiaunce.

When

When it was knowen that warre was like to be had betwene the Emperour and the king of England, the Commons of England sore lamented the chaunce, for all Marchaundice were restrayned to passe into any of the Emperours Dominions, and the Marchants were desyred by the Cardinal to kepe their martes at Calice, to the which in no wyse they would assent.

This same moneth the king sent two fayre shippes well manned and vitayled, hauyng in them diuers cunnyng men, to seeke straunge Regions: and so forth they set out of the Thamys the. xx. day of May, if they sped well you shall heere at their returne. Ship seeke straūge Regions.

The. xxij. day of May came in post to the king out of Fraunce, the Bishop of Tarbie, this Bishop brought to the king of Englande, the Articles which the French king now offered to the Emperour, which were contrary to the articles sworne at Madrill in the. xvij. yere of the king, and farther he moued the king of England to be enemie to the Emperor, which request (as all men say) was much furthered by the Cardinall, bicause of the warres in Italy, betwene the Pope and the Emperour: this Bishop made short tariyng with the king, for in post againe he returned to Paris, to sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenseaux, which taryed there for him, and so they all tooke their iournay towarde Spaine.

And soone after, there were letters brought to the king of Englande from the Frenche king, of his affayres in Italy: but Sundaye the second day of Iune, the king receyued letters at the Castell of Wynsore, by the which he perceyued all the order and maner of the sackyng of Rome, and takyng of the Pope: Wherefore the king was sory, and so were many Prelates: but the Commonaltie little mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a Ruffian, and was not meete for the rowne: wherefore they sayde that he began the mischiefe, and so he was well serued. But the Cardinall which tooke this matter highly, called to him the Prelates, and the Clergie, and much mourned the fall of the Bishop of Rome, & saw how the people grudged agaynst the Spiritualtie, for their great pride, pompe, and all liuyng: Wherefore he came to the King, and sayde: Sir by the onely callyng of God you be made defender of the Christian fayth, nowe consider in what state the Church of Christ now standeth: See, howe the heade of the Church of Rome is in captiuitie: See, how the holy fathers be brought into thraldom, and be without comfort: nowe shewe your selfe an ayde, and a defender of the Church, and God shall rewarde you.

The king aunswered, my Lorde, I more lament this euill chaunce, then my tongue can tell, but where you say that I am defender of the fayth, I assure you, that this warre betwene the Emperor and the Pope is not for the fayth, but for temporall possessions and dominions, and now sith Bishop Clement is taken by men of warre, what should I doe? my person nor my people cannot him rescue, but if my treasure may helpe him, take that which to you seemeth most conuenient: for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the king on his knee, and therevpon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kinges treasure. xij. score thousand pound, which he caryed ouer the sea with him, as you shall heere after. The kinges aunswere. The Cardinall hath of the king to releeue the Pope twelue score thousand pound.

Then the Cardinall sent Commissions, as Legate to all Bishops, commaundyng that they should cause in euery parishe Church, solempne Processions to be made for the relieuyng of the Pope, and moued the people to fast three dayes in the weeke, but few men fasted, for the Priestes sayd, that their commaundement was, to exhort the lay people to fast, and not to fast themselues: and the laye people sayde, that the Priestes shoulde first fast, because the very cause of the fastyng, was for a Priest, but none of both almost fasted. Prayer and fastyng.

This season began a fame in London, that the kinges confessor, beyng Bishop of Lincolne, called Doctor Longland, and diuers other great Clarkes had tolde the king that the mariage betwene him and the Ladie Katheryn, late wyfe to his brother, Prince Arthure, was not good, but damnable, and the king herevpon shoulde mary, the Duches of Alanson, sister to the French king, at the towne of Calice this Sommer, and the Viscount Roch- Longland bishop of Lincolne findeth fault with the kinges mariage.

forth had brought with him the picture of the sayde Ladie, and that at his returne out of Fraunce, the Cardinall should passe the Sea to go into Fraūce to fetche her.

This rumor sprang so much, that the king sent for sir Thomas Seymer Maior of London, and straightly charged him to see that the people should sease of this communication, vpon paine of the kinges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was concluded by the king & his Counsaile, that the Cardinall should passe into Fraunce, as his high Ambassador, but for what cause no person knewe but the king, till his returne.

Then was much preparation made at Calice, for the receiuyng of the Cardinall, but the common saiyng was that the king would come to Calice, and meete with the Frenche king, and for that cause such preparation was made, but he came not there at al, and alwayes the people commoned as they durst of the kinges mariage.

The Cardinal rideth towarde Fraunce.

The third day of Iuly, the Cardinall of Yorke, passed through the Citye of London, accompanied with many Lordes, and Gentlemen, to the number of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea syde, and at Cauntorburie hee rested, and there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, and howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherefore he caused a Letanie to be song by the Monkes of Christes Church, after this maner. *S. Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa. S. Petri, ora pro Clemente Papa.* and so forth all the Letanie: then he exhorted the people to fast and pray for his deliueraunce, which fewe did.

A new found Letanie.

The. xj. day of May, the Cardinall with all his traine, tooke shipping at Douer, and the same day landed at Calice, where he was receyued with Procession, and with the whole garrison of the towne.

Barelles of Golde.

When the Cardinall was landed, there were set on lande. xvj. Barrels al full of Gold of the kings money, which were deliuered to the Capitain of the Castell in charge: of this money the people much grudged, and said this money shall be spent out of the realme, and yet Englishe men shall haue no part nor profite of it, but onely it shall be spent for the Cardinalles pleasure, and the French kinges, and the Popes profite.

The Cardinall was so sore displeased with the Emperour for kepyng the Pope in prison (although it were against his will and knowlege) that he imagined all the wayes and meanes possible, howe to hurt and domage the Emperour, and therefore he sent for the Englishe Marchauntes, willyng them to kepe the Mart at Calice, but they aunswered that the towne of Calice, was a towne of warre, and all Marchauntes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the Mart season, which they could not haue at Calice: also the hauen is not able to receyue great Hulkes, and Carickes that come to a Mart: but some Marchauntes to please the Cardinall, brought theyr clothes to Calice, and so caused their friendes of Andwarpe to come to Calice, and to say, that they had bought the Marchauntes clothes, and there at Calice payed the custome, and so caryed them to the towne of Andwarpe at the Englishe mennes charge, and there solde them to the great losse of the Englishemen.

The Marte to be kept at Calice.

While the Cardinall lay in Calice, the Frenchmen dayly resorted to Calice, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodainly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calice should be deliuered, to the French King, which vaine saiyng, made many men muse.

But the. xxij. day of Iuly, the Cardinall departed out of Calice, and with him was the Lorde Cutberd Tunstall bishop of London, the Lord Sandes, Chamberlain to the king, the Erle of Darbie, sir Henry Guildford, sir Thomas Moore, with many knightes and squires, to the number of. xij. hundred horse & in the cariages. lxxx. Wagons, and. lx. Moyles and sampter horses, and at Sandifield met with him the Countie Brian gouernor of Picardie, and Mounsire de Bees, Capitaine of Bulleyn, with foure hundred men of armes, well apparayled, with Banners displayed, & all well horsed, which with trompets and melodie receyued the Cardinall, and at Marguison there met him the Cardinall of Lorayn, and sixe Bishoppes, and. xl. Gentlemen, well furnished, and in their compa-

The receauing of the Cardinall to Bulleyne.

anie foure hundred horse, and so they roade forth to Bulleyn, where the Burges them receyued.

And at the gate was made a Pagiaunt, in the which was a Nonne called holy Church, and three Spanyards, and three Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinall her rescued, and set her vp of newe againe.

Another Pagiaunt, was a Cardinall geuyng a Paxe to the king of England & the French king, in token of peace, in another Pageant was the Pope, lying vnder, and the Emperour sittyng in his Maiestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperour, and set vp the Pope.

When wise men saw this Pagiaunt, they smyled and sayd, well can the French king flatter, for hard it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the Master of all Cardinalles.

Many wordes were spoken in reproufe of thys Pagiaunt, but still with great triumph roade these two Cardinalles together, to the Abbey vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, and there lodged.

The morow beyng the three and twentie day he with all his trayne remoued toward Muttrell, and two mile without the towne there met with him the Baylifes, and there to him was made a solempne Oration, and when he came to the towne he was receyued with the Clergy, and there the Englishe men had strait lodging the number was so great, and so the morowe he remooued towarde Abbeuile where he was of the Bayliefe and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garison of men of warre of the towne, receyued with procession, and Pagiants to his praise vnder a Canapye and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and all the Canapies were set with *T C* for Thomas Cardinall, and so were all his seruauntes coates.

The thyrde Day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the French king in a coate of blacke Veluet vpon white Satin, and tyed with laces aglated wyth golde, and with him the king of Nauer, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the great Maister, the Duke of Vandosme, Monsier de Guise, and Monsire Vaudemount his brother, and the French kinges mother, with manye Lordes and Ladies, which were there solempnly receyued.

And on Sonday the fourth day of August, the Cardinal came fro Pickqueny towarde Amias, in which towne he lay the night before, and in the way he was receyued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the Citie, and after them came the Iustices and Aduocates and with an eloquent Oration saluted him, and when he was within halfe a mile of the towne, the French king himselfe with all his nobles mette with him, and louingly embrased him, and welcomned him, and after tooke all the nobles of Englande by the hande, and so brought the sayde Cardinall to Amyas: where for him were deuised many Pagiauntes, to his prayse, and euer he was called *Cardinalis Pacificus*; the peaceable Cardinall, and so was written at the gate of his lodging.

The French king brought the Cardinall to his lodging, and he would haue brought the king to his Courte againe, but he woulde in no wise suffer him, but left him in his lodging, and the same night the Cardinall road to visite the French kinges mother, and there he had long communication and so departed to his lodging.

The fift day of August, the Cardinal with the great estates of Fraunce was conueyed to the Frenche kinges Courte, where he was of the French king most honorably receyued, which Courte was then kept at Amyas, and there remayned more then three weekes dayly conferring with the French kinges counsayle, and at the last with great solempnitie a Charter of peace was sealed by the French king, and delyuered to the Cardinall.

Now will I returne to sir Fraunces Poynes, and Clarenceaux which were at this time arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Vale Dolife, the third day of Iuly, where they found Doctor Lee the kinges Almoner, there Ambassador for the king of England, and with him taried til the sixt day of Iuly, and then sir Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presence, & deliuered the kynge his Maisters letter, and beside that prayed his Maiestie to consider what the king of England had done for him since his tender age, how that he

holpe him at all times with money & treasure, & how that at such time as the Lords of Spaine would not receyue him as their king during his mothers life, yet by the kings meane & his great labor and cost, he was to that realme receiued: And also how the king of Englande had alwayes defended and protected the countries of Flaunders, Brabant and Zeland, against all persons, and in the quarell of the Emperor he had strongly inuaded the realme of Fraunce, so that by his inuasion at home, the Emperor had obtained great victorie in forreine places, which he coulde not haue done, if all the whole realme of Fraunce had bene without any enemies at home: wherefore the king desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the battayle of Pauie and also for his part he required the Duke of Orleaunce to be deliuered to him, and also to pay to the king fortie thousand pounde, which he ought to him as money lent, towardes his charges: and farther that he shoulde deliuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, and no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperor after this demaunde aunswered, sir we assure you that the loue of our Vncle of England, toward vs and the manifold benefits that we haue receyued of hym and by his meanes we shall neuer forget, and although our power be not able to recompence the same, yet oure good wyll shall neuer fayle, to endeuour vs to doe hym pleasure: and as concernyng his letters we with our counsaile shall take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable aunswere, during which time, you may repose you, and all thinges necessarie shall be at your commaundement: with this aunswere syr Fraunces departed at this time. When it was knowne in Spayne, that the king of Englande, was alied with the Frenche king, the Spaniardes spake largely and sayde that they cared not for the king of Englande, and sayde farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinall by reason whereof the Englishe Marchauntes were euill entreated in Spayne, but the Emperor perceyuing this, gaue a generall commaundement, that all Englishmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his louing friendes.

The Emperors answere.

In this very Moneth tydings was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitaunts of Turnay conspired to destroy Mounsire Delanoies their Capitaine, and deuised to bid him to a banket, and so to slay him and all that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and tooke the chiefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharpe execution, for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperour within a day or twayne called to him Doctor Lee, and Syr Fraunces Poynes the king of Englands Ambassadors, and sayde, my Lords, we haue perceyued the king your maisters requests, which be great and of a waighty importaunce, wherfore we entend with all speede to write to the king our Vncle, and when we haue receyued aunswere from him, we shall delyuer you of such things as you demaunde, praying you in the meane season to take pacience, and so for the time they departed.

The Cardinall laboreth to helpe the French king agaynst the Emperour.

By thys time was it knowne that the Cardinall of England was with the French king, and full well knew the Emperour that the Cardinall would doe all for to ayde the French king, and to domage him, yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequele of this matter conueyed away their goodes daylie out of the Emperours dominions: but still the Englishe Ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour sayde to them, my Lordes, I marualye how the king mine Vncle is moued against mee and my subiectes, I assure you I will not warre with him, I trust in his faithfull promise, and his accustomed goodnesse, and his people I take as my friendes. If he loue the French king I may not so doe, for he to me is vntrue and keepeth no iust promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his awne motion, and he also sworne to maintaine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great preiudice hath perswaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers imaginations, which I trust will neuer be our enemy. Thys many times the Emperour would common with the Englishe Ambassadors, which lay in Spaine.

But nowe must I returne to the Cardinall of Englande which laye at Amyas, there was a great

a great counsayling from day to daye: First howe the Pope should be delyuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnesse: secondarily how to bring the Emperour to some reasonable agrement, so that the French kings children might be deliuered. It was well considered that the Emperour had a great foredell by reason of the sayde two hostages, which foredele might perchaunce so stomack him, that he would agree to no newe conditions nor agreements. Then it was aunswered on the other side that if a great armie were sent into Italy which might driue the Emperors power out of Italy, then that armie should set the Pope at libertie, and also driue the Emperour to come to their purpose, or else he should leese both the realmes of Naples and Scicile, and the Duchie of Millayne and other dominions, wherefore the French king determined to send an armie royall into Italy vnder the conduyt of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtrick Erle of Foys, which was appointed afore in Iune to go to the borders of Italy with a small number, but nowe to him was assigned eyght thousand Britons with notable Capitaines of the same countrie, and eight thousand Normans with like Capitaynes, and eyght thousand Gascoynes, and sixe thousand Burgonions, three thousand Sauosyns, eyght thousand Swychers and Almaines, and sixe thousand Pycardes of which men were fiue thousand horsemen vnder the conduit of Mounsire Galyos, and in this armie went Syr Robert Iernyngham and Iohn Carew of Hakam, and. lxxx. other Englishe gentlemen, which were sent thether by the Cardinall from Amyas. When thys armie was assembled, the Cardinall deliuered the king of Englands money that he had brought out of Englande in barrels as you haue heard, with which money was this armie payde two Monethes before hande, and the remnaunt was delyuered to Sir Robert Iernyngham, which was called Treasorer of the warres. In this armie were three thousand cariage men, and aduenturers foure thousande, so that when they were ouer the Mountaynes, they were, lix. thousand men, and some wryters say a hundred thousand. This armie was called in Latin *Excercitus Anglie & Gallorum Regum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to say, the army of the kings of Englande and Fraunce, gathered for the deliueraunce of the Byshop of Rome, and so was thys armie reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginning in Englande of the conueying of the money ouer the sea, yet when the English coyne was the common payment of the army it was then openly knowen: then many men sayde alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of thys charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the king hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsedie was graunted to make the king riche, and now is that money to help our olde enemies and the Pope, which neuer shall doe vs good, this the people spake and much worse. Whyle the Cardinall was with the Frenche king, the Pope sent to him a Bull, and made hym Vicar generall vnder him through all the king of Englandes dominions, and there by a Bull he created Anthony de Prato Bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French king a Cardinall with great solempnitie. The Cardinall for hys solace roade wyth the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdedier, and was euer highly feasted of the king and his mother, and of the Chauncellor of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinall and the French kings counsayle what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which if he refused, then open defiaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kings.

A great counsail holden at Amyas in Fraunce, at the which the Cardinall was present.

English money deliuered.

The Cardinall toke his leaue of the French king & his mother (which tolde him that a noble Ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortefiyng of all the conclusions) and so the sayde Cardynall with great rewardes returned with all hys traine, and by iourneys the last day of September he came to Rychemond to the king of Englande, and there asserteyned the king of all hys doyngs, but so could no Lord that then was in commission with him, for they knewe nothing of all his doyngs, which sore grieued their stomackes.

The returne of the Cardinall into England.

The Cardinall which much reioysed in this peace, came the first day of the Terme into the starre chamber, and there by his commaundement were present the Lordes spirituall

and temporall of the kings counsayle, and the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the iudges of the lawe, and all the Iustices of peace of all shyres then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayde, how muche is the realme of Englande bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea suche a peace as was neuer concluded betweene no realme, for by my labor and industrie I haue knit the realmes of Englande and Fraunce in such a perfite knot that it shall neuer fayle, for the three estates of Fraūce (which here we call a Parliamēt) haue affirmed the same, & therfore now my lords be mery, for ỹ king shall neuermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Maior & other Marchaunts shal neuer be charged farther with expences, so that with exactions for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the king shall haue no nede, because that he by this league shal be the richest prince of the world for I assure you he shall haue more treasure out of Fraunce yerely, then all his reuenewes and customes amount to, yea and counte his wardes, forfeits and all such casualties. Now syth you haue such a honorable peace and such a profitable peace, how much be you bounde to him which hath brought this peace about, for this peace is *in secula seculorum*. And because this peace is so noble, it is sealed with a seale of Gold, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the very great seale of Fraunce printed in fine Golde: at thys tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardynall lyed, for they knewe that that he sayde was for his awne glorye, and nothing should folow as he sayde.

A peace sealed with a seale of Gold.

A great Ambassade sent from the French king to the king of England.

The French king according to his appointment sent the Lorde Annas of Momorancie great maister of his house, and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the Bishop of Bayon, the chiefe President of Roan, and Mounsire de Hufliyers, as his Ambassadors to the king of England accompanied with. lx. gentlemen well appointed, which the. xiiij. day of October landed at Douer, whose seruauntes demeaned themselues so in passyng through Kent, that muche businesse was to lodge them in London, but the Cardinall commaunded corporations of the Citie to prouide lodgyng for them, which was neuer seene before, where at the people murmured sore, saiyng that the Cardinall was all French. So on the twentie day of October the sayde Ambassadors were met on Black heth by the Marques of Exceter, the Byshop of London, the Vycount Rochforde, and Lorde Mountioy with many men of honor and gentlemen, to the number of fiue hundred horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of London, and the chiefe commoners on horseback in their Gownes met the sayde Ambassadors at saint Georges barre, and there was made to them a solempne oration, and so from thence they were conueyed through London to the Byshop of Londons palace, and there and nere there about they were well lodged.

A present geuen by the Citie to the French Ambassadors.

The Citezens of London presented them with fiue fat Oxen. xx. sheepe, twelue Swannes, twelue Cranes. xij. Fesantz, foure dosyn of Partriches, twentie loaues of Suger, Comfettes, and other spice, and Waxe, and eyght Hoggesheades of Wyne with many other things, which I cannot rehearse.

On Tuesday beyng the. xxij. daye of September, the sayde Ambassadors were conueyed by water to Grenewiche, where before the king sitting vnder his clothe of estate the foresayde Mounsire Bayon president of Roan made an eloquent proposition in the which he much thanked the king for sendyng so high an Ambassador as the Cardinall was, a man of such paudence and wyt as it appered by the knitting of the league, that like to him coulde none be found, for by his onely mediation the two princes were accorded so surely as neuer were princes before that time, so that by this confederation the Pope and his Cardinals which were in captiuitie and thraldome should by the power of these two Princes be deliuered, and all the Emperours power should be cleane banished and driuen out of Italy, and the Pope should be restored to his olde estate and dignitie agayne.

When this oration was done and an aunswere made to the same, the king welcommed all

all the gentlemen of Fraunce, and then they had Wyne and spice brought to them, whereof they tooke part and dranke, and so departed to their Barge. Daily these Ambassadors repaired to the Cardinals place and there were highly enterteyned, and the morow after saint Simons daye and Iude, the Byshop of Bayon and a great number of the Frenche gentlemen, dined at the Maiors feast, & so they taried in London til Albalonday, on which day the king accompanied with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and all his nobility rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, where the Cardinall sang Masse, & after Masse done the people were desired to pray, that by their prayers Pope Clement might the sooner be deliuered out of captiuitie: and when that was done the king of Englande before the aulter sware to kepe and performe the league. The common people sayde what neede all thys swearyng, the French king was once sworne and all his nobilitie, yea and all his good townes, but yet they brake with vs, and so will they agayne when they see an auauntage.

The next day the great maister and all his company tooke their leaue of the king (except the Byshop of Bayon which abode as Ambassadour in Englande) and were highly rewarded, and so passed to Douer and tooke ship there and landed at Bulleyn. The Ambassadors departed.

After that the Frenchmen were departed the commons spake sore agaynst the Cardinall and sayde that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasure we should forsake our olde friends and receiue our olde enimies. When the Cardinal heard of these sayings he was not content, wherfore he sent a commission to the Maior of London to commaunde all men not to talke of the kinges affayres and businesse, or of the Quene, or of the kings counsayle. And if any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken and brought to the Cardinall. When this commaundement was once knowne, euerye man mistrusted other and no man durst breake his minde o other.

Now let vs speake of the army that the Lord Lawtrick had into Italy at the charges of the king of Englande and the French king for the delieraunce of Pope Clement. The Lorde Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lions, and that all things necessarie were in readinesse then he set forward with great dillygence: but or he had passed the Mountayns, the Venicians army was come into Lombardy abiding the comming of the Frenchmen, and in the meane season, they marched towarde the Emperors army which lay at the Citie of Myllayne. Whereof heering Anthonie de Leua with eyght hundred Almaynes and Spaniardes on foote, and as many Italians marched forward to meete wyth them, and by force caused them to take the towne of Meligna for refuge, where he heering that Iohn de Medices with a great number were comming toward the Venitians, he in the euening or his enemies were aware sodaynly set on the sayde Iohn de Medices, which beganne to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled, and left his companie alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost foure great peeces of ordinaunce, which Anthonie de Leua caryed with him to Millaine. In which season the Lord Lawtrick with his armie was passed the mountaines and was come to the Citie of Aster abidyng the Swichers, where he heard tell how that Lewys Erle of Lodron with a great crew of Almaynes was conte to the towne of Boske nie Alexandrie, with money and vittayle to ayde the Almaynes that kept Alexandrie: wherefore he sent hys horsemen to stop them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and after them he folowed with his whole armie, and besieged them in Boske, which a certaine dayes defended, but at the last they yelded the towne, and became Souldiors to the Lorde Lawtricke. In this same season Andrew Dory Admyrall of the French nauye, lay before the hauen of Geane, and kept the Genowaies from all Marchandise and vittayles, which to the Citie might repayre, and in especiall he letted certaine shippes of corne which lay at Hont de Ferry, betwene Gene and Sauona, to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked corne, and were on the land side besieged by a Citizen of their owne whiche was on the French part called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined The Army that was in Italy at the charges of the king of England.

how

how to bring the shippes of corne into the Citie, and when they sawe that Andrew Dorye had but xvij. Galyes. They prepared sixe Galleys to fight with Andrew Dory, duryng which fight the shippes with corne should enter the hauen. When the Galleyes were abrode, a sodaine tempest rose with such a violence, that Andrew Dory was faine to take the Port of Sauona for his succour, and so the shippes of corne came safe into the hauen of Gene, and all the Galleyes in safetie: this good was Fortune to Geane at this tyme.

When the Citizens of Geane were thus vitalled, they tooke to them good courage & in warlike maner issued out agaynst Cesar Fulgosus which knewe well that they had little more then three. C. Spanyardes that could skill of the warre, and as for the remnaunt were neyther of stomacke, nor of experience in warre, wherefore he boldly set on them, and while they were fighting without, the Citezens within which be euer mutable, sodainly cried Fraunce, Fraunce, which clamor came to the eares of Adurnus which was imperiall, wherefore he retired backe into the Citie to appease the rumor, but their enemies folowed them in such haste that both entered together, and so Geane was become French. Then thether came the Lord Lawtrick, and put there a Capitaine with a retinue for the safe kepyng of the Citie. Then Adurnus Duke of Geane which was in the Castell with diners of the Emperours friendes, and lacked vittayle, and sawe no comforte of rescue, yelded the Castell vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage, and so they did. In the meane season certaine Frenchmen which were left at Boske defaced the towne, and then came before Alexandrie, and there kept a siege volant that no ayde nor succour should come to the towne, till the whole armie were assembled to besiege the towne. But for all that purpose, by the Downes of Alexandrie, Albericke Barbian with fiue hundred souldiors came into the towne, which much comforted the garrison there, which was in maner dismayed because their ayde at Boske had fayled them. The Frenchmen besieged the towne and bet it with ordinaunce, and they within manfully defended it, and made newe countermures, so that their enemies could not enter without ieopardie. But at the last the Venicians brought thether great pieces of ordinaunce which so sore bet the walles, that Baptist Lodryn the Capitaine sawe that he was not able to defend it, and so he deliuered the towne vpon this composition, that he and his should depart with bagge and baggage, and he nor his to weare no harnesse agaynst the French king, nor hys confederates by the space of sixe Monethes. Then the Lorde Lawtrick deliuered the towne to Fraunces Sforcia accordyng to the league, whiche Fraunces put there a conuenient garrison. Thence that army remoued to Belgrasse which to them was yelded and also deliuered to the Duke of Millain, and from thence he remoued towarde the Citie of Myllain, whe-of heeryng Anthonie de Leua fortefied the Castell of Millayn, and sent Lewys Barbian to defende the Citie of Pauie. When the Lord Lawtricke was within viij. myle of Millain, he sodainly returned towarde Pauy, which men iudged to be done for the displeasure that was done there to the Frenchmen when theyr king was taken, and so the xix. daye of September they besieged Pauye, and dayly betwene them were great skirmishes, but at the last they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce, that they made the tówne assaultable. Then the Frenchmen threw into the ditches fagottes, and empty pypes, and shortly entered the towne. The Capitaine perceiuyng the towne entered, opened the gate, and yelded himselfe prisoner. Then the Frenche men slue and killed on euery syde, robbed and spoyled houses, and Churches, and spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raunsomed one man fiue or six tymes, and the Gascoynes which were most cruell, set fyre on the fayre houses, and had brent the whole Citie, if the Lorde Lawtricke after seuen dayes spoylyng had not commaunded them to ceasse. When Pauy was thus taken and spoyled, the Lorde Lawtricke determined with the Cardinall Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliueraunce of the Pope incontinent to passe to Rome, and to driue away all the Emperours power from thence, and to restore the Pope to libertie.

The great Tower of Pauie taken by the French and spoyled.

Fraunces

Fraunces Sforcia Duke of Millain heeryng of this determination, came to the Lorde Lawtricke to Pauie and required him first to rid the Duchy of Myllayne of the Emperors souldiers rather then to go forwarde and leaue his enemies behinde him. The Lorde Lawtricke aunswered that he was of the same opinion, but the commission that he had of the French king and the king of Englande, was, that with all spede he should go forward to deliuer the Bishop of Rome, which done he faythfully promised that he woulde retourne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he woulde that the Duke and the Venicians should besiege Anthony de Leua in the Castell of Myllayne. Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this aunswere, but yet he perceyued that the French king cared not for his restoring least he shoulde be emperiall. So for ỹ time the Duke dissimuled the matter, and toke possession of the Citie of Pauie. When the Lorde Lawtricke had lien. xvj. dayes at Pauie, he dismissed the Swychers which in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfore he marched forwarde with his owne army and came to Plesance where he concluded a league with Alphons Duke of Ferrer, and Frederick Marques of Mantua, so that then he knewe well he might passe in safety: and in good order of battail he marched toward Rome for the finishyng of his enterprice. But or he was passed out of Lombardie, the Emperour had sent letters to the Bishop of Rome, and excused himselfe that he neyther willed nor commaunded such mischiefe to be done, and straightly commaunded his Capitaynes to deliuer him. The prince of Orenge and other Capitaynes of the Emperours heeryng his commaundement, tooke agreement with the Pope and his Cardinalles, and so he and. xij. Cardinalles were bound to performe certaine articles to the number of. xj. and then he was deliuered out of the Castell Saint Angell the tenth day of December, and was conueyed to Oruyet, where after he had payed certaine money for the souldiors wages, he was put at full libertie, and the Emperours people departed from him, and thence he remoued to Ancona. When tidynges was brought into Englande of his deliueraunce, the Cardinall in great hast caused *Te Deum* to be song on Newyeres day in the Kinges Chapell, and declared openly that he was escaped, and sayd not deliuered, which made many men to muse: and on Sunday the fift day of Ianuary, the Cardinall with great triumph came to the Church of Saint Paule in London, and on him attended diuers prelates of the Clergie, and there *Te Deum* was song again, and after that Doctor Capon openly declared, how that Bishop Clement had bene long kept in distres by fault of Tyrauntes and Infidels, and so kept as prisoner to the behoofe of Charles the Emperour, till now of late through the prayers of good christen people, he was escaped the handes of his enemyes, for which cause hee willed all men to geue thankes to God: That night were great fiers made in the kinges Court, and in all London. Shortly after this, truth was knowen, that the Pope was deliuered by composition, and not freely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroade, but men sayde that he could not leaue his liyng.

The Emperor deliuereth the Pope out of Prison.

Clement Pope deliuered.

Whyle the Lorde Lawtreck was thus passing towarde Naples, Syr Fraunces Poynes knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux king of armes into Spaine to the Emperour, returned into Englande before Christmas, in the ende of December, and left Clarenseaux behinde, to bring farther answere from the Emperour of things demaunded, wherof he sayd he woulde take longer aduice or he would answere. Thys syr Fraunces reported that the Emperour so much fauoured and esteemed the king of Englande, that at his only request and contemplation, he had released and discharged twelue articles, which were most grieuous and disprofitable to the French king, not for the French kings sake, but at the intercession of the king of Englande: yet this notwithstanding the Cardinall so inuegled the king, that he so highly fauoured the Frenche king, that all hys causes he toke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bring the french kings purposes about.

The return and report of Fraunces Poyaes.

The Emperour before this time had written to the French king, and also aduertised thereof the Frenche Ambassadors that lay in Spaine, that he would that the French king should sende to him a diffinitiue aunswere, if he would withdraw his people out of Italy

or not, and let the Duchie of Millaine alone, and to cease of all inuasions or not, and this aunswere to be taken for a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadours before day shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the French king offered to him in articles, as you haue heard before, in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche king and the Cardinall in August last passed. Which proffers when the Emperour had heard and seene, he sayde to the Ambassadour, we thought surelye that oure Cosyn the Frenche king and we, had bene at a full conclusion, when the league and appointment was agreed at our towne of Madrill: for when he sued for his deliueraunce to vs, he and his counsayle offered vs certaine proffers, which we neuer demaunded, but we of pittie hauing compassion of his affliction, accepted the sayde offers, and agreed to his deliueraunce, which articles he promised in the othe of a king, and also on the holy Euangelistes, to performe to the vttermost, and them inuiolatly to obserue and keepe. Wherevpon we cleerely remitted, and deliuered him into his countrey, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherefore we take him as periured, and not worthy to be trusted, and now he offereth new offers, which he can not performe, as for the money we beleeue he is able to pay, but as for the money due for the kingdome of Naples, we knowe no such duetie, for it is our inheritaunce, although king Charles the seuenth, by subtiltie once vsurped the same, which he long not enioyed: as to release hys title to Millayne, that release is voyde, for the Duchie is imperiall, and in our gift as many other seigniories bee: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these things he would release and render things that he had not: and as to the withdrawing of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we trust that our armie shall expell them all Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touchyng the king of Nauer, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pittie let them alone till we see our time, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touchyng his offer to ayde vs with a nauie, we trust we haue suche a nauie prouided, that we shall nede none of his: and where he sayth he will marry our sister Queene Alienor, daughter of Portyngall, if he had bene true, that he might haue done or this, but now we entend not to geue her to our enemie: and as touchyng her daughter to be maried to the Dolphyn, that we leaue in suspence for thys time: But where he sayth that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puysaunce, hath euer defended vs, & him and his power hath defaced and vanquished, wherefore we neede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymselfe: and as touchyng the king of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably aunswere his Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the French king: But nowe my Lordes Ambassadours sayde the Emperour, let the French king your Mayster fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to doe, and then he shall haue his children delyuered, or else according to his othe, let him yelde himselfe prisoner agayne, and so shall his honor and truth be saued or else not, so with this aunswere the Ambassadors departed. Neuerthelesse they dayly sued to the Emperour and his counsayle to take the offers which were profered by the french king, and amongs other things the warre was sore layde to the French Ambassadours charge, for that that the French king made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaunce, to which accusement they aunswered that that armie was procured by the Cardinall of Englande, when he was at Amyas, for the deliuery of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the king of Englande bare the most charge.

The Emperours aunswere to the foresayde articles.

The Cardinall procured warre against the Emperor for the deliuery of the Bishop of Rome.

When the Emperour heard this aunswere, he sent for the Ambassadour of Englande, and to him saide: My Lorde Ambassadour, I much maruaile why the king your maister hath so great loue to the French king, his newe reconciled friend, and withdrawne his loue from me, that am his Cosyn and alie: How fortuneth this that your olde auncient enemies be now in fauour and your olde friendes cast out of fauour. I see well there is indignation had at our estate, and waies sought to grieue vs, which we hope to withstand: But who would haue thought that our Vncle of England, would haue made warre on vs?

The saiyng of the Emperor vnto the king of Englandes Ambassadors.

How

How would he haue vs graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche king, seyng he sheweth himselfe our open enemie? Then the Ambassadour discretly aunswered, that he neyther heard nor knewe of such doyngs, on his fayth and honor. Well sayde the Emperour, if it be true that is reported, mine Vncle is not the Prince that I haue taken him for, and if he be mine enemie, I must withstande him, and in a great furie, the Emperour withdrew him from the Ambassadour to his priuie chamber.

Daylie the Ambassadours both of Englande and of Fraunce, sollicited the Emperour and his counsayle, to accept the French kings offers, which made euer aunswere, that they would not trust to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not obserued and kept.

Nowe whosoeuer indifferently shall consider the articles which were offered in the treatie of Madrill, and the articles offered now at Amias, shall openly perceyue, that the greatest thing which the Frenche king refused to doe, was the deliuerie of the Duchie of Burgoyne and the Countie Charoloys, for declaration whereof, the french king sent for all the nobles of both the countreyes, and declared to them thys promise and concorde taken with the Emperor, which aunswered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forreyn prince or person without the sentence, agreement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of the same countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to that alteration: This answere was deliuered to Lorde Charles de la Noa Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassadour for the Emperour in Fraunce, which thereof certefied the Emperours counsayle. But the Emperour and his counsayle thought this to be but a deceyte, in so much as the French king had onely called suche of Burgoyne as him pleased, and not the substantiall of the countrey. And farther the Emperour so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloud descended from Duke Philip, sonne to king Iohn of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but that he would haue that Duchie. The french king perceyued his minde and offred to him great sommes of money for the redeeming of that article, the king of England also offred to be suretie for the payment: but all this could not moue the Emperour but he would haue Burgoyne, and all the sayde treatie and agreement performed.

The king of England considering how much he had done for the Emperor, and calling to his remembraunce, both that the Lordes and commons of Spayne, would not haue taken him as king his mother liuing, (although she were Lunatike) because she was heire, without his great labour and intercession, & also that he holpe him to be elected Emperor, which the French king had obtayned, if he had not put thervnto his ayde, and sent Doctor Richarde Pace his Secretorie to the Electors of Franckeforde, and most of all that he at all times, had succored the sayde Emperor with mony and was not payed, wherefore he was not a litle displeased with the Emperors wylfulnesse, but more with his vnkindnesse, and perceyued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgotten all the kindnesse to him shewed, wherefore he thought to make him to knowe himselfe by warres, the soner to bring him to accomplish his request, and to make him to remember his olde kindnesse, and so by the aduice of the Cardinall of York (which loued not the Emperor, for the Bishop of Romes case) and other of his counsaile, be sent word to Clarenseaux king at armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperor, and so Guyan Herault for the French king and the sayde Clarenseaux for the king of Englande, the. xiiij. day of Ianuary, in the City of Burgues in Castile, came before the Emperor béyng nobly accompanyed with Dukes, Marquesses, Erles, and Barons, in his great hall, and there made their defiaunces.

Richarde Pace Secretorie.

Defiaunces made to the Emperor.

When the defiances were made by both the kings of Armes, as you haue heard, al the nobles which were present, as ỹ Constable of Castile, ỹ Duke of Massédonia the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, ỹ Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Villafranca, ỹ Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, ỹ Erle Boniuent, the Erle

Arowen, the Erle Agulard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with six great Lordes Cõmendatories Crossed, & many other noble men & Gentlemen, for a truth to the number of seuen hundred at the least: all these drew out their swords and sware that the defiaunces, then made should be reuenged, and sayd to the Emperor: Sir if the despyte of this defiaunce be vnreuenged, the infamy and rebuke thereof shall remayne to vs and our heires for euer, wherfore our landes, liues and lordshippes, shall be at your commaundement, and while any lyne of your succession remayne, this ignominie shal be euer new and not die, till you haue obtained ỹ double honor, against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was proclaymed in Ciuill, in Valedolite, in Burgus, and other places through all Spaine: But when the common people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong themselues by the Berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes, shoulde be spent for the honor of the Emperor, and to be reuenged on the French king, whom they called the periured Prince, and so the common people cryed in the stretes, now is come the time, that Spayne shall be renoumed, and reuenged on the Frenchmen for their falsenesse, and wrong doynges. But alas sayde they, why shoulde we make warre with the Englishe nation, which euer loued vs and neuer offended vs: but this defiaunce procedeth not of them, but onely of the French king, and of the Cardynall of Englande, which is sworne French: thus the Spanyards talked, and euer excused the king of England and accused the Cardinall, and sayd that he had a great pencion out of Spain and that notwithstanding, because he might not haue the Bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This proclamation of warre was proclaymed with banners displayed, in the which were paynted a red sworde, & a Cresset burning, against the French king and his partakers, not mening the king of England, by expresse name, but it was rehersed in the proclamation, that the king of England had manaced, and defied the Emperor, in the French kings quarrell. Then were the English Marchauntes in Spayne attached and their goodes put in safe custody, and to them was sayed that they were stayed onely, till the Emperor was aduertised how his subiectes were ordered in England.

The Cardinal is accused to be the onely aucthor of this warre.

The English Merchauntes arrested in Spaine.

Tydings of this was first knowne in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadors in London, how both the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of England, beyng in Spaine, and Guyen and Clarenseaux officer at Armes, were retayned by the Emperor as prisoners, which report was false, for they were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall the English Ambassadors and Clarenseaux, were friendely entertayned in all places. When the Cardinall heard this report he was too light of credence (which he repented afterward) and was sore therwith moued, and in his fury the xij. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Mendosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in Saint Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to sir Iohn Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, and his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles seruauntes, till the kinges pleasure were farther knowne.

The Cardinalles saying in the Star Chamber.

The morow after being the xiij. day of February, the Cardinall being in the Starre chamber, called before him all Iustices of ỹ peace, and other honest personages to a great number, and to them sayde: My Lordes and all you the kynges louing subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, how that his highnesse, not of his owne seeking, but rather against hys will and intent, is entered into warre. For the elect Emperor Charles the fift, hath him so handled & moued, that he must of necessity with him make warre. First it is not vnknowne to you all, how good the King hath bene to him, sith his infancy, how he hath defended his low countries during his noneage? Yea, what payne the king toke by his Ambassadors, to solicite the Lordes of Spaine, which refused to take him as their king, while his mother liued, and by the kinges onely labor, he came to the kingdome of Spayne, what it cost the king to helpe him to be Emperor, we that be his counsaylors can tell, for if the king had not beene, surely the French king had beene Emperor. Beside all these kindnesses, he hath lent to the sayd Emperor, diuers great sommes of money,

to

to defend his countryes, and what profite his countryes haue by the resort of Englishe-men thether, you that be Marchants can tell, for these things with many mo profites, cō-modities, & gratuities, the king of him is so litte regarded, that I am halfe ashamed to report it. True it is that Fraunces the French king, was to him prisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high Princes) the kyng our maister, highly regarding the peace of christen Princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: desyred the Emperor to take some reasonable ende for his deliueraunce, and for that purpose hath sent to him sundry Ambassadors, which gaue them eares, but dalied with them, and nothing would doe at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruaunt (and peraduenture not so much) so that for all gratuities and friendships to him, by the king our souereigne Lord, at all times shewed, he sheweth himselfe ingrate and vngentle, and for kindnesse rendreth vnkindnesse, as for the french king I assure you, he hath humbled himselfe as much as a prince may, his honor saued. He hath offered him so great offers, that except he should geue hym hys realme and crowne, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore minishe the bewtie of his crowne, which I shall briefely declare vnto you. For he offereth to paye fiue hundred thousande poundes sterling, whereof three hundred thousande, to be payed in hande, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bounde, and farther to discharge the Emperor, of all such sommes of money, as he oweth to the king of England, and to deliuer him a sufficient acquittance for the same. Also where the French king should haue out of the kingdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crownes yerly, the French king will release the same pencion, with all the arrerages which are no small some. Also he will relese his whole title and right which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very inheritaunce, and neuer he to challenge or clayme the same nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders maye lawfully appeale to the parliamentes of Fraunce, from iudgementes geuen by the Emperor or his Iustices, he is content to release the same superiority and resorte, which is a great minishment to the prerogatiue royall or the realme of Fraunce, for which of you (sayd the Cardinall) would consent that the king should release his sygnioritie or superioritie of Wales, Irelande or Cornewall, I dare saye you would rather spende your liues and goods.

Farther, where the French king bought of the king the Citie of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousand Crownes, and odde, yet he is content to yelde and release the same Citie to the Emperour for euer, yea, and besyde this, he offereth to take to wife, Elianor Queene Dowager of Portingale, without any dower, yea, in her Kirtell, and to indue her with ten thousand Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the childe if it be a Male, which shall be gotten of them two, shal be Duke of Burgoyn, and be partaker of all the honours of Fraunce, which is a great thing. Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heyre, shall marry the daughter of the sayde Ladie Elianor, without any treasure to be receyued for the same, which proffer is worth two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Furthermore, he will lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners, to conuey him to Rome, and also defend him agaynst all men, yea, what will he do more, although the king of Nauarre haue maryed his awne sister, whose Kingdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neyther to ayde nor comfort him agaynst the Emperor, but in his quarell to be agaynst him. Also he offereth to forsake his olde and approued friendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, which faythfully hath serued the realme of Fraunce, and all for the Emperors sake. But the Emperour sayde he, is so indurate, so vnkynde, and wilfull, that he neyther regardes these reasonable requestes, nor yet the kinges prayers nor requestes, but aunswered and sayd: that if the French king can do all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Emperor will trust no man, but euery man must trust him: Yet the French king offereth farther, to withdraw the puyssaunt army of the Lorde Lawtrick in Italy, and yet the same passeth prosperously forward, and is like to do the Emperour more disaduauntage, then I will nowe reherse: but

the Emperour is so prowde, and his people so cruell, that he nothing regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull downe Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreeme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes downe on the Auitare, and like robbers tooke the Pixe: and farther in the Church, they violated Virgins, and stupred Matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the Citye of Rome. And like as the king in huntyng tyme hath slayne three hundred Deere, and the garbage and paunches be cast round about, in euery quarter of the Parke, so (sayd the Cardinall) euery streete lay full of the priuie members and genitures of the Cardinalles and holy Prelates: the whole historie were to abhominable to tel. Yet notwithstandyng all these offers mocioned, and nothing regardyng this detestable tyranny, the which euery good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I coulde shewe you. xx. articles of promise, which he hath broken with the king: so that I assure you he kepeth no promise with our soueraine Lorde, also *contra ius Gencium*, which I am sure the great Turke would not doe, he kepeth prisoner the kinges Ambassador Doctor Lee, the French Ambassador, & the Ambassador of Venice: and forasmuch as the Emperor refuseth these offers, which amount to eyght Kinges raunsomes, I trust by this warre, we shall bridle him, and bring him to peace, and this occasion of warre, I would all you shoulde declare in your Countrie.

The murmor of the people.

When the Cardinall had sayde, some knocked other on the elbowe, and sayd softly he lieth, other sayde, that euill will sayde neuer well, other sayde that the French Crownes made him speake euill of the Emperour, but they that knew al that you haue heard before said, that it was shame for him to lie in such an audience. The cõmon people much lamented, ỳ warre should arise betwene the king & the Emperor, and especiall theyr consideration was, because the Emperors dominions, had holpen them with corne, & relieued them with grayne, when they could haue no corne, or little out of Fraunce. And in this rumor were diuers ships come out of Flaunders, and that parties, laden with Hering, Sturgion, & al other vitaile necessary: beside eight fayre ships, which were laden with corne, all the sayde ships, & all the ships of Spaine, were stayed and arested, and theyr sayles taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was much talked of by Marchauntes, which frequented the Emperours Dominions, for they knewe and openly sayd. that the let of the entercourse of Marchauntes, shoulde turne to the great losse of the Princes, but yet the Englishe men were content to obey theyr King and his Counsayle.

Shippes arrested.

The declaration of warre in England against the Emperour, and the restraint of shippes of the Emperours subiects, were shortly knowne to the Lady Margaret Duchesse of Sauoy, and aunte to the Emperor, which was gouernor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, and of all the lowe Countries: wherefore she by the aduice of the Emperours Counsayle to her associate, caused all the Englishe men, and their goodes and shippes to be restrayned, and they and theyr goodes were put in safe keepyng. Thus the poore Marchauntes suffered great losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace sayth: *Quicquid deliraut Reges, plectuntur achiui.* whatsoeuer kings do, the Cõmons be punished. Now after this sodaine storme, which the Cardinall had moued openly agaynst the Emperour for euill entreatyng of the kinges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowlege that the Emperour, both did the kings Ambassador great honour, and also that he neuer restrayned him from his libertie, wherevpon he caused the Emperors Ambassador, which before was restrayned of his libertie, to be sent to his awne lodgyng agayne, and sayd that by the report made by the French Ambassadors, he him restrayned, and now sithe he knew the truth, he mocioned the king for his deliueraunce.

The Emperours Ambassador, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the more to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, sayde: the king was informed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of both Princes were put in prison, and further he sayde, that Clarenseaux had made the defiaunce to the Emperour without the kings commaundement, but onely

did

did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadors, to accompanie the French Herauld, and for this presumpteous act, he should suffer death at Calice at hys returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certefied the Emperor of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spaine, which letters were opened & copied, by the Capitaine of Bayon, as the post passed that way. And when Clarenseaux returned homeward out of Spaine, the Capitaine gently shewed to him the copie of the letters, that the Emperors Ambassador had written. Thinke you not but Clarenseaux was dismayde, to heere his dayes so short: yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he heard worde agayne of the daunger that he was in, wherefore like a wyse man he left Calice, and tooke a ship at Bulleyn, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the king laye, and by friendship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kinges priuie Chamber, he was brought to the kinges presence, or the Cardinall wist of his returne, and to him shewed the three letters, which the Cardinall had sent to him, chargyng him to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the warre. He declared further, that neyther the Ambassadors of the king, nor the Frenche king, nor he were neuer sequestred from libertie, but gently enterteyned, and to the king he shewed a chaine to the value of seuen hundred Ducates, which the Emperor had geuen him, and shewed also the Copie of the Emperors Ambassadors letters, which he had at Bayon. When the king had heard all the circumstaunce of his declaration, he mused a great while, and sayde, O Lorde Iesu, he that I trusted most, tolde me all these thinges contrary, well Clarenseaux, I will bee no more of so light credence hereafter, for nowe I see perfectly, that I am made to beleue the thing that was neuer done.

Clarenseaux made a feard.

The wise saiyng of the king.

Then the king sent for the Cardinall and priuily talked with him, but whatsouer he sayde to him the Cardinall was not very mery, and euer after that time, the king mistrusted him. When the king and his counsayle had well digested the Emperours aunswere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kings Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe Countries of the Emperour, were glad to please the king of Englande and his subiects: wherefore the king commaunded syr Iohn Style knight, to discharge all the Dutchmen and their shippes, and to deliuer their sayles, and gaue them lycense to returne: Nay sayde the Dutchmen, the Spaniardes and we be the Emperours subiectes, why should not they be also discharged? Sir Iohn Stile aunswered them, that his commission was onely to discharge them. The Dutchmen fearing that the frenchmen would take the seas before them and so to stop them departed hastely, cursing the Cardynall as auethor of this warre.

The king now beginneth to smell the falshod of the Cardinal.

When the Lady Margaret hard tell, how the Dutche nation with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spaniardes, shee sent for the Englishe Merchaunts, and to them sayde: Sirs, sithe the king your maister hath deliuered onely the Dutchmen, and not the Spaniardes, we release your bodies free to go at your libertie, but your goods shall remaine till we knowe what shall become of the Spanyardes, and when they be delyuered come for your goodes, and you shall haue them deliuered, thus the Englishe men departed, and came to the king, and declared to hym and hys counsayle how they were entreated.

This warre with the Emperour was displeasaunt, both to Marchants and clothiers, for the Marchauntes durst not auenture into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the xj. daye of Marche, wherefore all brode clothes, Kerseis, and Cottons, lay on their handes. In so muche as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolke, and other shires which vse cloth making, brought clothes into Blackwell hall of London, to be solde as they were wont to doe: fewe Marchaunts or none bought anye cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then they put from them their spinners, carders, tuckers, and suche other that lyue by clothworking, which caused the people greatly to murmure, and especially in Suffolke, for if the Duke of Norfolke had not wisely appeased them, no doubt

Complaynt of the Clothiers.

but they had fallen to some riotous act. When the kings counsayle was aduertised of thys inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a great number of the Marchaunts of London, and to them sayd: Sirs the king is informed, that you vse not your selues like Marchaunts, but like Grasiers and artificers, for where the clothiers doe daylie bring clothes, to your market for your ease, to their great cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnesse will not bie them as you haue bene accustomed to doe: what maner of men be you sayde the Cardinall? I tell you that the king straightly commaundeth you to bie their clothes, as before time you haue bene accustomed to doe, vpon paine of his high displeasure.

The Marchaunts aunswered, my Lord you knowe well that we haue had no trade outward thys twelue Monethes past, and we haue so manye clothes in our hands, that we knowe not how to vtter them, therfore it were great losse to vs to bye any more: wherefore we trust you will not moue vs to bye the thing which we can not vtter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well sayde the Cardinall, if you will not bie the clothes at Blackwell hall, they shall be brought to the whyte hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the king shall bie them all, and sell them to Marchaunt straungers. Then aunswered a wise Marchaunt, my Lorde, the king may bie them as well at Blackwell hall, if it please him, and the straungers will gladlier receyue them there, then at Westminster: You shall not order that matter sayde the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to know what clothes you haue in your handes, and that done the king and his counsayle shall appoint who shall bye the clothes I warrant you, with this aunswere the Londoners departed.

When the clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed prowde, and spake euill of the Marchauntes, and when the Marchauntes came to bye clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then they were accustomed to be solde: but at length they were faine both to abate the price, and also to seeke of the Marchaunt men, for all the Cardinals saiyng.

If this warre was displeasaunt to manye in Englande (as you haue heard) surely it was as much or more displeasant, to the townes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, and in especial to the townes of Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes were kept, and where the resort of Englishe men was, for they sayde that their Martes were vndone, if the Englishemen came not there, and if there were no Marte, their Ships, Hoyes, and Wagons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might sleepe, and so the people should fall into miserie and pouertie: of these things daylie complaynts were made to the Ladie Margaret, and the Emperours counsayle, which wisely pondered the complaynts, and after long consultation had, they appoynted certaine Ambassadors to go to the king of Englande, and entreat for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englande, and associated themselues with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassador there for the Emperor: the one Ambassadour was Prouost of Cassell, and the other maister Iohn Lay soueraigne of Flaunders: these three Ambassadors came to the king the. xxix. day of Marche to Richemond, and after reuerence done, the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa sayde to the king, sir the Emperors Maiestie so much knowlegeth himselfe bound to your grace, for manifolde kinde actes and beneuolences done and shewed to him sith his tender age, that he in no wise will take the defiaūce, done by your Herault as a paremptory intimation of warre, tyll he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therefore his counsayle hath sent hether these two noble persons and me, to knowe your determinate aunswere, and finall resolution in that behalfe. The king after a good auisement had, aunswered and sayde: Of warre I am nothing ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull, I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue both men and money, and all thing ready prepared for the same, (which things I know that other princes lack, for all their high wordes) and therefore to that question of warre I could sone agree, but or I make you a determinate aunswere, some part of my minde I will declare to you, and I tell

The saiyng of Hugo de Mendosa.

The Kinges answere.

I tell you although your maister be a great Emperour and a mightie prince, I cannot nor maye not suffer him to beare downe and destroy the realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritaunce, and for the which our brother and alie the French king, payeth vs yerely a great pention and tribute, wherefore we of iustice and equitie, muste maintaine that lande, out of which we haue so faire a rent, and such a profite.

Then sayde the Prouost of Cassell, yea syr and it please you to call to your remembraunce, the olde and auncient loue and familiaritie which hath beene betwene your realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those Countreys will liue and die with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lorde, wherfore most noble prince neuer consent, that olde loue that hath so long contynued, be now broken and seperated: we say this for no feare, for we be well furnished for warre, both of men and strong Castels, all which before thys time hath bene at your commaundement, and therfore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we continue and offer you nowe to continue: and where we offer you choyse of warre or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperor meaneth that for your honour, as though you should commaund which you would: and if you chose warre, we haue commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offer vs and oures at your commaundement. Then sayde the Lord Hugo de Mendosa to the king, syr of verie right the Emperour and his countries ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the Frenche king and his Nation: for the Frenchmen in the time of their affliction, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which they neuer would do in the time of their prosperity, but the Emperour hath euer continued one man at all times, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they which neuer were long true to you. Well said the king, sithe I haue well perceyued the intent of your comming, I will be auised, and then I will make you an aduised aunswere, and in the meane season I am content that there be an abstinence of warre for a time, so the Ambassadors departed for a season, and the Prouost of Cassels departed to the Lady Margaret with this aunswere.

After this the king which was wyse, well learned, and a farre castyng Prince, consulted with his Counsaile of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the king was riche, strong and puyssaunt ynough to make warre with any Prince Christen, and that no Prince coulde hurt him by warre or inuasion, therefore some thought it best to haue warre, but the king and the wyser sort considered that if he had warre with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should leese much, and if they lost, the Clothiers and the Clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should leese and be brought to extreeme pouertie. For it was considered that the Emperor was Lorde of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia, and so southwarde to Epuskaia, and likewyse northeastwarde from Grauelyn, to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe Marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in daunger. Also no Alame could come into England, but through his dominions, by reason whereof cloth makyng should decay. Wherefore the king considered, if the marchauntes lost, the poorer sort should leese, and at length he should leese in his customes. Wherefore leauyng the glory of warre, he tooke mercye on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme, till farther communication might be had betwene his counsail and the Emperors. And vpon this poynt letters were sent into Spaine, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vndetermined till aunsweres were brought from outwarde partes.

In this season the Bishop of Bayon which afterwarde was Bishop and Cardinall of Parys beyng Ambassador from the French king, and soiournyng in London, heard tell howe the Emperours Ambassadors made much suite to the king and his Counsaile, wherefore he came to the Court, and desired to speake with the king, and so was brought to the kinges presence, to whome he sayde: pleaseth your highnesse to consider the great and highe peace that is concluded betwene you and your louyng brother, and perpetuall alye the French king my mayster, which is ratified and confirmed by the three estates of the realme of Fraunce, by the which you haue yerely twentie thousand pound sterlyng, which

The suite of the French Ambassadors.

which realme you haue promised to defend against all persons. Nowe in shewyng your loue that ye beare to the Frenche king and his subiectes, if you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraūce would take it so thankfully, that it should neuer be forgotten. Well sayd the king, as touchyng the league and amitie betweene my brother of Fraunce and me, it shall be inuiolately kept for me, but sir to enter into warre it needeth no counsaile, but howe to ende warre with honour and profite, men must nedes studie. As touching the defence of the realme of Fraunce, I assure you it shall be defended to my power, though it be to my losse, and my study is no lesse to haue a peace which might be more honourable to your mayster then to mine owne selfe. With which saiyng the Ambassador helde him well contented. So that you may perceiue that the great pencion and profite that the king of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the king of England so much held with the French king and not for mere loue. For this matter was dayly great counsayles, and one day the Emperors Ambassador was present, another day the French kings Ambassador was present, but the Cardinall was euer on the French part. So thus continued this dayly counsayles with great studie.

The kings answere.

In the same season, a Frenche Crayer of. xxx. Tonne, manned wyth. xxxviij. Frenchmen, lay at Margate to wayte for a praye of some Flemyng that should come out of the riuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armew which was apointed to waft the fisher botes betwene Graueling & Ost ende, was come by North of Goodwyn sandes, to Northsand head, and so came to Grauesend and tooke in bread. This Crayer was of. xxviij. tonne and had in her. xxiiij. Flemynges: When she was vittayled she made to the sea ward, and sodainly she espyed the Frenchmen which houed vnder a saile. The Flemynges mistrusted, and incontinent put themselues in a readinesse, and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman then ỳ Frechman shot a piece of ordinaunce, and with that layd the Flemyng aboorde, there was sore fightyng, for the Frenchmen had Crossebowes, and the Flemynges had Handgunnes. The Frenchman fell of and would haue bene gone, that seeyng the Flemyng whisteled, and after the Frenchman made sayle. Nowe the winde was so straynable East, that the Frenchman could sayle no whether, but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemyng folowed, and before Grauesend the Flemyng boorded the Frenchman, and there they fought againe, but away againe went the Frenchman, and the Flemyng after with all his sailes and so farre sayled the Frenchman, that he ranne along the Tower wharfe as though he would haue ryuen his shippe, the Fleming set on and entered the shippe for any thing the Frenchman could do, and cryed I haue taken the theefe. Sir Edmond Walsingham Lieuetenaunt of the Tower was on the Wharfe, and sawe them fight, called his men and entered the shippes, and tooke both the Capitaynes and theyr men. The Flemyng boldly chalenged his prise, for he sayde that open warre was betweene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayde farther, that the Frenchman was a Pirate: The kings counsaile tooke vp the matter and made an ende betweene them. Thys chaunce was much talked of that two shippes should sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower Wharfe, because that before tyme suche a lyke thing had neuer beene heard.

A ship chased to the Tower Wharfe.

Now let vs returne to the Lorde Lawtricke, which had gotten manye townes in Italy, and had with his great armie besieged the Citie of Naples and so it happened that the Prince of Orenge and other Capitaines the. xix. day of Aprill set on a great part of the Frenche army, and notwithstandyng their hardinesse, the Emperors army obteyned the victory, so that from that tyme forth the french men lost, what by pestilence which then was great in Italy, and what by sodaine skirmishes.

1528

The king kept the day of saint George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solemnitie at his Manor of Richemond, where to him came tidynges of the army of the Lorde Lawtricke in Italy, which letters shewed that the Lorde Lawtricke had sent the Lord Peter de Nauarro the thirde day of March last past to a great towne called

20

called Melffe with ten thousand Frenchmen, and within the towne were eyght hundreth Spanyardes good men of war: The Lord Peter de Nauarro besieged the town, and after gaue to the same a great assault, but the Spanyardes so defended them with ordinaunce and resistences, that they slue fiue or sixe thousande Frenchmen, and caused them to retreate. The Lorde Lawtricke heeryng this, came in person wyth a great number to the towne of Melffe, and maruaylously bet the towne with ordinance and then gaue to it a great and fierce assault, and therwith so sore that the Spaniardes were put backe, yet they defended them, so that it was maruayle to behold, for they slue and destroyed foure. M. Frenchmen. The French army entred the towne on all sydes, and yet the Spanyards kept the market with their ordinaunce as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed with multitude, they all were slaine without mercy, so cruell were the Frenchmen: In this towne was taken the Prince of Melffe, a noble man pertaynyng to the Emperor. Thus was the towne of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frenche mennes profite, for they lost almost tenne thousande men whiche sore diminished theyr power. Melff taken by the frenchmen.

Although that this season was an abstinence of warre taken betweene the king of Englande and the Ladie Margaret, so that the dutch Nation might safely come and go into Englande, and the Englishemen might safely repaire thether, yet betwene the Frenche men and the Fleminges was hot warre on the Frontiers, and manye a prisoner taken, and manye men slayne, and likewise the one part tooke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen would spoyle Englishe ships, saiyng that they had Flemings goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemings would enter the Englishe ships, and say they had Frenchmens goodes, so the English men lost, till the king sent shippes to keepe the sea: But for a truth the Spanyardes were strong on the sea, and to the French men did much harme. The King perceyuing that there was nothing concluded betwene the Emperor and him, thought not to be behinde hande, wherefore he ordayned that the Lord Sandes should passe to Guisnes with a thousand souldiours that was fiue hundred archers, and fiue hundred horsemen, and that the Duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after with a great armie to inuade Flaunders. These Lords made much preparation, and mustered their men at the Mantels beside saint Iohns and was ready to depart, but the Emperours Ambassador and the Ambassadour of Flaunders, so much did with the king and his counsayle (and the French king also assented) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, and the countreys of Pycardy on this side the water of Some for eyght Monthes, the peace to beginne the first daye of May, and to endure to the last day of February. This peace was proclaymed in London, the xix. day of Iune, so that nowe all Englishe men might lawfully passe into the lowe Countries but not into Spaine: which sore grieued Marchauntes that haunted that parties. In the same proclamation was farther conteyned, ỳ if a finall peace were not fully agreed betweene the sayde three princes within the sayde eyght Moneths, that then all Marchaunts should haue two Moneths after to passe into their awne countries with their wares and marchaundises in safetie. The Emperour sone enclined to this peace, for he sawe that by the Marte many of his friends in high Dutchland and other places toke great profite, and especially his awne lowe Countries, wherefore he thought not to hurt his friendes, for the displeasure he bare to his enemies of Fraunce, and also to shewe himselfe louing to the king of Englande he was content to take this peace.

In this season the Duke Charles of Gelders perceyuing the Emperor was at warre with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen and came to a great towne of Holland called the Hage, where the lawe and iustice is kept for that countrie, by reason whereof the towne was verie riche, and sodainely he entred the towne without resistence, and spoyled and robbed the towne, and slue diuers persons and with much riches laded their Wagons and so departed and caryed with him diuers riche prisoners. The Ladye Margaret gouernesse of the lowe countries heering of thys raised a great power vnder the conduyte

of the Lorde Isylsteinge, which Lorde with a great puyssaunce entered Gelderland and tooke the towne of Hatton, the Castell of Howting and forrayed and destroyed the countrie lastly on Whitsonday, beyng the last day of Maye, the Gelders gaue battayle to the Lorde Isylsteinge and fought valyauntly as any men could doe, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled, and were chased a great waye and many slayne. This chaunce was whyle the treatie of peace was in England.

The sweating sicknesse.

In the verie ende of May began in the Citie of London the sicknesse called the sweating sicknes, & afterward went through all the realme almost, of the which many dyed within fiue or sixe houres. By reason of this sicknesse the terme was adiorned and the circuites of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plague, for diuers died in the courte, of whome one was Sir Fraunces Poynes, which was Ambassador in Spaine, and other, so that the king for a space remoued almost euery day, tyll at the last he came to Tytynhangar a place of the Abbot of saint Albones, and there he with a fewe determined to bide the chaunce that God would send him, which place was so purged daylie with fyres, and other preseruatiues, that neyther he nor the Queene nor none of their company was infected of that disease, such was the pleasure of God. In thys great plague died syr Wylliam Compton knight, and Wylliam Cary Esquire, which were of the kings priuie chamber, and whome the king highly fauoured and many other worshipfull men and women in Englande.

Sir Wylliam Compton.

Midsommer watch in Lõdon was layd downe this yere.

By reason of this plague the watches which were wont to be kept yerely in London saint Iohns eue at Midsommer & saint Peters eue, whereby the king & his coũsail cõmaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armorers made great suit to the king and declared their great hinderaunce which was not so much considered as the mischiefe that might haue ensued if that so great a nũber should haue assembled together in ỹ hote time, & the plague of sweating raigning. Now let vs leaue England al this sõmer season troubled & vexed with this sweating sicknesse, & let vs returne to the affaires of Italy.

In this season was through all Italy a vniuersall warre, famine and pestilence, or a morreyn whereof the people died in euery place, and in especially in the Dukes armie which caused the most part of the Almaines to returne into their countrey, wherefore the Duke wisely considered ỹ chaunce and saw that his armie was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vittayle and money he was not able to conuey the remnaunt of his armie to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne, and so shortly after in good order returned, and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The French king was aduertised by the Lorde Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswike was comming to raise the siege and rescue the Citie, wherefore the French king sent Lorde Fraunces Erle saint Poul brother to the Duke of Vandosme with eyght thousand men to folowe the Duke of Brunswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Fraunces Sforcia Duke of Millayne and the Venecians, and so expell Anthony de Leua and all the Emperours souldiours out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succors were comming to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determyned to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the Citie and fought with the Frenchmen and slew many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The Lord Lawtricke knew well that the Citie could not hold long for lacke of vittayle (for a suertye if vittayle had not come by Sea, the towne had beene yelded) wherefore the Lorde Lawtrike suffered his army to lie still in the plaine field all the heat of the Sõmer and brought them not to the shadow, by reason whereof there fell such a disease amongst his army, that they died dayly in great number and he him selfe fell sick & left the army and lay at Verse, of the which mortallitie there died in the French campe aboue xxiiij. M. men, beside the most part of all their horses & beastes of which number as diuers writers doe agree there dyed aboue fiue thousand Gentlemen, amongest whome there dyed the Lorde Vademount brother to Anthony Duke

The death at Naples.

Lorde of Grauntmount, the Capitayne Malyac, the Lorde Lauall of
e Capytaine Luper, the Lord Charles Vyuone, Lorde of Chateygne-
Lorde Andrew of Vyuone Seneschal of Poytew, & many other noble

plague the towne of Cap (which most of all the townes in the realme of
on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part:
ing the Lorde Lawtrick, made therefore great sorrow, and being somewhat
his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he saw
r so minished and hys Campe so desolate of people that he perceyued that his
e could not be performed, he fell into such a malencholy that his sicknesse tooke
re feruently then before, so that within two dayes after, which was the one and
day of August he dyed at and his body was sered and conueied after into
ce.

e Marques of Saluce which was Liuetenaunt vnder the Lorde Lawtricke called to
saile the Erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauer and other Capitaynes that were
& after long consultacion they considered their number to be to small eyther to kepe
siege or to abyde battayle, for they passed not fiue thousand in all. Wherefore they
cluded to leaue the siege and to returne, and so the fiue and twenty day of August
y brake vp their Campe and returned toward Fraunce, in which returne the Spaniardes
r coasted them, and when they tooke any Frenchmen at aduauntage, they eyther slew
toke them. Thus was the end of this iorney by reason of the great mortalitie, which
t had not happened, the Citie and the whole realme of Naples had bene recouered:
r the citie of Naples could not haue holden ten dayes, after the army remoued as they
fessed after.

The returne of the king of Engeland and the French kinges camp out of Italy.

Now let vs returne to the king of England which was in a great scruple of his con-
ence and not quiet in his minde, because that diuers Diuines well learned secreatly en-
med him that he liued in adultery with his brothers wife to the great peryll of his soule,
and tolde him farther that the Courte of Rome could not dispence with Gods commaunde-
ment and precept. These thinges were talked among the common people sith the first day
of his mariage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kinges counsaylors ad-
uised hym to know the truth. Wherfore he like a wise Prince for quyeting of his con-
science called together the best learned of the realme which were of seuerall opinyons,
wherfore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges least peraduēture the Spaniards
in fauor of the Queene would say that his owne Subiectes were not indifferent iudges:
wherfore he wrote his cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendome were there,
and also he sent to all the vniuersities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great Clerkes of
all Christendome to know their opinions, and desired the Courte of Rome to sende into
his realme a Legate to heare the cause debated which should be indifferent and of a great
iudgement. At whose request the whole cōsistory of the College of Rome sent hether
Laurence Campeius a Priest Cardinall, a man of great wit & experience, but more learn-
ed in the papall Law then in diuinitie, which was sent as Legate into England the. x. yere
of this king as you haue heard in the sayde yere, and with him was ioyned in commission
the Cardinall of Yorke and Legate of England, and so this Cardinall Campeius by long
iourneys came into England, and much preparation was made to receyue him triumphantly
into London, but he was so sore vexed with the Gout that he refused all such solempnities,
and desired hartely that he might wout pompe be conueied to his lodgyng for his more
quyet and rest, & so the ninth day of October he came from saint Mary Ouereis by water
to the Bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last time he was
in England: Where he was visited of the Cardinall of Yorke, and diuerse other estates
and prelates. And after he had rested him a season and was somewhat releeued of his
payne, he was brought to the kinges presence then liyng at Bridewell by the Cardinall of
Yorke, and was caried in a Chayre of Crimosin Veluet borne betweene foure persons for
he

Now was the king fully enformed that he liued in adultery.

Cardinall Campeius commeth to London.

he was not able to stande, and the Cardinall of Yorke and he sate bot
of the kinges throne, and there one Fraunciſco Secretary to Cardinall
The Oratiō. eloquent Oration in the Latine tongue, in which he rehersed, first with
Emperours souldiers had handeled the Pope, what tyranny they had she
nalles and Priests, what sacrilege and spoyle they had committed in sayn
how they had violated Virgyns, rauished mens Wyues, and in conclusyon
and tormented all the Romaines and inhabitaunts in the Citie of Rome:
shewed what friendshipe the College of Rome found at the kings handes an
kings in the time of that tribulation, that if they had not ioyned together, t
Rome with all their gouernors had beene brought to vtter royne and decay, for
he sayd that Pope Clement and all his College of Cardinalles and the Senators o
with all the Citizens rendered to the kyng their hartie thankes, and promysed h
loue, fauor, and amytye perpetuall.

This oration (as concerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamenta
& such abhominable actes and tyrannies, that the most part of the herers thought it
The answer. eloquent then true. To the which oration Doctor Fox Prouost of Cābridge made a
crete answere: And as to the first poynt he declared that the king muche lamente
heare his friendes yea or any other christen men to be ordered or handled with such
ranny & oppression: And as touching the second poynt he sayd, that the king did
the dutie of a Christian Prince to releue his friendes beyng in captiuitie, for the which
would that the whole Citie of Rome should geue thankes to God and not to him. A
which aunswere made, the two Legates commoned secreatly wyth the king a long spa
and after departed to their lodging.

Of the commyng of this Legate, the common people beyng ignorant of the truth, a
especially women, and other that fauoured the Queene, talked largely, and sayde tha
the king would for his awne pleasure haue another wyfe, and had sent for this Legate
be deuorced from his Queene, with many foolishe wordes, insomuch that whosoeuer spa
agaynst the mariage was of the common people abhorred and reproued, which com
communications were related to the king, wherefore he like a pru
rumor and foolishe co
Prince and circumspect doer in all his affayers, and willyng all men to knowe his in
and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Iudges, and Counsaylors, with diuers other p
sons to come to his Palace of Bridewell on sunday the. viij. day of Nouember at af
noone in his great chamber, and there to them sayde as nere as my witte coulde bea
awaye these wordes folowyng. Hall.

The kinges Oracion concerning hys first mariage. Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie, and you of the mean
sort, it is not vnknowne to you howe that we, both by Gods prouision, and true and lay
full inheritaunce haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of. xx. yeres
Duryng which tyme we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemie hath
oppressed you nor taken any thing from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme, but we haue
had victorie and honour, so that we thinke that you, nor none of your predecessors neuer
liued more quietlye, more wealthie, nor in more estimation vnder anye of our noble pro-
genitors: But when we remember our mortalitie, and that we must dye, then we thinke
that all our doyngs in our lyfe tyme are clerely defaced, and worthie of no memorie, if
we leaue you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowne
at the tyme of our death, see what mischiefe and trouble shall succeede to you and your
children. The experience wherof some of you haue seene after the death of our noble
Grandfather king Edward the fourth, and some haue heard what mischiefe and manslaugh-
ter continued in this realme betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by the which
discention this realme was lyke to haue bene clerely destroyed. And although it hath plea-
sed almightie God to sende vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our
great comfort and ioy, yet it hath beene tolde vs by diuers great Clerkes, that neyther she
is oure lawfull daughter, nor her mother our lawfull wyfe, but that we liue together ab-
hominably

hominably and detestably, in open adultery, insomuch that when our Ambassade was last in Fraunce, and mocion was made that the Duke of Orleaunce should marry our sayde daughter, one of the chiefe Counsaylors to the French kinge sayd. It were well done to know whether she be the king of England his lawfull daughter or not, for well knowen it is, that he begat her on his brothers wyfe, which is directly agaynst Gods law and his precept. Thinke you not my Lordes that these wordes touch not my bodie and soule, thinke you that these doyngs do not dayly and hourely trouble my conscience and vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but and if it were your awne cause euery man would seeke remedie when the perill of your soule, and the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layde to you. For this onely cause I protest before God & in the word of a Prince, I haue asked counsaile of the greatest Clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent onely to knowe the truth, and to settle my conscience, and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touchyng the Queene, if it be adiudged by the lawe of God that she is my lawfull wyfe, there was neuer thing more pleasaunt, nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and cleeryng of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and condicions the which I knowe to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage, of the which she is discended (as all you knowe) she is a woman of most gentlenesse, of most humilitie and buxumnesse, yea, and of all good qualities apperteinyng to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this. xx. yeres almost haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to marry againe, if the mariage might be good, I would surely choose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by iudgement that our maryage was against Gods law & clerely voyd, then I shall not onely sorow the departyng from so good a Ladie and louyng companion, but much more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce, that I haue so long liued in adultery to Gods great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my bodie to enherit this realme. These be the sores that vexe my minde, these be the pangues that trouble my conscience, and for these grieues I seeke a remedie. Therefore I require of you all as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subiectes our minde and entent, accordyng to our true meanyng, and desyre them to pray with vs, that the very truth maye be knowne for the discharge of our conscience, and sauyng of our soule, and for the declaration hereof, I haue assembled you together, and now you may depart.

The praise of the Queene.

To see what countenance was made amongst the heerers of this Oration it was a straunge sight, for some sighthed and sayde nothing, other were sory to here the king so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauoured the Queene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euery man spake as his heart serued him, but the king euer laboured to know the truth for discharge of his conscience.

Shortly after this, the two Legates came to the Queene at the same place of Bridewell, and declared to her howe they were deputed Iudges indifferent betweene the king and her, to heere and determine whether the maryage betwene them stoode with Gods law or not. When she heard the cause of their commyng, no maruaile though she were astonnied, for it touched her very nere. And when she had paused a while she answered.

The saiyng of the Legate.

Alas my Lordes is it now a question whether I be the kinges lawfull wife or no? When I haue bene maried to him almost. xx. yeres, and in the meane season neuer question was made before? Diuers Prelates yet beyng aliue, and Lordes also, and priuie Counsaylors with the king at that tyme, then adiudged our marryage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruaile: and in especiall when I consider what a wise Prince the kinges father was, and also the loue and naturall affection, that king Fardinando my father bare vnto me: I thinke in my selfe that neyther of our fathers, were so vncircumspect, so vnwyse, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might folow of our mariage, and in especiall the king my father, sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge, obteyned a licence and dispensation, that I being the one brothers wife, and peraduenture carnally knowne

The queenes answere.

The Queene imputeth the cause of her diuorse vnto Cardinall Wolsey.

might without scrupull of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence vnder lead I haue yet to shewe, which thinges made me to say and surely beleue, that our maryage was both lawfull, good and Godly: But of this trouble I onely may thanke you my Lorde Cardinall of Yorke, for because I haue wondered at your highe pride and vaine glory, and abhorre your voluptuous life, and abhominable Lechery, and little regard your presumptious power and tiranny, therefore of malice you haue kindeled this fire and set this matter abroche, and in especiall for the great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperor, whome I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambicion and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue sayde more then once, that you would trouble him and his friendes, and you haue kept him true promise, for of all his warres and vexations, he onely may thanke you, and as for me his poore aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth to whome I commit my cause accordyng to the truth. The Cardinall of Yorke excused himselfe, saiyng, that he was not the beginner, nor the mouer of the doubt, and that it was sore agaynst his will, that euer the mariage should come in question, but he sayde that by his superior the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Iudge to here the cause, which he sware on his profession to beere indifferently, but whatsoeuer was sayde, she beleued him not, and so the Legates tooke their leaue of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in French, and written by Cardinall Campeius Secretory, which was present, and by me (sayth Hall) translated as neere as I coulde.

The Cardinall excuseth himself.

The king notwithstanding that his minde was vnquiet, yet he kept a good countenaunce towarde the Queene, with as much loue, honor, and gentlenesse, as could be shewed to such a princesse, but he absteyned from her bed till the truth was tryed, according as his ghostly counsayle had auised him, which was to him no little paine, for surely he loued her as well, as anye Prince might loue his wife, and shee him againe, and therfore it was great pyttie, that their mariage was not good.

The more to quicken his spirites, and for recreation, the king kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with much solempnitie and great plentie of Viands, & thether came the two Legates, which were receiued by two Dukes and diuers Erles, Barons and gentlemen, to whom the king shewed great pleasures, both of Iustes, Tornays, Bankets, Maskes, and disguisings, and on the Twelfe day he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinall Campeius borne in wedlock, knight, and gaue him a coller of. S.S. of Golde: but the Queene shewed to them no maner of countenance, and made no great ioy of nothing, her minde was so troubled.

Cardinall Campeius sonne made knight.

This doing in Englande was spred ouer all Christendome by letters, and in euery region except Spaine, and the Emperors dominions, they adiudged the king a wise, a verteous, and a prudent Prince, for tryng out of the truth, considering that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in diuinitie, but vpon the vncertainetie of the same, depended the ruine of his realme, and the succession of the same, which was a waightie thing to consider, and no wisedome to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thing commoned of, but onely of the kings mariage, the Archbishop of Cauntorburie sent for the famous Doctors of both the Vniuersities to Lambeth, & there were euery day disputations, and commonings of thys matter, and because the king perceyued and knewe well, that the Queene was wedded to her awne opinion, and that he would that she should doe nothing without counsayle, he bad her chose the best Clarkes of his realme, to be of her counsaile, and licensed them to doe the best on her part that they could, according to the truth: then she elected Wylliam Warham Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Nicholas West Bishop of Elie, Doctors of the lawes, and Iohn Fyssher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standishe Bishop of saint Asse, Doctors of Diuinitie, and manye other Doctors and well learned men, which for a suretie like men well learned: defended her cause as farre as learning might defend it.

The Quene is lycenced to retayne counsayle against the king her husband.

In the beginning of thys yere, in a great Hall within the black Friers of London was ordeyned a solempne place, for the two Legates to sit in, with two Cheyres couered with cloth of Golde, and Cusshions of the same, and a Dormant table railed before, like a solempne Court, all couered with Carpets and Tapissery: on the right hand of the Court was hanged a cloth of estate, with a Chayer and Cusshions of riche Tissue, for the king, and on the left hande of the Court, was set a riche Chayer for the Queene. When the place was readie, the king and the Queene were ascited by Docter Sampson, to appere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentie and eyght day of May, beyng then the morrowe after the feast of Corpus Christi, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At the day assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses, Pillers, Axes, and all the ceremonies belonging to their degrees, and after that they were set (the Cardinall of Yorke sitting on the right hande) their commission was red, and the cause of their comming thether openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Court of Rome was instructed, that great Clarkes and learned men had enformed the king, that his mariage with his brothers wyfe was vnlawfull, dampnable, and directly agaynst the lawe of God, wherefore they were directed and appointed by the sayde Court, to bee Iudges in the cause, and to heare what on both parties could be alleged: after this was done, the king was called by name, for whome two Procters appered, then the Quene was called, which within short space, beyng accompanied with the foure Byshops and other of her counsayle, and a great company of Ladies and gentlewomen folowyng her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obedience, sadly and with great grauitie done, shee appeled from them, as Iudges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done, shee departed agayne. Notwithstanding thys appeale, the Legates sat weekely, and euery day were arguments on both partes, and nothing else done.

1529

21 The Courte at the Black Friers.

The Quene appealed.

The king which onely desired to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the of Iune, and the Queene also, where he standing vnder his cloth of estate, sayde these wordes in effect folowyng: My Lordes, Legates of the sea Apostolique which be deputed Iudges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely besech you, to ponder my minde and intent, which onely is to haue a finall [illegible] the discharge of my conscience: for euerye good christian man knoweth what paine and what vnquietnesse he suffereth, which hath his conscience grieued, for I assure you on mine honor, that thys matter hath so vexed my minde, and troubled my spirites, that I can scantly studie any thing, which should be profitable for my realme and people. And for to haue a quietnesse in body and soule is my desire and request, and not for anye grudge that I beare to her that I haue maried, for I dare say that for her womanhood, wisedome, nobilitie, and gentlenesse, neuer prince had such another, and therefore if I would willingly chaunge, I were not wise: wherefore my suite is to you my Lordes at this time, to haue a speedie ende, according to right, for the quyetnesse of my minde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

The kinges Oration.

When the king had sayde, the Queene departed without any thing saiyng, then she was called, to knowe whether she would bide by her appele, or aunswere there before the Legates, her Procter aunswered, that shee would bide by her appele, that notwithstanding, the counsaylours on bothe sides euery day almost met, and debated this matter substancially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, if she were carnally knowne by the first brother, (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was aunswered, that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for drinke earely in the morning, saiyng: that he had beene in Spaine that night, which was a hote countrie, meaning that he had carnally vsed her, farther at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, shee thought and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause the king was deferred from the tytle and creation of the Prince of Wales, almost halfe a yere, which thing could not haue beene iudged, if she had not bene carnally knowne.

Also she her selfe caused a Bull to be purchased, in the which were these wordes, *Vel forsan cognitam*, which is asmuch to say, as peraduenture carnally knowne, which wordes were not in the first Bull graunted by Iuly, at her second mariage to the king, which second Bull with that clause was onely purchased, to dispence with the second matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before, which Bull neded not to haue bene purchased, if there had bene no carnal copulation, for then ỹ first Bull had bene sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perswasions of naturall reason, how this shoulde not be vndone, for three causes: one was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the king, shoulde bee a Bastard, which were a great mischiefe to the realme: Secondly the seperation should be a cause of great vnkindnesse, betweene her kindred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuaunce of so long space, had made the mariage honest: These perswasions with many other, were set forth by the Queenes counsaile, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stoode stiffe in her cause, but yet Godes presepte was not aunswered, wherefore they left that grounde and fell to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispenced with that mariage: To thys some Lawyers sayde, that no earthly person is able to dispence with the positiue lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion for the most part was agaynst the Matrimony, and that nowe the question was brought to dispute, the aucthoritie of the Court of Rome, they began a little to quicken: For they considered that if they should say and determine, that the Court of Rome might not dispence in that case, that few men would thinke, that they might dispence in any other case, which should be to them a great losse and hurt. Wherefore they dissimuled the matter, and euer tolde the king, that he should haue an ende shortly, and tracted forth the time with Orations and Sophisticall arguments, till August began to approch: then Cardinall Campeius sayd, that they might not sit after Iuly, till October, all which season was a vacation in the Court of Rome, and their Court beyng a member of the Court of Rome, they must needes doe the same: this saiyng was reported to the king, which by that saiyng knew [illegible] that he should then haue no ende, and then he complayned to the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and other nobles of his counsail, how he was delayed, and wylled them at the next Session, to require them, to make an ende of the cause, and what iudgement soeuer they gaue, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnesse of his conscience.

An oration made by Cardinall Campeius to delay the kings suite.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the thirtie day of August, beyng Fryday, whereas Cardinall Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and fayth that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at the end of Iuly, to suspend all causes, till the fourth day of October, and if any case be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgment to be clerely voyde, and therefore he required the king to take pacience til that time, trusting that then they should proceede towarde sentence, so that he should be contented: the Noble men desired them to make an ende, whatsoeuer it were, that day or the next day, which was the last day of Iuly: but they aunswered that they coulde sit no more till October, which aunswere sore displeased the noble men, which the king had sent thether, insomuch that Charles Duke of Suffolke,

The saiyng of Charles Duke of Suffolke.

seyng the delay, gaue a great clap on the Table with hys hand and sayde: by the Masse, now I see that the olde sayde saw is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardinall, that did good in Englande, and with that saiyng all the Temporall Lordes departed to the king, leauing the Legates sitting one loking on the other sore astonied, because they saw the Temporall Lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he heard of this delay, but yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it paciently, trusting to haue an ende in October ensuyng: But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he should wyth speede, returne into Italy, and that he prouided for his iorney: Then he openly perceyued,

ceyued, that the Legates dissimuled the time to haue the matter in the Courte of Rome, for the maynteinaunce of their auctboritie, knowyng perfitely, that there he should be foded forth with argumentes so long that he should be in maner wery, and also all that time, he shoulde be vnquyet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the second care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke (whome he so highly fauored and trusted, and whome he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopricke of Yorke, and the Bishoprickes of Wynchester, Duresme, and the Abbey of saint Albons, with many other great dignities and promotions, beside the Chauncellorship of Englande) so vnfaithfully to dissimule with him, and not to open the very truth, which caused him clerely to cast him out of his fauor, in the which he had long bene.

The promotions giuen to the Cardinall of Yorke.

When the Nobles and Prelates perceiued, that the kinges fauor was from the Cardinall sore minished, euery man of the kinges Counsayle, began to lay to him such offences, as they knew by hym, and all their accusations were written in a Booke, and all their handes set to it, to the number of thirtie and foure, which Booke they presented to the kyng. When the king saw the Booke he marueiled not a little, for by the articles conteyned in the same, he euidently perceaued the high pride, and coueteousnesse of the Cardinall, and saw openly with what dissimulation and clokyng, he had handled the kings causes: how he with fayre liyng wordes, had blinded and defrauded the king, most vntruly, which accusations sore moued the king agaynst hym; but yet he kept it close for a time, and so the king rode on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstock. And at the feast of the nativitie of our Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanly receyued, sauing that the king made to them good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the saide Campeius toke his leaue of the king, and then the king him conueied to the Chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Yorke also went with his companyon to Tocester, and on the morrow he came to Grafton to speake with the king, which was then ryding out on huntyng, and he sent him worde by Henry Norreis, that he should accompany Campeius to London, and when the king came to London, he woulde more common with him: thus almost dismayed the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his companyon to Tocester, and so they came together to London, where to the Cardinall Campeius, were deliuered great rewardes, and so he tooke his iorney toward the Sea side, Where the kinges counsayle, caused his chestes and cariages to be opened to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, and there were but a fewe letters founde, for they were sent before in poste, but in many chestes were founde, olde hosen, olde coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man would cary to haue it, which search much displeased Campeius, and the more because his coffers were likewise opened in Chepe, by the rashnesse of a Moyle, as you haue heard in the tenth yere of the king.

The king frowning vpō the Cardinall euery man was in his necke.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauing behinde him his subtill felowe, which after their departing from the kyng at Grafton, neuer saw the king, nor came in hys presence. This great Session of the Legates, was commuted of through Christendom, and in especially in Spayne, and other the Emperors dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should be diuorsed from the king: and suerly the most part of the lay people of Englande, which knew not the law of God, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a Gentlewoman in the court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to Sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheford, whome the King much fauored in all honestie, and suerly none otherwise, as all the world well knew after.

The last time the Cardinall came to the kinges presence.

The king now beginneth to fauor Lady Anne Bulleyn.

The king which all the. xx. yere past, had beene ruled by other, and in especiall by the Cardinall of Yorke, began now to be a ruler and a king, yea, a king of such witte, wisedome, and pollicie, that the like hath not reigned ouer this realme, as you shall plainely perceyue hereafter: as well for the settyng forth of true doctrine, as also for the aug-

mentation of his Crowne. For when he perceyued, how the Cardinalles had handeled him, and saw plainly that the law of God was clere, that he might not marry his brothers wyfe, thought to sende his Ambassadors to all the Vniuersities in Fraunce, and Italy, to know their determinatiõs, and for that cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and Doctor Foxe, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall heere hereafter declared, when the matter serueth.

The king beginneth to rule.

The king continually studiyng on this matter, called a counsaile of the chiefe of his Nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first day of October next ensuyng, and also sommoned a Parliament, to begin the thirde day of Nouember, then immediatly folowyng, and declared that the same Counsaile, should deuise diuers actes, necessary and needefull to be passed at the sayde Parliament, for reformation of certain exactions, doné by the Clergie to the lay people, to which Counsaile and Parliament, the Cardinall was warned and sommoned, which much comforted him, that he outwardly little abashed: and so he and all the Counsaile, came to the counsaile Chamber at Westminster, and there dyuers dayes commoned of diuers thinges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed himselfe, much more humblyer then he was wont to be, & the Lordes shewed themselues more higher and straunger, then they were wont to be, but for all that he abashed not hys countenaunce, but came into Westminster Hall with all his traine, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kinges seruauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sate in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre Chamber, for all the Lordes and other the kinges Counsaile, were gone to Windsore to the king, where they enformed the king, that all thinges that he had done almost, by his power Legantine, were in the case of the Premunire and prouision: and that the Cardinall had forfeited all his landes, tenemẽts, goodes, and cattayles to the king: Wherefore the king willing to order him, according to the order of his lawes, caused his attournay Christopher Hales to sue out a Writte of Premunire agaynst hym, in the which he licenced him to make an attourney.

The Cardinalles pride abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire.

And farther, the. xvij. day of Nouember, he sent the two Dukes of Norffolk & Suffolk, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of England, which he was loth to deliuer, if there had bene any remedy, but in cõclusion he deliuered it to the two Dukes, which deliuered the same to Doctor Taylor maister of the Rolles, to carry it to the king, which so did the next day: and beside this ỹ king sent sir William Fitzwilliam knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house: and further ordeined that ỹ Cardinal should remoue to Asher beside Kingston, there to tary the kings pleasure, and to haue all things deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompeous & superfluous fashion: For all his goodes were seazed to the kinges vse. When the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, with many Erles, bishops, and Barons, came into the Starre Chamber, the. xix. day of October, wher the Duke of Norffolke declared that the kinges highnesse, for diuers and sundrie offences, had taken from him the great Seale, and deposed him of all offices, & least that men might complaine for lacke of iustice, he had appoynted him and the Duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other lords to sit in the Starre Chamber, to heere and determine causes indifferently, and that of all things the kings pleasure and commaundement was, that they should keepe their handes close, from any rewardes takyng, or maintenance, and so that weeke they sat in the Starre Chamber, and determined causes.

The Cardinalles remouyng from Yorke place.

On the . day of the same moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse, saiyng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meanyng that by his Crosse, that he bare as Legate, which degree takyng was his confusion, as you see openly, and so he tooke his barge and went to Putney by water, and there tooke his horse, and rode to Asher, where he remayned till Lent after.

Duryng which tyme, he beeyng called on for an aunswere in the kinges Benche, to the Premunire, for geuyng benefices by preuension, in disturbaunce of mennes enheritaunce, and diuers other open causes in the Premunire: he accordyng to the kinges licence, constituted Iohn Scute, and Edmond Ienny, apprentices of the Lawe, his attournayes, which by hys awne warrant signed with his hand, confessed all things concernyng the said suite, for they were to open to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that he should forfeyt all his Jandes, tenementes, goodes, and Catelles and should be out of the kinges protection, but for all that the king sent hym a sufficient protection: and of his gentlenesse left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gaue to him plate and stuffe conuenient for hys degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to Doctor Tunstall Bishop of London, and the Abbey of Saint Albones, he gaue to the Prior of Norwich, and to London he promoted Doctor Iohn Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Vniuersities, for the kinges mariage, as you haue heard before. For all these kindnesse shewed to the Cardinall, yet he still maligned agaynst the king, as you shall perceyue hereafter, by his vntrue doynges, whiche brought him to confusion.

The. xxiij. day of October, the king came to his manor of Grenewich, and there muche consulted with his Counsaile, for a meete man to be his Chauncelor, so that in no wyse he were no man of the spiritualtie, and so after long debate, the king resolued himselfe vpon sir Thomas Moore knight, Chauncelor of the Duchie of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common Lawe, whose witte was fine, and full of imaginations, by reason wherof, he was to much geuen to mocking, which was to his grauitie a great blemish. And then on the Sunday the. xxiiij. day of the same moneth, the king made him his Chauncelour, and delyuered him the great Seale, which Lorde Chauncelour the nexte morrowe after, was ledde into the Chauncerye, by the two Dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before him. Sir Thomas Moore made Chaūcelour.

Thys yere the king of Englande began his high Court of parliament, the thirde day of Nouember. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parliament, and so came to the black Friers Church, where a Masse of the holye ghost was solemply song by the kinges Chapell, & after the Masse, the king, with all the Lords of the parliament, and commons which were sommoned to appere at that day came into the parliament chamber, where the king sat in hys Throne or seat royall, and syr Thomas Moore his Chauncelour standing on the right hande of the king behinde the barre made an eloquent oration, declaring that like as a good Shepheard, which not alonely keepeth and attendeth well his sheepe, but also foreseeth and prouideth for all thing, which eyther may be hurtfull or noysome to his flock, or maye preserue and defende the same agaynst all perilles that may chaunce to come, so the king which was the Shepheard, ruler, and gouernour of his realme, vigilantly foreseing things to come, cōsidered how diuers lawes before this time were made now by long continuaunce of time and mutation of thinges, verie insufficient, and vnperfite, and also by the frayle condition of man, diuers new enormities were sprong amongs the people, for the which no lawe was yet made to reforme the same, which was the very cause why at that time the king had sommoned his high Court of Parliament: and he resembled the king to a Shepheard, or Heardman for this cause, for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a riche man, if a prince be compared to hys honour, he is but an honorable man: but compare him to the multitude of hys people and the number of his flock, then he is a ruler, a gouernour of might and puyssaunce, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of sheepe, commeth the name of a Shepherd: as you see that amongst a great flock of sheepe some be rotten and fautie, which the good Shepheard sendeth from the good sheepe, so the great weather which is of late fallen as you all know, so craftely, so scabbedly, ye & so vntruly iuggeled with the king, that all men must needes gesse and thinke that he thought in himselfe, that he had no wit to perceiue his crafty doing, or else that he presumed that the king would not see nor know his fraudulent iuggeling. A Parlyament. An oration made by syr Thomas Moore.

geling and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quick and penetrable, that he sawe him, yea and sawe through him, both within and without, so that all thing to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offendors, but clerely declareth that whosoeuer hereafter shall make like attempt or cōmit like offence, shal not escape with like punishmēt. And because you of the common house be a great multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, and there amongst your selues according to the olde and auncient custome to chose an able person to be your common mouth and speaker, and after your election so made to aduertise his grace thereof, which wyll declare to you his pleasure what daye he will haue him presented in this place.

Thomas Audeley chosen speaker.

After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audeley Esquire and attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the Parliament adiourned to Westminster. On the. vj. day of the same month the king came into the parliament chamber and all the Lordes in there robes, and there the commons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made

An Oration.

an eloquent oration whiche consisted in two poyntes, the first was, that he muche praysed the king for his equitie and Iustice, mixed with mercy and pitty, so that none offence was forgotten and left vnpunished, nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which should be a cause to bridle all men from doyng lyke offences, and also a comfort to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation.

The second poynt was, that he disabled himselfe, for lack of wyt, learnyng and discretion to so highe an office, beseeching the king to cause his commons to resort eftsones to their common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parliament.

To this the king (by the mouth of the Lorde Chaunceloure) aunswered that where he had disabled himselfe in wyt and learning, his awne ornate oration there made, testified the contrarie, and as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himselfe had well knowne him and his doyngs, sith he was in his seruice, to be both wise and discreete, and so for an hable man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted.

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, they began to common of their griefes, wherewith the spiritualtie had before time grieuously oppressed them, both contrarie to the lawe of the realme, and contrarie to all right, and in especiall they were sore moued with sixe great causes.

The great charge of the Probate of sir William Comptons Testament.

1 The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries tooke for probate of Testaments, insomuch that syr Henry Guilforde knight of the Garter and Comptroller of the kings house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other, being executors to Sir William Compton knight, payde for the probate of his will to the Cardinall and the Archebyshop of Cauntorburie a thousand Marke sterling: after this declaration were shewed so manye extortions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to much to rehearse.

2 The second cause was the great polling and extreme exactiō, which the spirituall men vsed in taking of corps, presentes, or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should all die for hunger and go a beggyng, rather then they would of charitie geue to them the siely cow which the dead man ought if he had but onely one, such was the charitie then.

3 The thirde cause was, that priestes beyng surueiors, stuardes and officers to Byshoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heades, had and occupyed Fermes, Graunges, and grasing in euery countrey, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them, and yet for that they shoulde paye derely.

4 The fourth cause was that Abbottes, Priors, and spirituall men kept Tanne houses, and bought and solde Woll, clothe, and all maner of Marchaundise, as other temporall Marchaunts did.

5 The

5 The fift cause was because that spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their lyuing of their flock, were liyng in the Court in Lordes houses, and tooke all of the parishoners, and nothing spent on them at all, so that for lack of residence both the pore of the parishe lacked refreshyng, and vniuersally all the parishoners lacked preaching, and true instruction of Gods worde, to the great perill of their soules.

6 The sixt cause was to see one priest beyng little learned to haue ten or twelue benefices and to be resident on none, and to knowe many well learned scholers in the Vniuersitie, which were hable to preache and teache, to haue neyther benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heretike, or lese al that he had for the Byshoppes were Chauncelors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt anye thing contrarie to their proffite or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eyes of the king, and that their subtill doings was once espied: then men began charitably to desire a reformation, and so at this parliament men began to shewe their grudges.

Wherevpon the Burgesses of the parliament appointed suche as were learned in the law, beyng of the common house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residence, pluralities, and taking of Fermes by spirituall men.

The learned men tooke much payne, and first set foorth the bill of Mortuaries, which passed the common house, and was sent vp to the Lordes.

To thys bill, the spirituall Lordes made a fayre face, saiyng that surely Priestes and Curates tooke more then they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order, thus they spake because it touched them little.

But within two dayes after was sent vp the Bill concerning probates of Testaments, at the which the Archebishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other Byshops in generall both frowned and gruntyd, for that touched there profite, insomuch as Doctor Iohn Fisher Byshop of Rochester, sayde openly in the parliament chamber these wordes: my Lordes, you see daylie what billes come hether from the common house, and all is to the destruction of the Church, for Gods sake see what a realme the kingdome [illegible] me was, and when the Church went downe, then fell the glory of the kingd[illegible]ome, now with the commons is nothing but downe with the Church, and all [illegible] this me seemeth is for lacke of fayth onely.

The saiyng of John Fisher Bishop of Rochester.

When these words were reported to the commons of the nether house, that the Byshop should say that all their doyngs were for lack of fayth, they tooke the matter grieuously, for they imagyned that the Byshop esteemed them as heretikes, and so by hys slaunderous wordes would haue perswaded the temporall Lordes to haue restrayned their consent from the sayde two billes, which they before had passed, as you haue heard before.

Wherefore the commons after long debate, determined to sende the speaker of the parliament to the kings highnesse, with a grieuous complaint agaynst the Byshop of Rochester, and so on a day when the king was at leysure, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chiefe of the common house, came to the kings presence in his palace at Westminster, which before was called Yorke place and there verie eloquently declared what a dishonour to the king and the realme it was to saye that they which were elected for the wysest men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughes within the realme of Englande should be declared in so noble and open presence to lack fayth, which was equipalent to say, that they were infidels and no christians, as yll as Turkes or Sarasins, so that what payne or studie soeuer they toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Panyms and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherefore he most humbly besought the kings highnesse, to call the sayde Byshop before hym and to cause him to speake more secretly of such a number as was in the common house.

A complaint made to the king.

6 The

The king was not well contented with the saiyng of the Bishop, yet he gently aunswerd the speaker, that he would sende for the Bishop and send them worde what aunswere he made, and so they departed againe. After this the king sent for the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and six other Bishops and for the Bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons, to the which the Bishop aunswered that he ment the doings of the Bohemians was for lacke of fayth, and not the doyngs of them that were in the common house, which saiyng was confirmed by the Bishops being present, which had him in great reputation, and so by that onely saiyng the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent worde to the commons by syr William Fitzwilliam knight Treasorer of his housholde, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

The bishops excuse.

Probate of Testaments.

After this diuers assembles were kept betwene certain of the Lords and certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporaltie layd to the spiritualty there owne lawes and constitutions, and the Spiritualtie sore defended them by prescriptyon and vsage, to whome an aunswere was made by a Gentleman of Greyes Inne: the vsage hath euer bene of theues to rob on shooters hyll, ergo is it lawfull? with this aunswere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the Temporall men stoode still by there saiynges, in so much the sayde Gentleman sayd to the Archebishop of Cantorbury, that both the exaction of probates of Testamentes, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robbery and theft: after long disputation, the Temporall Lords began to leane to the commons, but for all that, the bylles remayned vnconcluded a while.

The loane released.

In the meane season there was a byll assented by the Lordes, and sent downe to the commons, the effect whereof was, that the whole realme by the sayde acte, dyd release to the king, all such sommes of money as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his reigne (as you haue heard before) this byll was sore argued in the common house, but the most parte of the Commons were the kinges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the byll was assented to.

When this release of the loane was knowne to the Commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake yll of the whole Parlyament, for almost euery man counted it hys [redacted] and reconned suenly of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there wyll of the same, and some other did set it ouer to other for debte, and so manye men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murmur, but there was no remedy. The king like a good and discrete Prince, seyng that his commons in the parliament house had released the loane, entending somwhat to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayne great offences and debtes onely except: also he ayded them for the redresse of their grieues against the Spiritualty, and caused two new bylles to be made indifferently both for the probate of Testaments & Mortuaries, which billes were so reasonable that the Spirituall Lords assented to them although they were sore against their minds, and in especiall the probate of Testaments sore displeased the Bishops, & the Mortuaryes sore displeased the Persones & Vicars.

After these actes thus agreed, the Commons, made another acte for pluralities, of benefices none residence, biyng and sellyng, and taking of fermes by Spirituall persons, which act so displeased the Spiritualty that the Priestes rayled on the Commons of the common house, and called them Heretikes and Scismatikes, for the which diuerse Pristes were punished.

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chamber, and the Lordes spirituall would in no wise consent. Wherfore the king perceyuing the grudge of his Commons caused eyght Lordes and eyght of his Commons to meete in the Starre Chamber at an after none, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuche that the Temporal Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, tooke part with the Commons, against the Spirituall Lordes, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll with a litle qualifiyng

qualifiyng, which byll the next day was wholy agreed to in the Lords house, to the great reioysing of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons.

Duryng this parliament was brought downe to the commons, the boke of articles which the Lordes had put to the king agaynst the Cardinall, the chiefe articles were these.

Articles proponed against Cardinal Wolsey.

First that he without the kings assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Item, in all wrytings which he wrote to Rome, or any other forreyne Prince, he wrote *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my king, as who would saye that the king were his seruaunt.

Item, that he hath slaundered the Church of Englande in the Court of Rome, for his suggestion to be a Legat, was to reforme the Church of Englande, which as he wrote was *Facta in reprobum censum.*

Item, he without the kinges assent, caried the kinges great Seale with him into Flaunders, when he was sent Ambassade to the Emperor.

Item, he without the kinges assent, sent a Commission to sir Gregory de Cassado, knight, to conclude a league betweene the king & the Duke of Farrare, without the kinges knowlege.

Item that he hauyng the Frenche Pockes, presumed to come and breth on the king.

Item, that he caused the Cardinals hat to be put on the kinges coyne.

Item, that he would not suffer the kinges Clarke of the Market, to sit at Saint Albones.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obteynyng of his dignities to the great enpouerishment of the realme.

These Articles with many more, were read in the common house, & signed with the Cardinals hand, and was confessed by him: And also there was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the which he gaue to the king all his moueables and vnmoueables.

On the day of the conception of our Lady before Christmasse, the King at Yorke place at Westminster, in the Parliament tyme, created the Vicount Rochforth Erle of Wilshire, and the Vicount Fitzwater, was created Erle of Sussex, and the Lord Hastynges, was created Erle of Huntyngton.

When all things were concluded in the Parliament house, the king came to the Parliament Chamber the. xvij. daye of December, and there gaue his royall assent, to all thinges done by the Lordes, and Commons, and so proroged his Court of Parliament, till the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the king remoued to Grenewich and there kept his Christmasse with the Queene in great triumph: wyth great plentie of Viandes, and diuers disguysyngs and Enterludes, to the great reioysing of his people.

The king of England beyng aduertised that the Emperor and the Bishop of Rome were together at Bononie, determined to sende thether a solempne Ambassade, both to declare to them the lawe of God, and the determination of the vniuersities, and also to require the Bishop of Rome to doe iustice accordyng to the truth, and also to shewe to the Emperor that the king did not moue thys matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the Queene his Aunt, but onely for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnesse of his realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kinges counsaile, the king appoynted sir Thomas Bulleyne late created Erle of Wilshire, and Doctor Stokesley elected Bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his Almoner, two great Clarkes, for his Ambassadors, and with them he sent diuers Doctors both of the law and diuinitie. These Ambassadors made great preparation, & about the beginnyng of February they set forward, and so much they trauailed, that they came to Savoy where the Duke in the fayre towne of Cambrey, caused them honourably to be receyued and feasted.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the Duchye of Millain, and by long iourneyes they came to Bononie in Lent, where they were honourably receyued by the Maister of the Emperours house, and diuers Lordes and Gentlemen belongyng to the

Pope, and within short space the sayd Ambassadors were first conueyed to the Pope, and there declared their message, and shewed the determination of the great Doctors, and famous Vniuersities. Pope Clement which was a man of no learning, but of a great wit, made to them a gentle answere, and sayde that he would heere the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and accordyng to right he would doe iustice. But his intent was all contrary, for he knewe well that if he should geue sentence, that Pope Iuly could not dispence with the breche of Goddes lawe, that then the auctboritie of the Court of Rome would little be regarded, and also he feared the Emperors displeasure, if he should geue sentence agaynst his aunte, so that for feare of losyng auctboritie, and of the Emperors displeasure, Bishop Clement durst not iudge accordyng to Gods lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperor, which them gently receyued, and after they had done their message, he aunswered them, that he in no wise would be agaynst the law of God, and if the court of Rome would adiudge that the matrimonie were not good, he would be content, but he thought all otherwise, for he solicited the Pope and all the Cardinalles which were his friendes to stande by the dispensation, which he iudged to be as strong as Gods lawe. After this aunswere they tooke their leaue of the Emperor, which the next weeke after departed out of Bononie towarde Almaine in good order of battaile, he himselfe in gilt harnesse, and his Nobles in white harnesse, with rich coates and trappers very curiously besene.

The Popes aunswere.

After that the Emperor was gone out of Bononie, the Ambassadors of England tooke their leaue of the Bishop of Rome, which went towarde Rome againe, and returned toward England, through the Duchie of Myllain, which were receyued by the Erle Lodonicke, great Counsaylor to the Duke of Millayn, which Erle conducted them through the whole Duchie of Millain, and payed all their charges by the Dukes commaundement. And when these Ambassadors were passed the Mountaynes, they receyued letters from the king, which appoynted the Erle of Wilshire to go Ambassade to the French king, which then lay at Burdeaux making prouision for money for the redemyng of his children: and the Bishop of London was appoynted to go to Padua, and other Vniuersities in Italy to knowe their opinions in the kings case, and the kings Almoner was appoynted to returne into England, and so he did, thus was the ende of this Ambassade.

You haue heard before, howe the Cardinall was attainted in the Premunire, and howe he was put out of the office of the Chauncelor, and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the king by the aduice of his Counsaile licenced him to go into his Diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commaundement to kepe him in his Diocesse, and not to returne Southward without the kinges speciall licence in writyng.

So he made him great prouision to go Northward, and apparailed his seruauntes newly, and bought many costly thinges for his housholde, and so he might well ynough, for he had of the kinges gentlenesse the Bishoprikes of Yorke, and Winchester, which were no small thinges, but at this tyme dyuers of his seruauntes departed from him to the Kinges seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of hys chiefe Counsaile, and chiefe doer for hym in the suppression of Abbeys. After that all thinges necessary for his iournay were prepared, he tooke his iournay northwarde tyll he came to Southwell which is in his Diocesse, and there he continued this yere, euer grudging at his fall as you shall heere after: but the landes which he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxford, and Ipswich, were nowe come to the kinges handes, by his attainder in the Premunire, and yet the king of his gentlenesse, and for fauor that he bare to good learnyng, erected again the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kinges College, and endewed it with fayre possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ipswiche was thought to be nothing profitable, therfore he caused that to be dissolued.

Thomas Crumwel came into the kings seruice.

The last Sommer while the peace was treated at Cambray, as you haue heard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recouered certaine townes which the Turkes had taken

taken from him in Hungry, and put to flight his enemy Iohn de Vainoda, which falsly named himselfe king of Hungary. This Vainoda destitute of all succours fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desiryng him of succour, to recouer Hungary agayne. The Turke beyng glad to haue an occasion to destroy Hungary, assembled a puyssaunt army, and entered into Hungary, and made proclamation, that what towne or Citie would not obey king Iohn as their king, should be put to fyre and sworde. This proclamation feared the Hungarians, that all in maner yelded themselues subiects to the Vainoda, the Citie of Bude onely except: which at the last was yelded by composition, that they should depart with bag and baggage, but for all their safeconduite signed with the great Turkes hande, they were first robbed of the Ianizers, and after that shamefully slaine.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Vainoda and Lewys great Bastard sonne to the Duke of Venice, with fiue thousand footemen, and two thousand horsemen, and he with all hast entered into Austrice, where his people committed such crueltie and tiranny, as neuer hath bene heard nor written, for of some they put out the eyes, of other they cut of the noses and eares, of other they cut off the priuie members, of women they cut off the Pappes, and rauished Virgins, and of women great wyth childe, they cut their bellies and brent the children: Beside this, as they passed they brent corne, trees, houses, and all that woulde be brent, to make the Countrie desolate, and at the last the. xxij. day of September, the Turkes armie came nie to Vienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice. The fame was, that he had two hundred and fiftie thousand men in his army, and. xxv. thousand Tentes in the sight of the Citie. Cruelnie of the Turkes.

And forasmuch as here is a good occasion geuen somewhat to speake of the vile tiranny of the Turkes, and namely for that I haue heard diuers say (but I trust they did not so inwardly think, as they outwardly spake) that it were no great matter if the great Turke were prince of all Christendome, for we should liue vnder him in a better and quyeter state of life then we do now, into the which error God forbid that any Christian person shoulde be caried: Therfore the better to expresse the mosterous tyranny of the Turke, I haue here thought meete to shew the wordes of Sebastian Munster as he expresseth the same in his learned booke of Cosmography.

When (sayth he) the Turke goeth to warre, he hath alwayes wyth him a great troupe of people called Marcquynyons, which are byars and sellers of such prisoners as shall fortune to be taken, whom they call Sclaues and bondemen: And also there goeth with them a great number of Swordplayers and Maysters of Fence. And in hope to haue some Sclaues, they do cary with them a great number of cheynes, shakles, boltes and couples of Iron, and amonge their cheynes some are of such length that they may cary fiftie or three score persones in one cheyne, and one Vileyn shall haue the leading of so many. Sebastian Munster describeth the Turkes tirannie.

These pylferers, I meane the Marcquynions and Swordplayers so sone as any number of prisoners be taken, they sell and make marchandise of them, as they may lawfully do by their law, vpon this condicion that they shal pay vnto the Turke the tenth prisoner or Sclaue, and the rest they may retayne to their vse and commoditie. They haue no marchaundyse among them that is of greater trade, nor of greater gayne, then the biyag and selling of Sclaues and bondmen. And such prisoners as commeth into the Turkes handes, be they males or females he vseth them after this sorte, he selleth the aged and rude vnto housbandmen, and the yong boyes he committeth vnto diuers schooles to be taught in some artes or craftes, and the yong wenches he sendeth also into certayne places to be taught to sow and knyt, and such other exercises, to the intent that afterward they may serue in the common weale more commodiously. And first he causeth them all to deny their fayth and then to be circumcised: and then are they trayned vp in their ceremonies vnto the which by nature they are sone drawne, & after he causeth them to vnderstand the lawes of ỹ land. And if there be in them any strength of body and corage of minde, then he causeth them to be sent to the warres and calleth them Ianizaries that is deniers of Marquinion is a byar and sellor of Christian prisoners, whome they call Sclaues.

Biyng and sellyng of prisoners and Bondmen is a great merchandise in Turquy.

the faith. And if they haue no quicke spirite and yet mightie of bodye, then they are brought vp and exercised in shootyng, and haue skolemaisters appoynted to make them excellent therein, and they are forced to render an accompt of their exercise with great extremitie, for those which hit not the white, haue so many tymes as they misse, so many lashes with a whip, and some they bring vp in sworde playyng, and in the exercise of other weapons.

The cuell vsage of Mayden children.

The mayden children that are any thing bewtifull are taken to be their Concubynes and Harlots, or at the least to wayte and attend vpon them, to whome they commit most lothsome and filthie businesse, such as to heare the same named would abhorre any honest good eare.

The Turks practise all meanes to wynne the Christians to be circumcised.

When they haue newe slaues, they begin with terrible punishmentes, and afterwardes with grieuous threatnings, and if that preuayle not, then they vse gentle wordes and fayre promises to procure them to be circumcised. And as sone as they bring that to passe, then they vse them with much more gentlenesse. And if any attempt to escape, the payne of fyre is ordeyned for him. They doe licence the slaues wyllingly to mary, but the children that they bring forth are solde at the discretion of the maister, wherefore the wise and sage be well aduised before they marry.

Priestes and Gentlemen are euill intreated of the Turkes.

They doe cruelly intreat those that will not be circumcised. The estate of them which haue no handie crafte is very euill, for they shall learne nothing there (except they be circumcised) wherefore the priestes and such as are studentes, and the Gentlemen which haue bene brought vp without occupations, are in the worst state of all other when they happen into their handes: For the Marcquinion will lay out nothing for them, nor dispend anye thing vpon them, because when he should sell them, he knoweth not who wyll geue any thing for them. These are caryed barehedded, barefooted and almost all naked. They drawe them through the frostes, snowes and other the rockes and Mountaynes, both in heate and colde, and they haue neuer rest vntill they die, or else that they chaunce vpon an vnhappie maister. There is none so blessed nor fortunate of what estate, age, bewtie or arte soeuer he or they be of, that may be suffered to go into a lodging, if he chaunce to fall sick by the high wayes side. And if any be sick, they force him to go on foote, and if he can not, they set him vpon an euill fauoured Iade: And if he cannot ryde nor holde fast, then they binde him ouerthwart the horse lyke a Male behinde a Saddle. And if he die, then such clothes as he hath vpon him, they pull off and throwe him into the next diche. But to go forward, they doe not onely lead them captiues and prisoners in cheynes (as is aforesayde) but also they manacle their handes with suche long Boltes as kepeth the one of them from the other a whole yard space, for feare that one of them should fight with another, and also for feare least they should throwe stones at their keepers. And when night draweth on, then also they fetter their legges and turne them vpside downe, so that they lye openly in the fieldes gaping into the ayre, and there must rest to abide what weather soeuer commeth.

O cruell and vncharitable Turkes.

An vngentle and moste shamefull entertaynment of women kinde.

The enterteynment of the women is somewhat more gentle: they that are strong, marche afore on fote (but not vnmanackled) and suche as are but tender and weake, they set them on horses: And if they be not able to abide the shaking of the horse, they put them into Baskets, and carie them as men carie quick wildfoule: But the night is most grieuous vnto them. For when they are shut vp in close places, they are compelled to suffer the filthie company of the Marcquinions, most beastly to abuse them, for all the night long is heard among them most pittifull cryes and lamentations made by the yong persons as well Males as Females, whome they most wickedly enforce and filthily order, yea they are so vylanous that they spare not their awne little children of sixe or seuen yere of age, so wicked, vyle and prone is that nation vnto that abhominable sinne agaynst nature.

The Turks are most filthy Sodomites.

The pore Christians are led like beastes to be solde in the Market.

Assone as daye light commeth, then must they marche forwarde lyke droues of beastes or sheepe, and to the Market they go. The Marchaunts come together and agree vpon a price:

price: But before the Marchaunt paye his money: the slaue shall be striped starke naked that hys maister may see him, and then he beholdeth all hys members, and gropeth and feeleth all hys ioynts, to see if there be any fault or maine in hym. If the Marchant doe not lyke hym, then is he returned agayne vnto the charge of the Marcquinion. And thus shall he be alwaies vsed vntill such time as a Marchaunt bieth him outright. And when the byer hath bought him, he maye at his pleasure put him to what slauery or grieuous labour he himselfe lust, be it neuer so vyle, and also to vse suche punishment of him, as putting on fetters or collers of yron, and whipping naked with roddes made of Wyers or any other cruell punishment that he can deuyse, not forceing though he die thereof. If any chaunce to be taken with their wiues and family, those the great Lordes doe willingly bie to put them into their deyries, & to haue the oversight of their groundes, their Vynes and their Pastures, but the children that are borne of them are bond.

Shamlesse Turkes.

Tirannoius Turkes.

And finally when the Turke hath taken any Prouince of christendome as he hath done to many (if almightie God had bene pleased to the contrary) all the goods of the inhabitaunts, as well moueable as immoueable are his praye and share. And first of all he rooteth out and destroyeth all noble personages, and namely suche as are of the bloud royall. And if he kyll not the Ecclesiasticall ministers, he taketh from them both their goodes and honors and lyuinges, and leaueth them to the wonderment of the worlde, to goe a beggyng.

The Turke is bloudy and vnmercifull.

Sermons and preachyng of the Gospell of Christ is vtterly forbidden through all Turky: neither shal it be lawfull for any christian man to beare any office in Turky: Neyther to carie any armes, nor to go appareled lyke a Turke. If any doe royle or outrage at a christian man, or at Iesu Christ, he must be content and holde his peace. And if any chaunce to talke or common any thing agaynst their religion, the same shall be circumcised in spight of his heart. And if any open their mouth to speake agaynst Mahomet, the same shall be brent quick. The christians doe paye the fourth part of all their fruites, not onely for the rent of their landes, but also for the gayne and profite that they receiue of their handie craftes and occupations. Besides thys, they pay another imposition, which is set vpon them by the polle, for so many heades as euery christian hath in his house, so many Duccates he shall pay yerely vnto the Turke. If the parents be not able to paye it, then will they take away the children and sell them to pay that money, and so bring them into seruitude and bondage. The other number that are fast in Chaynes they go from house to house begging their almose, and if by that meanes they cannot get wherewithall to paye, then are they put in perpetuall prison, and neuer more suffered to come abroade. And thus much wryteth Munster of the tyranny of the Turkes.

The Gospell may not be preached in Turquy.

Mahomet is the Turkes Sauior.

Impositions that ye Turk setteth vpon the pore Christians.

At the beginning of the siege, the Turke sent certaine to the Lordes of the towne, and willed them to yelde the towne vnto him, and they should depart with bagge and baggage, and if they would kepe it by force, he woulde surely haue it and put them all to the sworde. Now in the Citie was Capitaine Duke Philip of Bauier, Erle Palatine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsegraue elector, a young man of Noble courage, and wyth him were twentie thousand Almaynes, and two thousande horsemen, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceiuyng their boldenesse, bent his great ordinaunce, which were three hundreth peeces agaynst the walles, and cõmaunded the towne to be assaulted: the Turkes gaue a great assault, but the Christen men valiauntly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to flie, and many of them were slaine.

The Turke assaulteth the Citie of Vienna.

The fourth day of October, the Turke bent all his ordinaunce agaynst the wall, which so shooke the wall, that all men within supposed that the walles would haue fallen downe, but they did little harme, which was soone amended. The sixt day of October, viij. thousand christen men issued out of the towne, and came where the Turkes Miners were worksyng, and slue a great number and destroyed the mynes. The same day the Turkes gaue a great assault to the Citie: the Christen men valiauntly them defended, and threw downe great loggs, and barres of yron, and slue many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assaulted the

Citie

Citie a leuen tymes, and so many times they were beaten away, but the great and terrible assault was the. xij. day of October, at the which assault the christen men so valiauntly defended themselues, and slue and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day for no commaundement that the Turke could geue, they would no more geue assault.

The Turke perceyued well both the strength of the Citie, and the courage of the Capitaynes within, and also the Winter there was muche more colder then in his countries, which sore troubled him & his people, wherefore he called his Counsaile, and concluded to breake vp his siege and to depart, and so the. xiiij. day of October he shot great stones into the Citie all day till night: and about ten of the clocke in the night he caused his tentes to be taken vp, and set fyre on the straw, and such other stuffe, and so remoued all his armie, towarde Bude, sauyng fiftie thousand horsemen which taried all the next day behinde, cariyng with him a great number of Christian prisoners, which he put to the Mynes, and such other vile seruice. At this siege the Turke lost by murder, sicknesse, and colde, aboue. lxxx. thousand men, as one of his Bassades did afterwarde confesse.

The number of the turkes that died.

Thus was the Citie of Vienne defended agaynst the great Turke, and al his power, which was to him a great displeasure, and in especially because he neuer besieged Citie before, but eyther it was yelded, or taken.

The Isle of Malta first geuen to the order of the Knightes.

In this yere the Emperor gaue to the Lorde Mayster of saint Iohns of Ierusalem, and his brethren, the Iland of Malta, lyyng betwene Scicile, and Barbarie, there to employ themselues on Christes enemies, which lord Maister had no place sure to enhabite there, sith he was put from the Rodes by this Turke that besieged Vienne, as you haue heard before.

1530

In this yere, the wilde Irishemen knowyng the Erle of Kildare to be in Englande, entered his lande, and spoyled and brent his Countrie, and diuers other Countries, and the Erle of Ossery beyng the kinges Deputie, made litle resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherefore the king sent the Erle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him Sir William Skeuyngton knight, Mayster of the kinges ordinaunce, and diuers Gunners with him, which so pollitikely ordred themselues, that their enemies were glad to offer amends and to treate for truce, & so sir William Skeuyngton the next yere returned into England leauyng there the Erle of Kildare for the kinges deputie.

22

The Emperour as you haue heard the last yere, passed out of Italy into Germany and was receyued with great honor and triumph into the City of Ausborough or August, where in Iune were present all the electors and almost all the Princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsaile, for the Princes of Germanie were of two seuerall opinyons, and of seuerall names, the part that fauored the Pope and all thinges done by his auctority were called Catholicall, and the other part which folowed and preached onely the Gospell of Christ were called Euangelicall. Of these and other thinges concerning our fayth there were many counsayles: but Cardynall Campeius the Popes Legat woulde not suffer the Euangelicall persons (whom he called Lutherans) to argue against the Catholicall men (whome the Euangelicall persons called Papistes) least by opening of the scripture the auctority of the Court of Rome should haue bene damned, and therfore the Emperor put of the matter till another time: But this matter was not so let slippe, for of this mocion men so serched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche and forsooke him and his pardons.

A proclamation.

On the. xix. day of September in the Citie of London was made this proclamation. The kings highnesse straightly chargeth and commaundeth that no manner of person of what estate, degre or condicion soeuer he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or else where, nor vse and put in execution, diuulge, or publish any thing heretofore within this yere passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter preiudiciall to the high auethoritie, iurisdiction and prerogatiue royall, of this his sayd realme, or to the let, hynderaunce or impechment of his graces noble

and

and vertious entended purposes in the premisses, vppon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation and imprisonment and farther punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dredfull example of all other.

This proclamation was much mused at, and euery worde of the same well noted. Some sayd that it was because that the Queene had purchased a new Bull for the ratification of her mariage, other saide that it was made because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the king, if he woulde not restore him to his olde dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie and he not to meddle with the same. This inuencion sounded most to the truth as you shall here afterward.

In October the riuer of Tiber was of such an heigth that in Rome and other places about Rome almost twelue thousand persons were drowned, and in the next moneth Zelande, Hollande and Brabant were sore noyed with waters, and many people and much cattell were drowned. The Citie of Rome, and Zeland, Holland & Brabant ouerflowen with great waters.

You haue heard in the last yere, howe the Cardinall of Yorke was attainted in the Premunire, and that notwithstandyng the king had geuen him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, with great plentie of substaunce, and had licenced him to lie in his Dioces of Yorke. He being thus in his Dioces grudgyng at his fall, and not remembring the kinges kindnesse shewed to him, wrote to the Court of Rome, and diuers other Princes letters in reproche of the king, and in asmuch as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the king and his realme, insomuch that diuers opprobrious wordes of the king, was spoken to Doctor Edward Kerne the kinges Orator at Rome, and it was sayde to him that for the Cardinalles sake, the king should haue the worse speede in the suite of his matrimonie. The Cardinall also would speake fayre to the people to winne their heartes, and declared euer that he was vniustly, and vntruely ordered, which fayre speakyng made many men beleue that he sayd true, and to Gentlemen he gaue great giftes to allure them vnto him. And to be had in the more reputacion among the people, he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke, with all the pompe that might be, & caused a trone to be erected in the Cathedrall Church in suche an heigth and fashion as was neuer sene, and sent to all the Lordes, Abbottes, Priors, Knightes, Esquiers, and Gentlemen of his Dioces, to be at his manor of Cawod the sixt day of Nouember, and so to bring him to Yorke with all maner of pompe and solemnitie. The pride of the Cardinall.

The king which knewe his doynges and priuie conueyaunce, all this yere dissimuled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he sawe his prowde heart so high exalted, that he would be so triumphantly installed, without makyng the king priuie, yea and in maner in disdaine of the king, thought it not meete nor conuenient to suffer him any lenger to continue in his malicious and prowde purposes and attemptes: wherefore he directed his letters to Henry the sixt Erle of Northumberland, willyng him wyth all diligence to arrest the Cardinall, and to deliuer him to the Erle of Shrewsbury great steward of the kinges housholde: When the Erle had seene the letter, he with a conuenient number came to the Manor of Cawod, the fourth day of Nouember, and when he was brought to the Cardinall in his Chamber, he sayd to him, my Lorde, I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayde the Cardinall, yea sayd the Erle, I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no such power sayde the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinall and a Legate de Latere, and a Peere of the College of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporall power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it: well sayde the Erle, here is the kinges Commission (which he shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey, the Cardinall somewhat remembred himselfe and sayde, well my Lorde, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into ỹ punishment of the premunire, and lost by the law all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence, wherefore I maruayle why I nowe should be arrested, and specially consideryng I am a member of the sea Apostolike, on whom no temporall man ought to lay violent handes: The Cardynall arrested.

well

well I see the King lacketh good Counsaile. Well sayde the Erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your selfe tolde me, that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a king, and nowe I am more stronger, for I haue a Commission so to do which you haue seene. The Cardinall at length obeyed, and was kept in his priuie Chamber, and his goodes seased, and his officers discharged, and his Phisition called Doctor Augustine, was lykewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe, one of the Kinges Chamber. The sixt day of Nouember he was conueyed from Cawod to Sheffielde Castell, and there deliuered to the Erle of Shrewsburies keepyng, till the kinges pleasure were knowne: Of this attachement was much commonyng amongest the common people, wherefore manye were glad, for surely he was not in the fauor of the commonaltie.

When the Cardinall was thus arrested, the king sent Syr Wylliam Kyngston knight, Capitayne of the Garde, and Constable of the Tower of London with certaine of the yomen of the Garde to Sheffeld, to fetche the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinall sawe the Capitayne of the Garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sick, for then he perceyued some great trouble towarde him, and for that cause men sayde that he wylfyngly tooke so much quantitie of strong purgation that his nature was not hable to beare it: But Syr Wylliam Kyngston comforted him, and by easie iorneys he brought him to the Abbay of Leicester the. xxvij. day of Nouember, where for very feeblenesse of nature caused by purgations and vomites he dyed the second night folowing, and in the same Abbay lyeth buryed. This Cardinall as you may perceyue in thys storie was of a great stomack, for he compted himselfe egall with Princes, and by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: He forced litle on Symony and was not pitifull and stood affectionate in his awne opinion: In open presence he would lye and say vntruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: He would promise much and performe little: He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euill example: He hated sore the Citie of London and feared it: It was tolde him that he should die in the waye toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the Citie would arise in riotous maner and so slay him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye toward London. The auctoritie of this Cardinall set the Clergie in such a pride that they disdayned all men, wherefore when he was fallen they folowed after as you shall heare.

The Cardinall dead and buried at Leicester.

The discription of the Cardinall.

After the Cardinall was deade, the king remooued from Hampton Court to Grenewiche, where he with Queene Katheryn kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelfe night he sat in the hall in his estate, where as were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great Banket. And after Christmasse he came to his Manor of Westmynster, which was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinall was attaynted in the Premunire and was gone Northwarde, he made a feoffement of the same place to the king, and the Chapiter of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke by their wryting confirmed the same feoffement, and then the king chaunged the name and called it the kings Manor of Westminster and no more Yorke place.

The whole Clergie of Englande euer supported and mayntayned the power Legantyne of the Cardinall, wherefore the kings counsayle learned sayde plainely that they were in the Premunire, the spirituall Lordes were called by processe into the kings Benche to answere, but before their daye of apperaunce they in their Conuocation concluded an an humble submission in wryting, and offered the king a hundred thousande pounde to be their good Lorde, and also to geue them a pardon of all offences touchyng the Premunire by act of parliament, the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the king supreme head of the Church of Englande, which thing they neuer confessed before, wherevpon many things folowed after as you shall here.

The king first named supreme hed.

When the parliament was begun the sixt day of Ianuary, the pardon of the spirituall persons was signed with the kinges hande and sent to the Lordes, which in time conuenient assented to the Bill and sent it to the commons in the lower house, and when it was

red,

red, dyuers frowarde persons would in no wise assent to it, except all men were pardoned, saiyng that all men which had anye thing to doe with the Cardinall were in the same case: the wyser sort aunswered that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie, and to doe themselues no good, wherfore they aduised them to consent to the Bill and after to sue to the king for their pardon, which counsaile was not folowed, but they determined first to sende the speaker to the king, or they would assent to the Bill, wherevpon Thomas Audely speaker for the commons with a cõuenient number of the common house came to the kings presence and there eloquently he declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thinke or imagine themselues to be out of his gracious fauour, because that he had graciously geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his spirituall subiects and not to them, wherefore they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemency to include them in the same pardon.

The king wisely answered that he was their prince and souereigne Lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to compell hym to shew his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremity of his lawes or mitigate and pardon the same, wherefore sithe they denyed to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persons, which pardon he sayde he might geue without their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this aunswere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowfull & pensiue, and some light persons sayd that Thomas Crumwell which was newly come to the fauor of the king had disclosed the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the king to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorowfull his Commons were of the aunswere that he had made them, & thought that they were not quyet, wherefore of his owne motion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawne, and signed it with his hand and sent it to the common house by Christopher Hales his atturnay, which Byll was sone assented to. Then the Commons louingly thanked the king and much praysed his great wisedome that he had denied it to them when they vnworthely demaunded it, and had boũtifully graũted it when he perceyued that they sorowed & lamented.

While the Parliament sate, on the. xxx. day of Marche at after noone there came into the common house the Lord Chauncellor and diuers Lords of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie to the number of twelue, and there the Lorde Chauncellor sayde, you of this worshipfull house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our souereigne Lorde hath maried his brothers wife, for she was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthure, and therefore you may suerly say that he hath maried his brothers wife, if this mariage be good or no many Clerkes do doubte. Wherefore the king like a verteous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience and also for the suertie of his realme hath with great deliberation consulted with great Clerkes, and hath sent my Lorde of London here present to the chiefe Vniuersities of all Christendome to knowe their opinion and iudgment in that behalfe. And although the Vnyuersities of Cambrige and Oxford had bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoide al suspition of partiality, he hath sent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Venisians to knowe their judgment in that behalfe, which haue concluded, written and sealed their determinations according as you shall here red. Then Sir Bryan Tuke tooke out of a boxe twelue writinges sealed, and read them worde by worde translated out of latin into the English tongue.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred bokes drawne by Doctors of straunge Regions, which all agreed the kinges Maryage to be vnlawfull, which were not red, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncellor sayd: Now you of thys common house, may reporte in your countries what you haue seene and heard and then all men shall openly perceyue that the king hath not attempted this matter of will

or pleasure, as some straungers reporte, but onely for the discharge of hys conscyence and suertie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repayre hether to you, and now we will depart.

When these determinations were published, al wise men in the realme much abhorred that mariage: but women and such as were more wilfull then wise or learned, spake against the determination, and sayde that the Vnyuersyties were corrupt and entysed so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe sore lamented his chaunce and made no manner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do, and dined and resorted to the Quecne as he was accustomed, and minished nothing of her estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the Lady Mary: but in no wise he would not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the parliament for that time ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the next yere.

The Acte of Poysoning.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an act made, that whosoeuer did poyson any person should be boyled in hote water to the death: which act was made bycause one Richard Roose, in the parliament time had poysoned diuers persons at the Bishop of Rochesters place, which Richard, according to the same acte, was boyled in Smythfield the Tenebcr Wednisday followyng, to the terrible example of all other.

An Erthquake.

This wynter season, on the. xxvj. day of Ianuary, in the Citie of Luxborne in Portingale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroyed many houses and Towers, and slew manye people by the falling downe of the same, the kinges pallace shooke so, that he and the Queene and the Ladies fled out of their Pallace, without any seruauntes, and sought succor where they might get it, and sodaynly the quaking ceassed; Then the Kockes opened, and out sprang the water, then the shippes in the hauen were like to haue perished: Then the Earth quaked againe, and did more harme then before, and at night it ceassed: By which Earthquake, many men were murthered and destroyed.

Message sent to the Quene.

When the vniuersitie aforesayde, and a great number of clerkes and well learned men had determined the kinges mariage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Godes law, as you haue heard, the king wylling the Queene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to her diuers Lordes of the counsayle the last day of Maye being the Wednesday in whitson weke: the which Lordes, in her chamber at Greenewiche, declared to her all the determination as you haue heard, and asked her whether she woulde for the quyetnesse of the kinges conscience, put the matter to foure Prelates, and foure Temporall Lords of this realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene aunswered: the king my father which concluded my mariage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsayle of clerkes and well learned men before he maried me the second time: for if he had had any doubt in my mariage, he would not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he did, and then all Doctors in manner agreed my mariage to be good, insomuch that the Pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispence and ratefie my seconde mariage againe whose doynges I meruayle that any man wyll speake or write: And as to the determination of the Vniuersitie, I am a woman and lack wyt and learnyng to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustly or percially: for this I am sure, that neyther the kinges father, nor my father would haue condiscended to our mariage, if it had beene declared to be vnlawfull: and where you saye that I should put the cause to eyght persons of this realme for quyetnesse of the kings conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience: and thys shall be your aunswere: That I say I am hys lawfull wyfe, and him lawfully maryed, and by the order of the holy Church I was to him espoused as his true wyfe, although I was not so worthy, and in that point I will abide till the Court of Rome which was prime to the beginning haue made thereof a determination and finall ending. With thys aunswere the Lordes departed to the king, which was sorie to heare of her wilfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted to the Popes lawe, then in keepyng the precepts of God.

The

The king like a pollitique prince, perceiued that the Marchant straungers, and in especiall Italyans, Spanyardes & Portyngales daylie brought Oade, Oyle, Silke, Clothes of Golde, Veluet, and other Marchaundise into this realme, and therefore receyued readie money, which money they euer deliuered to other Marchaunts by exchaunge, and neuer employed the same money on the cõmodities of this realme, so that there by the king was hyndered in his custome outwarde, and also the commodities of his realme were not vttered, to the great hinderaunce of his subiectes: wherefore he caused a proclamation to be made in the Midsommer Terme, according to an olde Estatute made in the time of king Rychard the second,: That no person should make any exchaunge contrarie to the true meaning of the same Act and Estatute, vpon payne to be taken the kings mortall enemie, and to forfeyt all that he might forfeyt. After thys proclamation, many clothes and other commodities of this realme were well solde, but shortly after Marchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Proclamation was shortlye forgotten.

The king and the Queene after Whytsontide remooed to Windsore, and there contynued tyll the xiiij. day of Iuly, on which day the king remooued to Woodstock and left her at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterward to Estamstede: and after this day the king and shee neuer sawe together. Wherefore the common people daylie murmured and spake their foolishe fantasies. But the affayres of princes be not ordered by the common people, nor it were not conuenient that al things were opened to them.

After this the king sent certayne Lords to the Queene to Estamstede, to aduise her to be confirmable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Vniuersities had clerely determined, that the Pope could in no wise dispence with her mariage, and therefore the dispensation to which she most trusted of all, was clerely voyde and of none effect. These, with many mo causes and aduisements were declared to her, which nothing moued her at all, but still she sayde: Truely I am the kings true wyfe, and to him mayed: and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learning so farre out of mans minde at hat time of our mariage, yet I can not thinke that the Courte of Rome, and the whole Churche of Englande would consent to a thing vnlawfull and detestable (as you call it) ut still I say I am his wife, and for him will I pray. With this aunswere the Lordes departed, and came to the King and made report as you haue heard.

This mariage was not alonely talked of in Englande, but in Fraunce Spayne, Italy, yea, hrough all christendome in maner, and especially in the Emperours Court, in so much is a great Marques of Spaine sayde to Syr Nicholas Haruy knight being the kings Ambassador in the Emperors Court at Gaunt: My Lorde Ambassador of England, I marayle not a little why the king your maister dalyeth so with the Emperours Aunte, shee is liscended I assure you of a noble bloud, and high parentage, the Emperours Maiestie naye not nor wyll not suffer such iniurie to be done to hys bloud and lynage, that she hould whole xxij. yeres and more serue him as his wyfe and bedfelow, and now to reiect er, what princely maner is that, therein is neyther loue nor loyaltie? For if a poore veret had so long serued a Prince, what heart could he haue then reiected him or put him rom him? it cannot be sayd that your king is well counsayled: the matter is much marayled at amongest Christian Princes, and thinke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wife (because shee was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors say and affirme, then no man can excuse your king nor say but hat she hath beene cuill handeled, and kept like a Concubine or Paramour for the bodily appetite, which is a great spot, shame and rebuke to her, and to her whole lynage, which spot no waies can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kyndred can by no treasure be redemed: If the king your maister remember well this matter, he shall synde that it transcendeth farre aboue the losse of earthly possessions, I would he would be etter aduised.

The Englishe Ambassadour aunswered: My Lorde, my commission extendeth not to

aunswere this matter, but to enforme you of the truth, I will somewhat say beside my commission: First I say to you, that the king my maister meuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly and verteously, both for the pleasure of God and the profite and suretie of his realme, nor neuer was nor will be any Prince that euer was better contented and pleased with a woman then he hath bene with her, nor neuer prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman then the king my maister hath done her, and would with heart, minde, and will her still keepe as hys wyfe, if Gods lawe woulde suffer it: My Lorde if you remember well all thyng, you shall finde that this doubt was first moued in the counsayle of Spayne, when the Emperour and the king of Englande were agreed, that the Emperour should marry the Ladie Marie the kings daughter: Vpon that communication this doubt was put to the Emperours counsayle, whether shee were the kings lawfull daughter or not, because that it was well knowne that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secret but it spred into the counsayle both of Fraunce and Flaunders to the great defamation of the king of Englande, and to the great vncertainetie of the succession of his realme, whereof when he was aduertised, I thinke neuer prince tooke it more sorowfully nor more heauily, and for satisfiyng of his conscience, he called his Clergie and felt their opinions, and not trustyng his awne subiectes onely (which I ensure you be excellently learned) sent to all the Vniuersities of Fraunce, Italy, and dyuers other realmes to knowe their iudgements in this case, and surely the king my mayster sore lamenteth this chaunce, and bewayleth the tyme mispent if it so succeede, for then is his realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his bodie, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a prince: the mariage was well ment both of the kings father and the Queenes Father, and they maryed together by the aduise and counsayle of their friendes, and louingly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubt, tyll you of Spayne mooued first the question and put the mariage in ambiguitie, and therefore you cannot with honour thinke but that the king hath done lyke a wise prince to searche out the solution of your doubt, which so neere toucheth his soule and the suretie of his realme: And all thing that he hath done, he hath done by great aduisement, and with a great deliberation, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wise and verteous prince. The Marques hearing thys aunswere sayde, that the king did wisely to trie the truth, and was somewhat ashamed of that that hee had spoken, as I was enfourmed by them that were present.

The Clergie graunted to ye king frankly of themselues one hundred thousande pounde, to be pardoned of ye premunire.

You haue heard before how the Clergy in their conuocation had graunted to the king the somme of one hundred thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuyng of the which somme, euery Bishop in hys Dioces called before hym all the Priestes as well Chauntrie and paryshe Priestes, as Persones and Vycars, amongst whome Doctor Iohn Stokesley Bishop of London, a man of great wyt and learning, but of litle discretion and humanytie (which caused hym to be out of the fauor of the common people) called before him all the Priestes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septēber beyng Fryday, in the Chapiter house of saynt Paull, at which day the Priestes appered, and the Bishoppes policie was to haue onely six or eyght priestes together, and by perswation to haue caused them to graunt some portion toward the payment of the foresayde one hundreth thousand pounde, but the number of the priestes was so great, for they were six hundred at the leaste, and with them came many Temporall men to heare the matter, that the Bishop was disapointed of his purpose: for when the Bishops Officers called in certaine priests by name into the Chapiter house: with that a great number entred, for they put the Bishops Officers that kept the dore a side. After this the Officers got the dore shut agayne: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kept without, and our fellowes be within: we knowe not what the bishop will doe with them. The Temporall men beyng present stomoked and comforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the dore, and one strake the Bishoppes Officer ouer the face and entred the Chapiter house, and many Temporall men with them,

and

and long it was or any sylence coulde be made: & at last when they were appeased, the Byshop stood vp and sayd: Brethren, I maruayle not a litle why you be so heddy and know not what shal be said to you, therfore I pray you to kepe silence and to heere me pacyently: My friendes all, you know well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Angelles, and by frayltye and lack of wisedome we haue misdemeaned our selues toward the king our Souereigne Lorde and his lawes, so that all we of the Clergy were in the Premunire, by reason wherof, all our promotions, landes goodes, and Catelles, were to hym forfayte and our bodyes ready to be enprisoned, yet his grace moued with pitie and compassion, demaunded of vs what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extend hys lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Clergye humbly besought hys grace of mercye, to whome he aunswered that he was euer enclyned to mercy: then for all our great offences we had litle penaunce, for where he might by rigor of his law haue taken all our liuelod, goodes and Catelles, he was contented with one hundred. M. poundes to be payde in fiue yeres: and although that this somme be more then we may easly beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we shoulde haue borne the whole burden: Wherfore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelod and salary towarde the payment of this somme graunted. Then it was shortly sayde to the Bishop: My Lorde twentie Nobles a yere is but a bare liuing for a priest, for now vittaile and euery thing in maner is so dere, that pouertie in maner inforceth vs to say nay: beside that, my Lorde we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we neuer medled with the Cardinalles faculties, let the Bishops and Abbottes which haue offended pay. Then the Bishops officers gaue to the priestes high wordes, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also diuers temporall men which were present comforted the priestes, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumor, diuers of the Bishops seruauntes were buffyted and striken so that the Bishop began to be afrayde, and with fayre wordes appeased the noyse, and for all thinges which were done or sayde, there he pardoned them and gaue to them hys blessyng, and prayed them to depart in charitie. And then they departed thinkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were deceyued, for the Bishop went to sir Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncelor (which greatly fauoured the Bishop, and the Clergie) and to him made a grieuous complaint and declared the fact very grieuously, wherevpon commaundement was sent to sir Thomas Pargitor Maior of the Citie, to attache certaine priestes and temporall men, and so. xv. priestes, and fiue temporall men were arrested, of the which, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete, and other prisons, where they remayned long after. The bishops sayng.

In this season were diuers preachinges in the realme, one contrary to another concernyng the kings mariage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell Clerke, both preached and wrote a Booke, that the mariage was lawfull, which caused many simple men to beleue his opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplaine, and wrote this booke to please her withall: Wherfore the king caused a determination of the Vniuersities, and all the iudgements of great Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke, and to be printed, whiche Booke did satisfie the myndes of all indifferent and discrete persons: But some men were partiall, that neyther learnyng, nor reason could satisfie their wilfull mindes. Thomas Abell.

This yere the king kept his Christmasse at Grenewich with great solemnitie, but all men sayde that there was no mirth in that Christmasse, because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Christmasse, the. xv. day of Ianuary the Parliament began to sit and amongest dyuers griefes which the Commons were grieued with, they sore complayned of the cruelty of the Ordinaryes, for callyng men before them *Ex officio*: that is, by reason of their office: For the Ordinaries would send for men, and lay accusations to them of Herisie, and saye they were accused, and lay Articles to them, but no Accuser shoulde be brought foorth, which to the Commons was very dreadefull and grieuous: for the party so assited must either abiure or be burned, for Purgation he might make none. A Parliament.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergie in theyr Courts were long debated

debated in the common house, at the last it was concluded and agreed, that all the griefes which the temporall men were grieued with, should be put in writyng, and deliuered to the king, which by great aduice was done: Wherefore the xviij. day of March the Common speaker accompanied with diuers Knightes and Burgesses of the Common house, came to the kinges presence, and there declared to him how the Temporall men of his realme were sore agrieued with the cruell demeanour of the prelates and Ordinaries, which touched both their bodies and goodes, al which griefes the Speaker deliuered to the king in writyng, most humbly beseeching his grace to take such an order and direction in that case, as to his high wisedome might seeme most conuenient. Further he beseched the king to consider what paine, charge and cost, his humble subiectes of the nether house had susteyned sith the beginnyng of this Parliament, and that it would please his grace of his Princely benignitie to dissolue his Court of Parliament, that his subiectes might repayre into their Countries.

The speaker of the parliament in the name of the commons deliuereth to the king certaine articles agaynst the Clergie.

When the king had receyued the supplication of the Commons, he pawsed a while, and then sayde: it is not the office of a king which is a Iudge to be to lyght of credence, nor I haue not, nor will not vse the same: for I will heare the partie that is accused speake or I giue any sentence: your Booke conteineth diuers articles of great and weightie matters, and as I perceiue it is agaynst the Spirituall persons and prelates of our Realme, of which thing you desyre a redresse and a reformation, which desire and request is meere contrariaunt to your last peticion: For you require to haue the parliament dissolued and to depart into your countries, and yet you would haue a reformation of your griefes with all diligence. Although that your paines haue bene great in tariyng, I assure you mine hath bene no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes, is to me a pleasure: therfore if you will haue profite of your complaint, you must tary the tyme, or else to be without remedie: I much commend you that you will not contend nor stand in strife with the Spirituall men, which be your Christen brethren but much more me thinketh that you should not contend with mee, that am your souereigne Lorde and king, consideryng that I seeke peace and quietnesse of you: For I haue sent to you a Bill concernyng wardes and primer season, in the which thinges I am greatly wronged: Wherefore I haue offered you reason as I thinke, yea, and so thinketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the Booke: Therefore I assure you, if you will not take some reasonable ende nowe when it is offered, I will search out the extremitie of the law, and then will I not offer you so much againe: With this aunswere, the Speaker and his companie departed. The cause why the king spake these wordes was this: Dayly men made Feoffements of theyr landes to their vses, and declared their willes of there landes with such remainders, that not alonely the king, but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages, and reliefes, and the king also lost his primer season, & the profite of the lyuerey, which was to him very preiudiciall, & a great losse: wherfore he, like an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a Bill to be drawen by his learned counsaile, in the which was deuised, that euery man might make his will of the halfe of his land, so that he left the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When this Bill came first amongest the Commons, Lord how the ignorant persons were grieued, and how shamefully they spake of the Bill, and of the kinges learned Counsaile: But the wyse men which vnderstoode & saw the mischiefe to come, would gladly haue had the Bill to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the king in a suretie of the thirde or fourth part, which offer I was credibly informed the king would haue taken: But many frowarde and wilfull persons, not regarding what might ensue (as it did in deede) wouldo neither consent to the Bill as the Lordes had agreed & set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualification of the same, which afterward they sore repented. For after this, the king called the Iudges, and best learned men of his realme, & they disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande could not be willed by the order of the Common lawe; Wherevpon an act was made, that no man might declare his will of no part of his lande: which Act sore grieued the Lordes and

The kinges saiyng.

Note here what it is to stand with a Prince.

and Gentlemen that had many children to set foorth. Therefore you may iudge what mischiefe commeth of wilfull blindnesse, and lacke of foresight in so great causes.

This Parliament was proroged till the tenth day of Aprill, in the which Parliament was an Act made, that Bishoppes should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope; for it was openly proued, that there was paide for the Bulles of Bishops, since the fourth yere of king Henry the seuenth, the kinges father, till this yere, one hundreth. lx. thousande pounde sterlyng, besyde all other Dispensations, and pardons, whereof the summe was incredible. Bulles of Rome caryed great treasur out of Englande.

When the Parliament was begonne againe after Easter, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncelor, the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Northumberland, Rutland, Wilshire, and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncelor declared, how the king was aduertised by his Counsaille, and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, how on the Marches betwene England and Scotland was very little habitation on the Englishe syde, but on the Scottish side was great habitation, and the Scottes dwelled euen iust on the Border, by reason whereof they inuaded Englande dyuers tymes, and did to the kinges subiectes great hurt, and displeasure: Wherefore the king intended to make dwellyng houses there, and also to make newe diuers pyles and stoppes to let the Scottishe men from their inuasions, to the great commoditie of all his people there dwellyng, which things could not be done without great cost: Wherefore considerying the kinges good entent, he sayde that the Lordes thought it conuenient to graunt to the king some reasonable aide toward his charges, and prayed the Commons to consult on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the Commens considerying the kinges good entent, louyngly graunted to him a fiftene toward his charges, but this graūt was not enacted at this Session, because that sodainly became a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherefore the Parliament was proroged till the next yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englishe men, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Riuer and a passage: The Tolle is. xij. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had bene often tymes demaunded but neuer payed: insomuch that king Henry the seuenth, for the demaūd of that Tolle prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Marte at Andwarpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kept at Calice: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle should neuer be demaunded, so that the Englishe men would resort againe into the Dukes Countrie, and after that, it was not demaunded till nowe: Wherefore the King sent Doctor Knight, and other to Calice, and thether came the Emperours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme. Tolle of the Hounde.

Ye haue heard before how the king had purchased the Bishop of Yorkes place, which was a fayre Bishoppes house, but not meete for a king: Wherfore the King purchased all the Medowes about saint Iames, and all the whole house of saint Iames, and there made a fayre Mansion and a Parke, and buylded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure, which now is called saint Iames house. The buylding of the kynges house called Saint Iames.

In the beginning of thys yeare, the Lady Anne Bulleyne was so much in the kings fauour, that the common people which knewe not the kinges true entent, sayde and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her sake, which was not true: for the king was openly rebuked of preachers for keping company with his brothers wife, which was the occasion that he eschued her companie, till the truth were tryed. 1531 23 Lady Anne Bulleine.

The last day of Aprill the parliament sytting, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley speaker of the common house. and certaine other, and declared to them, how they had exhibited a booke of their greeues, the last yere against the spiritualtie, which at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make aunswere there to, but he could haue no aunswere, till within three dayes last past, which aunswere he deliuered to the speaker saiyng: we thinke their aunswere will smally please you, for it seemeth to vs very slender, you be a great sort of wisemen, I doubt not but you will looke circumspectly on the matter, The king calleth the Speaker and certain other of the cōmon house vnto him and deliuereth them the aunswere that the clergy made to articles deliuered to the king the last yere.

matter, and we will be indifferent betweene you. And for a truth their aunswere was verie Sophisticall, and nothing auoyding the griefes of the laye people: and farther the king sayde, that he maruayled not a little, why one of the parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Queene from him, which matter was not to be determined there, for he sayd it touched his soule, and wished the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer bene vexed in conscience, but the Doctors of the Vniuersities sayde he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, which grudge of conscience, caused mee to absteyne from her company, and no foolishe or wanton appetite: for I am sayde he. xlj. yere olde, at which age the lust of man is not so quick, as in lustie youth: and saying in Spaine and Portyngall it hath not bene sene, that one man hath maryed two sisters, the one being carnally knowne before, but the brother to mary the brothers wyfe was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I neuer heard it, that any christen man did it, but by my selfe: wherefore you see my conscience troubled and so I pray you report: so the speaker departed, and declared to the commons the kinges saiyng, both of the spirituall mens answere, and also concerning the kinges mariage, which slight aunswere displeased the commons,

The occasion why the king spake of this mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the king to take the Quene againe into his company, and declared certaine great mischiefs, as in Bastarding the Ladie Marie the kings onely childe, and diuers other inconueniences, which wordes were reported to the king, which was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The king againe sendeth for the speaker and other and deliuereth them an othe for the Clergy.

The. xj. day of May, the king sent for the speaker againe, and twelue of the common house, hauing with him eight Lordes, and sayde to them; welbeloued subiectes, we thought that the Clergie of our realme had bene our subiectes wholy, but now we haue well perceyued that they be but halfe our subiectes, yea, and scace our subiectes: for all the Prelates at their consecration made an othe to the Pope, cleane contrarie to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, & not ours, the copy of both the othes I deliuer here to you, requiring you to inuent some order, that we be not thus deluded of our spirituall subiectes. The speaker departed, and caused the othes to be red in the common house, the verye tenour whereof ensueth.

Othe to the Pope.

I Iohn Bysbop or Abbot of A. from this houre forwarde, shall be faythfull and obedient to Saint Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my Lorde the Pope, and his successors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsayle nor consent, that they shall leese eyther lyfe or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their counsaile to mee credited, by them their messengers or letters, I shall not wyllingly discouer to any person: the papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of saint Peter, I shall help and retaine, and defend against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolike, going and comming, I shall honourably entreate, the rightes, honours, priuileges, auctborities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to bee conserued, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsaile, treatie, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined agayust him, or the Church of Rome, their rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe anye such to be mooued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall aduertise him, or such as may geue him knowlege. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinaunces, Sentences, dispositions, reseruations, prouisions, and commaundementes Apostolike, to my power I shall keepe and cause to be kept of other: Heretickes, Sismatikes, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the Sinode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions without the Popes counsayle: so God me helpe and the holye Euangelistes.

Othe to the king.

I Iohn Byshop of A. vtterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, wordes,

sentences,

sentences, and grauntes, which I haue or shall haue hereafter of the Popes holynesse, of and for the Bysshoprike of A. that in any wise hath bene, is or hereafter may be hurtfull, or preiudiciall to your highnesse, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall: and also I doe sweare that I shall be faithfull and true, and faith and truth I shall beare to you my souereigne Lorde, and to your heires kinges of the same, of life and limme, and yearthly worship aboue all creatures, for to liue and die with you and youres, agaynst all people, and diligently I shall be attendaunt to all your needes and businesse, after my wit and power, and your counsaile I shall keepe and holde, knowleging my selfe to holde my Bishopricke of you onely, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalties of the same, promising as before, that I shall be faythfull, true, and obedient subiect to your sayde highnesse heires, and successors during my life, and the seruices and other things due to your highnesse, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same Bishoprike I shall truely doe and obediently performe, so God me helpe and all saintes.

The opening of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere followyng, lost all his iurisdiction in England, as you shall heare afterward. The. xiiij. day the parliament was proroged till the fourth day of Februarie next ensuyng. After which prorogation, Syr Thomas Moore Chauncellor of Englande, after long suites made to the king to be discharged of that office the sixtene day of May, he deliuered to the king at Westminster, the great seale of Englande, and was with the kings fauor discharged, which seale the king kept till Whitsontyde followyng, and on the Monday in Whitson weeke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley speaker of the parliament knight, and made him Lord keeper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Sir Thomas More discharged of the Chauncelorship.

Thomas Awdeley Lorde kep of the seale.

The king beyng in progresse this Sommer was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche king had appoynted to meete at Marcelles in Prouince, in the beginning of the next spring, wherefore the king lyke a wyse and politike prince, thought it conuenient to speake with the French king in his awne person, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to him both the determinatiō of the Vniuersities and Doctors, concerning his matrimonie, and also the generall counsayles, which ordeyned suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and Countries, where the doubt should ryse, trusting that the French king should cause the Pope to encline to Gods lawe, and to leaue his awne traditions, and voyde dispensations, wherevpon both the princes concluded to meete in October folowyng, betwene Calice and Bulleyn: wherefore the king of Englande sent out hys letters to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commaundyng them to be readie at Cauntorburie, the. xxvj. daye of September, to passe the Seas with him, for the accomplishyng of the enteruew betwene him and his brother the French king. Manye men were sory to heare, that the king should passe the Sea in winter, and especially in October, when the seas be rough, but their sayings letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wyndsore, where on Sunday beyng the first day of September, he created the Ladie Anne Bulleyn, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pounde lande by the yere, and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe leagne was concluded and sworne, betwene the king and the French king, Messire Pomoray the French Ambassador then being present. After which othe taken. Doctor Fox the kings Amner made an eloquent oration in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: which done the Trumpets blewe, and the king returned to the Castel, where was kept a solempne feast. From thence the king remoued to Grenewich, & so forward to Cantorbury, where at the day appointed, he found redie furnished al such as were cōmaunded to passe the sea with him, wel & richely adourned, both they and their seruants.

The king vnderstāding that ye Pope and French kingmet at Marcelles thought it mete first to talke with ye French king.

A meting appointed of the French king and the king of Englande betwene Calice and Bulleyne.

Lady Anne Bulleyne made Marchioness of Penbroke.

A new league.

The tenth day of October, the king came to Douer, and on the. xj. day in the morning beyng Fryday, at three of the clocke, he tooke shypping in Douer rode, and before ten of the clocke the same daye, he with the Ladye Marchiones of Penbroke landed at Calice

where he was honorably receyued with procession, and brought to Saint Nicholas Churche, where he heard Masse, and so to his place called the Exchequer, where he lodged, and on the Sundaye after came to Calice, the Lorde Roche Baron, and Mounsire de Mountpesat, messengers from the Frenche king, aduertising the king of Englande, that the Frenche king would repayre to Abuile the same night marchyng towarde Bulleyne, of which tydings the king was verie glad: but sodainly came a messenger and reported that the great Maister of Fraunce, and the Archebishop of Roan, with dyuers noble men of Fraunce were come to Sandifield, entending to come to Calice, to salute the king, from the king their maister. He beyng thereof aduertised, sent in great haste the. xv. day of October, the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the Lorde Sandes, and the Lorde Fitzwater, with three hundred Gentlemen, which honorably receyued the French Lordes at the Englishe pale, and so brought them to the kings presence in Calice, which stood vnder a rich cloth of estate of such value that they muche mused of the ryches. The king (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) receyued the Frenche Lordes very louyngly and amiably, and with them tooke a day and place of meeting: these Lords were highly feasted, and after departed to Bulleyn.

While the king lay thus in Calice, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwarkes, and deuised certaine newe fortifications, for the maintenaunce and defence of the towne. The towne of Calice had at this season. xxiiij. C. beddes, and stabling for two thousand horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The twentie day of this moneth, the king being aduertised, that the French king was come to a Village called Marguison nigh to the English pale, marched out of Calice the next day after, accompanied wyth the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marques of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arrondell, Oxforde, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutlande, Huntingdon, and Sussex, and diuerse Viscountes, Barones, knights of the Garter, and Gentlemen, freshly appareled, and richly trymmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruew, leuing behind them the greatest part of the vomen of Calice, because that Bulleyne was to litle for both the traynes. For the Frenchmen sayde their trayne was twentie thousande horse, which caused the Englishmen to cast many perilles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the French king shoulde saye the king of England was once his enemie, and mayntayned the Emperor and the Duke of Burbon against him, & now was become his most friende. The rehersing these olde grudges, many Englishmen suspected, and very loth that the king should go to Bulleyne, but the king continued still in his iourney, and came to Sandingfield, and a little from that place in a valey, was the French king noblely accompanyed with three hundred horse, and not many more. The kinges trayne waued on the left hande, to geue the French king and his trayne the right hande: likewise did the French part, to geue the Englishmen the right hand: so the two kinges with all louing honor, met with bare heddes, and embrased other in such fashion, that all that beheld them reioyced, And at their meeting the French king sayd openly, to the king of England: Syr you be the same persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sith it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in person to seke you, and for the very friendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I requyre you to take me: the king of England soberly aunswered, if euer I did thing to your liking I am glad, and as touching the payne to come hether to se you, I assuer you it is my comfort, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kinges embraced the Lordes and estates, as the French king the Lordes of England, and the king of England the Lordes of Fraunce, and that done, they set forward toward Bulleine, and in ryding they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, which made to them great sporte. And in a valley beyond Sandingfielde, the king of Nauer met the kinges, and there they alighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, and with hauking and other princely pastime, they

The meting of the french king and the king of Englande.

The kinges apparell.

The saiyng of the French king.

they came here to Bulleyne, where on a hyll stoode ranged in a fayre bande, the number of fiue hundred men on horsebacke, of whome the chiefe were, the French kinges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleaunce, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gaue attendaunce, the Admyrall of Fraunce, and thre Cardinalles, with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, these three Princes marched forward, and welcomed the king of Englande: which them well behelde and louingly them receyued, as he that coulde as much nurture, as any Prince that euer was. Then the French king sayd to his children openly: My children I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bounde, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you from captiuitie: wherefore on my blessing I charge you, to be to him louing alwayes. The king of England ceassed the French kinges tale, and embrased the yong Princes, eche after other. Then all the noble company came to Bulleyne, where was a great shot of Artillery, for on the one side they shotte great pelletes, which made a great noyse: then these two Princes offered at our lady of Bullein and the French king brought the king of Englande to his lodging, in the Abbay directly against his owne lodging, where the king of England had diuerse chambers richly furnished. Euery man was appoynted to his lodging (which there was very strayght) according to his degree, and great chere was made to all the Englishmen: the Poultries, Larders, Spicereis, and sellers of wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thinges, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the French king payd for all.

The French kinges three sonnes.

The kinges comming to Bulleyne.

In the Church of Bulleyn was a trauers set vp by the French king, open on euery syde sauyng it was sieled with blew veluet, embraudered with flower Delices of gold, the pillers were hanged with the same worke: On the French kinges right hande, was another trauers sieled, and curtened all of white Satten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut cloth of Golde, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their ropes: this trauers was valenced of lyke worke, and fringed with fine golde. Dayly the kinges heard their Masses in these trauerses, and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuers tymes the kinges commoned together in counsail, and sometyme in the mornyng or the Princes were stirryng, their Counsayles met, and sat together a great whyle.

While the king of England lay thus at Bulleyn, the French king to shew himselfe louyng to the noble men of England, the. xxv. day of October, called a Chapiter of the Companions of his order, called Saint Michell, of whom the king of England was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolk, to be companions of the sayde Order, which were brought into the sayd Chapiter, and had their Collers deliuered to them, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Order, their obeysaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwayes reserued: which Dukes thanked the French king, and gaue to the officers of Armes two hundred Crownes a peece. And these two kinges rested at Bulleyne, Monday, Tewesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and on Friday the. xxvj. day of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the French kinges traine was twelue hundred persons, and so many horse or more, and without Calice two myle, met with them the Duke of Richmonde, the kinges bastard sonne of England, a goodly yong Prince, and full of fauour and beautie, with a great companie of noble men which were not at Bulleyn, so the Duke with his companie, embraced the French king, and so did other noble men, then the Lordes of England set forward, as the dukes of Richmond, Norffolke, and Suffolke the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutlande, Sussex, and Huntingdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rochforde, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, and Bathe, the Lorde William Haward, the Lorde Matreuerse, the Lord Montacute, the Lorde Cobham, the Lorde Sandes, the Lorde Bray, the Lorde Mordant, the Lord Leonard Gray, the Lord Clinton, and sir William Fitzwilliam knight, treasorer of the kings house, & sir William Paulet, Comptroller of the same, with a great number of knightes, besyde the lustie Esquiers, and yong Gentlemen. These noble personages and Gentlemen

This Syr Wyllyam is he that nowe is Lord treasorer of Englande.

men of England accompanied the French Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer Capitaine of the Fortresse, with a fayre companie of Souldiours saluted the kinges, and so they passed towarde Calice: where at their commyng, that what out of the towne and Castell, and what out of Ricebancke, and the Shippes in the Hauen, the Frenchmen sayde they neuer heard such a shot: and when they were entered the Mill gate, all the Souldiors of the towne stoode on the one syde, apparefed in red and blewe, and on the other syde of the stretes, stoode all the seruyng men of England in cotes of French Tawney, with their Lordes and Maisters deuises embraudered, and euery man a Scarlet Cap and a white feather, which made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Calice that night, besyde the towne dwellers, eight thousand persons at the least. The King of England brought the French king to hys lodgyng, to the Staple Inne, where he was most honourably lodged, and all thinges furnished that belonges to the same. If the French king made good cheere to the king of England, and his trayne at Bulleyn, I assure you he and his traine, were requited at Calice, for the plentie of wilde foule, Venison, fishe, and all other thinges which were there, it was maruaile to see, for the kinges Officers of England, had made preparation in euery place, so that the Frenchmen were serued, with such multitude of diuers fishes, this Friday and Saterday, that the Maisters of the French kinges housholde, much wondered at the prouision. In likewise on the Sonday, they had all maner of flesh, foule, spice, Venison, both of falow Dere, and red Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was the Englishe man that might well entertaine the French man: the Lordes of Fraunce neuer fetched their viandes, but they were sent to them, and often tyme their proporcion of vittaile was so aboundant, that they refused a great part thereof.

The receauing of the French king into Calice.

The trauerses.

The supper made to the French king.

While the kings were thus in Calice, they road euery day to saint Marie Church, where were set two trauerses, the one for the french king: the other for the king of England. The Sunday at night, the French king supped with the king of England. The French king was serued with three courses, and his meate dressed after the French fashion, and the king of England had like courses after the English fashion, the first course of euery king was. xl. dyshes, the second. lx. the third. lxx. which were costly and pleasant. After supper, was a sumpteous and royall maske.

The Tewesday next folowyng, beyng the. xxx. day of October, the two kinges departed out of Calice, and came nere to Sandingfield, and there alighted in a fayre greene place, where was a Table set, and there the English men serued the French men of wine, Ipocras, fruite, and spice aboundauntly. When the two kinges had commoned a little, they mounted on their horses, and at the very entring of the French ground, they tooke handes, and with Princely countenaunce, louyng behauiour, and hartie wordes, eche embrased other, and so there departed.

The kinges departure.

While the king of England was in the French kinges dominions, he had the vpper hande, and likewyse had the French king in his dominion, and as the French king payed all the Englishe mens charges at Bulleyn, so did the king of England at Calice, so that euery thing was recompensed: sauyng that the king of England gaue to the French king, diuers precious iewels, and great horses, and to his nobles great plentie of Plate, for the which I could neuer heere, that he gaue the king of England any other thing, but the white Gowne, as you haue heard, but to the Lordes of the kings counsaile, he gaue certaine Plate and Chaynes.

When the king was returned to Calice, many Gentlemen tooke shippe to sayle into England, but the winde was so contrariant, that diuers of them were driuen backe againe into Calice, and diuers into Flaunders, and in Nouember rose suche a winde, out of the North and Northwest, that all the shippes in Calice hauen were in great ieopardie, and in especiall the Hoyes, at which season was such a spring tyde, that it brake the walles of Holland, and Zeland, and drowned diuers townes in Flaunders, insomuch that the water rose three foote aboue the Wharfe, where the Key stood in Andwarp: This storme continued

A great flood in Holland and Zeland.

tinued till the fourth day of Nouember, but for all that the winde chaunged not. The viij. day rose such a winde, tempest, and thunder, that no man could conueniently stirre in the stretes of Calice: much lamentation was made for them that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knew what was become of them. On Sunday the weather was fayre, the king caused his bed and other thinges to be shipped, and entended to depart, but sodainly rose such a mist, that no Maister could guyde a shippe, and so he taryed that day. On Tewesday at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Douer the morow after, beyng the. xiiij. day of Nouember, at fiue of the clocke in the mornyng, wherfore the Saterday after, was song *Te Deum* in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule in London: The Lord keper of the great seale, the Maior of London (and diuers other noble and sad persons, which made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kings absence) beyng present. The king after his returne, maried priuily the Lady Anne Bulleyn, on saint Erkenwaldes day beyng the last day of Aprill. The king maried to Lady Anne Bulleyn.

When the king should passe ouer the sea, he considered that the Scottes had robbed his subiects, both by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for the same, imagined that in his absence they would attempt some outragious enterprice against his people, wherefore like a prudent Prince, to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with three hundred tall men to Barwicke, to defend the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes heeryng of his commyng, came into Northumberland, by the middle Marches, and came to a place called Fowbery, and in their iourney fired certaine villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy heeryng of this aduenture, was nothing content. Now at this season their lay at Barwike, Archibalde Douglas Erle of Angus, which had maried the Queene of Scottes the kings sister, and was banished Scotland, and she was from him diuorced, and maryed to another. The Scotes bragged of their enterprise, & sayd that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and sayd, that he and the Erle of Angus, slept well in Barwicke: they hearyng of this brag, made a roade with foure hundred men into Scotland, and set a village on fire: then shortly assembled together. viij. hundred Scottes. When the Englishmen perceyued the Scottes, they caused their trumpet to blow a retreate, and the Erle and. xx. with him, shewed himselfe on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpet blewe at their backes, so that the Scottes, thought that there had beene two companies, which caused the Scottes to flie, and the Englishemen folowed, and slue a great number, and tooke many prisoners, and brought them to Barwicke the. xx. day of October. Margaret Queene of Scots diuorced from the Erle of Angus, and maried to another.

The king this yere kept his Christmasse at Grenewich, and after Christmasse sir Thomas Awdeley, Lorde keper of the great Seale, was made Chauncelor of England, and when the Parliament began, because the office of the Speaker was voyde, Humfrey Wingfielde of Grayes Inne, was elected Speaker of the Parliament, which was presented accordyng as you haue heard of the other Speaker before. In the which Parliament was made an acte, that no person should appeale for any cause out of this realme, to the Court of Rome, but from Commissary to the Bishop, and from Byshop to Archbishop, and from Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King, to be tryed in the vpper house of the Conuocation. And in the same Parliament was enacted, that Queene Katheryn should from thenceforth, be no more called Queene, but princes Dowagar of prince Arthur. Sir Thomas Awdeley made chauncelor. All appeales to the Court of Rome forbidden. Queene Katheryn called Princes Dowager.

In this Sommer season last past, died William Warham Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and to that Bishopricke was named Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kinges Chaplayn, a man of good learnyng, and of a vertuous life, which also not long before, was the kinges Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, which was consecrate in Lent. Thomas Cranmer elected Archebishop of Cantorbury.

After the King perceyuyng his newe wife Queene Anne, to be great with childe, caused all officers necessary, to be appoynted to her, and so on Easter eue, she went to her Closet openly as Queene, with all solemnitie, and then the king appoynted the day of her coronation, to be kept on Whitsun Sunday next folowyng, and writynges were sent to all The Ladye Anne Bulleyne openly published to be Queene.

Shriues,

Shriues, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounde, to receyue the order of knighthod, or else to make a fine: the assessement of which fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, maister of the kinges Iuell house, and Counsaylor to the king, and newly in his high fauor, which so pollitikely handeled the matter, that he raysed of that sessyng of fines, a great somme of money to the kinges vse: Also the king wrote letters to the Citie of London, to prepare Pagiauntes agaynst the same coronation.

Thomas Cromwell maister of the kings Iewel house.

1533

24

The king in the beginning of this. xxv. yere, kept the day of Saint George, at his Manor of Greenewich, with great solempnitie, and the Court was greatly replenished, with Lordes, Knightes, and with Ladies and Gentlewomen, to a great number, with all solace and pleasure. You haue heard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted, that no person shoulde after a day, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it were, and that the Quene, now called the princes Dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome, before the acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house but much better in the Conuocation house, but in both houses it was alleged yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Counsayles of Calcedon, Affricke, Toletane, and diuers other famous Counsayles in the primatiue Churche yea, in the time of Saint Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause rising in one prouince, should be determined in the same, and that neyther the patriarcke of Constantinople, shoulde medle in causes moued in the iurisdiction of the patryarcke of Antioche, nor no Bishop shoulde entermit, with in an others prouince or countrye: which thinges were so clerkly opened and so conningly set forth to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to follow the truth, and not affectionate nor wilfully wedded to his owne minde, might plainely se that all appeles made to Rome, were clerly voyde and of none effecte: which doctrines and counsayles, were shewed to the Lady Katerin Princes Dowager, but shee (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer continued in her olde song, trusting more to the Popes parciality, then to the determination of Christes verytye. Whereyppon the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, accompanyed with the Bishops of London, Wynchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerse other great Clerkes, in a greate number roade to Dunstable, which is syx myle from Ampthil, where the princes Dowager lay, and there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, she was assited to appere before the said Archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the sayde towne of Donstable, & at the day of apparaunce she woulde not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremtorye, euery day fiftene dayes together, and at the last for lack of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by the assent of all the learned men there beyng present, shee was diuorsed from the king, and there maryage declared to be voyde and of none effecte, which sentence geuen, the Archebishoppe and all the other returned whether it pleased them.

A question of Appeales.

Queene Katherin deuorced at Dunstable.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Orator to the kyng at Grenewhich certefiyng hym that he had appoynted a generall counsayle to be kept at Mantua the yere folowing, and therof had aduertised al princes Christen, requiring the king likewise as he did all other princes Christen for the vniuersall welth of all Christendome, and for the quieting of opinions newly growne, to appere there personally: to the which it was aunswered that it was bothe ieoperdous for the king, and for his whole realme to haue their Prince absent for feare of inuasions by outward enemies, but he sayde he would send thether a sufficient procuraty and conuenient Proctors, and desired to see the Orators commission.

The Pope sendeth to the king to aduertise him that he had sommoned a generall counsail to be kept at Mantua.

The kinges aunswere.

When he with an euill wyll had shewed his commission, there appered neyther place nor time of the counsayle. For the king knewe well before hys comming that the Marques of Mantua had made a full deniall to the Pope that he would haue no such assemble to be kept in his Citie nor dominions, for dyuers great and vrgent causes, and so the Popes Orator departed with an vncertaine aunswere to an vncertaine demaunde, but not vnrewarded.

The

The King beyng aduertised by the Frenche king howe that he and the Pope should meete at Nece in Iune folowyng, thought it cõuenient to send a solempne Ambassade to the French king both to accompany him to Nece, and also to common with the Byshop of Rome concernyng his vnlawfull stay in the kinges deuorse: whervpon he appointed the Duke of Norffolke, the Lorde Rocheford brother to the newe Queene, Sir William Pawlet Comptroller of the kings houshold, syr Anthony Browne, and Syr Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his Ambassadors, which made great prouision for that purpose, and so with the number of. C.lx. horses came to Douer and so to Calice on Whitsõ euen (on which day the Quene made her entrie through the Citie of London towarde her coronation) where they made their abode a certayne space, and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall heare after.

A solempne Ambassade sent to accompanye the French king to mete with the Pope at Nece.

This verie season was daylie skirmishing betweene the borderers of the Marches of Englande and Scotlande, and yet no warre proclaymed, and many robberies, murders and manslaughters done on both partes, and although the Cõmissioners of the realmes of England and of Scotland at Newcastel vpon Tine were entreating a truce & amitie, yet during the communication the Scottes ceassed not to robbe both by sea and lande, and toke dyuers little botes laden with corne and fishe, whereof hearing the king of Englande, he decked and vittayled diuers shippes of warre, and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearing that the Englishe Nauie was come on their coste, in all haste fledde home to their barbor, but the Englishe men folowed them, and fetched manye of their prayes out of their hauens mauger of their heades.

The Scots robbe and spoyle vpon the borders of England.

In the beginning of Maye the king caused open proclamations to be made that all men that claymed to doe any seruice or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronation, by the way of tenor, graunt or prescription should put their graunt three weekes after Easter in the Starre chamber before Charles Duke of Suffolke for that time high stewarde of England and the Lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

Proclamations made for prouision of the Quenes cotenation.

The Duke of Norffolke claymed to be Erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The Erle of Arrondell claymed to be high Butler and to exercise the same: the Erle of Oxford claymed to be Chamberlayne: the Vicount Lisle claymed to be Panter: the Lorde Burgaine to be chiefe Larderer, and the Lorde Braye claymed to be Almoner, and syr Henry Wiat knight claymed to be Ewrer: Al these noble personages desired their offices with their fees. Beside these the Maior of London claymed to serue the Quene with a Cup of Golde and a Cup of assay of the same, and that twelue Citezens should attende on the Cupborde and the Maior to haue the Cup, and Cup of assay for his labor, which petition was allowed. The fiue Ports claymed to beare a Canapie ouer the Quenes head the day of the coronation with foure guilt Belles, and to haue the same for a rewarde, which also to them was allowed. Diuers other put in petie claymes which were not allowed, because they seemed onely to be done at the kings coronation. All this season great purueiaunce was made of all maner of Vitailes, and Lordes, knightes and Squiers were sent for out of all Countries, which came to London at their day with a great number of people.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and commonaltie of the Citie, signifying to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronation of his most deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday next ensuing, willing them to make preparation as well to fetch her grace from Grenewiche to the Tower by water as to see the Citie ordered and garnished with Pagiauntes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaile called, and commaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior syr Stephen Pecock then was) that they should prepare a Barge for the Batchelers with a wafter and a Foyst garnished with Banners and streamers, likewise as they vse to doe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Iude. Also all other craftes

were

were commaunded to prepare Barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their Banners accustomed, but also to deck them with Targets by the sides of the Barges, and to set vp all suche seemely Banners and Bannorets as they had in their halles or could get meete to furnishe their sayde Barges, and euerye Barge to haue mynstrelsie, according to which commaundements great preparation was made for all things necessarie for such a noble tryumph.

The Maior and the companies resort to Greenewiche and attended vpon the Queene to the tower.

The. xix. day of May the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and such as were knightes had collers of Esses and the remnaunt hauing good Chaynes, and the counsayle of the Citie with them assembled at saint Marie hyll, and at one of the clock dissended to the Newstayre to their Barge, which was garnished with many goodly Banners and streamers, & richely couered, in which Barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes and dyuers other instruments, which continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren were in their Barge seing that al the companies to ỹ number of fiftie Barges were realie to wayte vpon them. They gaue commaũdement to the companies that no Barge should rowe neerer to another then twise the length of the Barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were three light Wheryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on them to keepe their order, after which commaundement geuen they set foorth in order as hereafter is discribed.

First before the Maiors Barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordynaunce, in which Foyst was a great Dragon contynually moouyng, and casting wilde fyre: and round about the sayde Foyst stood terrible monsters and wilde men casting fire, and making hideous noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors Barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers Barge, in the which were Trumpets and diuers other melodious instruments. The deckes of the sayde Barge and the sailyardes and the top Castels were hanged with riche cloth of Golde and silke. At the foreship and the sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the king and the Quene, and on the top Castell also was a long streamer newely beaten with the sayde armes.

At three of the clock the Queene appered in rich clothe of Gold & entered into her Barge accompanied with diuers Ladies and gentlewomē, and incontinent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their Musicians continually playyng, and the Batchelers Barge royng on the Queenes right hande, which she toke great pleasure to behold. About the Queenes Barge were many Noble men, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wilshire her father, the Erles of Arrondell, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Hunyngton, Sussex, Oxford, and many Bishoppes and noblemen euery one in his Barge which was a goodly sight to beholde. Shee thus being accompanied rowed toward the Tower, and in the meane waye the shippes which were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of the Barges shot diuers peales of Gonnes, and or shee landed there was a maruailous shot out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landing there met with her the Lorde Chamberlaine with the officers of armes and brought her to the king, which receyued her with louyng countenaunce at the posterne by the water side, and kyssed her, and then she turned back agayne and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes, and so entered into the Tower. After which entry the Citezens all this while houed before the Tower, makyng great melodie and went not a land, for none were assigned to lande but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on euery shore to behold the sight, he that sawe it not, will not belene it.

The coronation of queene Anne.

On the next day beyng Whitson euen, the Quenes maiestie accompanied with a great number of Lordes and Ladies richly appointed, came through the Citie of London which was richely bewtified, and so passed to Westminster. And there in the middes of the hall she was taken out of her Chariote, and then she gaue her hartie thankes to the Lordes and Ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendaunce on her and so withdrew herselfe with a few Ladyes to the Whitehall to the king by water.

The next day beyng Sondaye, she was crowned with all the solempnity and honor, that euer

euer Queene of this realme was, and was as royally serued. And so soone as dinner was done, which was almost six of the clock at night, the Queene priuely returned by water to the king beyng at ỹ White hall. Then two daies after were holden before the kings gate royal Iustes. And on Wednesday, the king sent for the Maior & his brethren to Westminster, & there he himself gaue to them harty thanks, with many goodly words.

On Midsommer day after, the Lady Mary the French Queene dyed in Suffolke, who was the late wyfe of Lewys the twelue, and after maryed to Charles Duke of Suffolke.

The seuenth day of September beyng Sunday, betwene three and foure of the clocke at after noone, the Queene was deliuered of a fayre Lady which day the Duke of Norffolke came home to the Christnyng, and for the Queenes good deliueraunce, *Te deum* was song incontinently, and great preparation was made for the Christnyng: and the Maior and his brethren and. xl. of the chiefe of the Citizens, were commaunded to be at the Christning the Wednesday folowing, vpon which day the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke, in a gowne of Crimosin Veluet, with his coller of *SS*, and all the Aldermen in Scarlette with Collers and Cheynes, and all the Counsaile of the Citie with them, tooke their Barge after Dinner, at one of the clocke, and the Citizens had another Barge, and so rowed to Grenewich, where were many Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the kinges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the way strawed with greene Rushes: the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Funt was of siluer, and stoode in the middes of the Church, three steppes high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuers Gentlemen with Aperns, and Towels about their neckes, gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the Funt, ouer it hung a square Canapie of Crimosyn Satten, fringed with golde, about it was a rayle couered with red Say: betwene the Quier and the bodie of the Church, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the childe readie in: when all these things were ordered, the childe was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: First the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquires, & Chapeleins, next after them the Aldermen, and the Maior, alone: next the Maior the kinges Counsaile, the kinges Chapell in Copes: then Barons, Bishops, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered Basons gilte, after him the Marques of Excester with the Taper of Virgin waxe, next him the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behind him the Ladie Mary of Norffolke, bearyng the Cresom, which was verye riche of pearle and stone, the olde Duches of Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple Veluet, with a long traine furred with Armine. The Duke of Norffolke, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of the sayd Duches, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of Armes: the Countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childes Mantell, and betwene the Countesse of Kent, and the childe, went the Erle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the Erle of Darbie on the left hande, supportyng the sayd traine: in the middes ouer the sayd childe was borne a Canapie by the Lord Rochford, the Lorde Husee, the Lorde William Haward, and by the Lord Thomas Hawarde the elder: After the childe folowed many Ladies, and gentlewomen. When the childe was come to the Church dore, the bishop of London met it with diuers Bishops, and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruaunces of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the Lord Archbishop of Cantorbury: the Godmothers were the olde Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchionesse of Dorset Widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth. And after that all thing was done, at the Church dore the childe was brought to the Font, and christined, & this done, Garter chiefe king at armes cryed aloude, God of his infinite goodnesse, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the Trumpets blew, then the childe was brought vp to the Aultare, and the Gospell sayd ouer it: and after that immediately the Archbishop of Cauntorbury confirmed it, the Marchionesse of Excester beyng Godmother, the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng Cup of golde, the Duches of Norffolke gaue to her a standyng Cup of golde, fretted wyth pearle: the Marchionesse of Dorcet gaue three gilt

The christening of the Ladie Elyzabeth.

The giftes that the Godfathers and Godmothers gaue to the Ladie Elizabeth now our gracious soueraigne lady and Queene at the time of her christning.

Boules, pounced with a couer: and the Marchionesse of Excester gaue three standyng Boulles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfites, Ypocras, in such plentie, that euery man had asmuch as he would desire. Then they set forwards, the trumpets goyng before in the same order, toward the kings place, as they did when they came thetherwarde, sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, were borne before the childe by foure persons, that is to say: First sir Iohn Dudley, bare the gift of the Ladie of Excester: the Lorde Thomas Haward the yonger, bare the gift of the Ladie of Dorcet: the Lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Ladie of Norffolke, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cauntorbury, and all the one syde as they went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the Garde, and other of the kinges seruauntes, and about the childe were borne, many other proper Torches borne by Gentlemen: and in this order they brought the Princes to the Queenes Chamber, and taryed there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke, and Suffolke, came out from the king, thankyng the Maior of London and his brethren, and commaunded them to geue all the other thankes in the kinges name: and from thence they were had to the Seller to drinke, and so went to there Barges.

Elizabeth Barton the holy Mayde of Kent.

About this season was espyed a newe found Saint, and holy Hipocrite, called the holy Mayde of Kent, which by the great labor, diligence, and paine takyng of the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and the Lord Cromwell, and one called mayster Hugh Latimer, a deuine (which shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester) the iugglyng and craftie deceipt of this Mayde, was manifested and brought to light: wherevpon after diuers examinations, shee with al her adherentes, were in Nouember brought to the starre Chamber: whose names were these, Elizabeth Barton, which was shee that called herselfe the holy Mayde of Kent, Richard Maister, priest, person of Aldington in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng, Doctor in Diuinitie, Monke of Cauntorbury, Richard Deryng, also Monke of Cauntorbury, Edward Thwaites Gentleman, Thomas Laurence, Register to the Archdeacon of Cauntorbury, Henry Golde, person of Aldermary, Bacheler of Diuinitie, Hugh Rich Frier Obseruaunt, Richard Risby, and Thomas Golde Gentleman. These all beeyng in the starre Chamber, before diuers of the kinges Counsaile, confessed their feyned hipocrisie, and dissimuled sanctitie, and trayterous purposes and intents, and they were there by the kings counsaile adiudged, to stand at Paules Crosse, where they with their awne hands, should seuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie, and superstitious doynges. Which then the next Sunday after, they all abone rehersed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter thereof was respited to the Parliament next folowyng, where all they abouesayd, with other as after ye shall heere, were attainted by act of Parliament, and suffered death as traytors, by hangyng, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

A meting betweene the English Ambassadors and the Scottes.

In September the king of Scottes, sent hys Commissioners to the towne of Newe Castell, where were for the kyng of Englande Commissiouers, syr Thomas Clifford, and Doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communication, demaunded great amendes, saiyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled them to their losse, and that greatly, and sayde that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaction, if he would be called honorable. Then it was aunswered, that notwithstanding the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottish nation woulde neuer kepe peace, insomuch, whyle we be here intreating, your people are robbing: wherefore the king demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherfore we here deliuer you a writing, which the Scottes receyued, and at their next meeting they sayde, that the shyppes to them were lawfull prises, by reason that the Erle of Anguishe, was mayntayned in England, which is rebell to our king, and the Erle and you haue done to vs much skathe, and we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of somme part of our great losses, which we maye not deliuer, and therfore we pray you demaunde

them not: but here we deliuer you our booke, which amounteth to a greater somme by ten thousande marke. The English commissioners receyued the booke, and in the same the Scottes demaunded, recompence for burning their townes, and destroiyng many of their strong Piles, aboue. xxiiij. which were destroyed from the. xxiij. day of Aprill, in the last. xxiij. yere of the king, to the. xxx. daye of Aprill. The Englishe Commissioners aunswered, that if the Scottes woulde sende to the king of Englande, they doubted not, but they should haue a good answere for the king of England bade them chose peace or warre: so they agreed to sende to both their kinges letters of their doyngs, which in hast was done. And after much suite of the Scots part, when they had much demaunded, & litle or nothing was graunted, they then beyng wery of warre desired peace, which was concluded during both the kinges liues, and the. xx. day of Maie, in the next yere of the king folowing, it was openly proclaymed, to the great commfort & reioysing of all louers of peace. A peace concluded with the Scottes.

The. xviij. day of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his Counsayle, to Bugden beside Huntingdon, where the Lady Katherin Princes Dowager laye. For the king was aduertised, and had good proues of the same, that she of froward mind woulde consent neyther to the determination of the Vniuersities, nor yet to the whole conuocation of the realme, but beyng counsayled by a fewe Spanyardes, which had litle learning, did all that shee coulde to infringe the determination of the sayde Vniuersities and Clergy. Insomuch that she wrote to the Pope, and to other Potentates, to grieue the king and his realme, because he would not folow her minde, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefore the kinges Counsayle mocioned the king, that such as were about her, and moued her therto, should be put from her, for they thought it no reason, that she should haue such libertie to worke that thing, by the which the king and his realme, might haue detriment or damage. Wherefore the sayde Duke was sent to her, which shewed to her openly, Articles of her suytes to the Pope, and how she sought meanes to grieue the king and his realme, which hereafter she should not be suffered to do. For the same time was a Cursse sent from the Pope, which accursed both the king and the whole realme, which Cursse the bearer thereof, beyng not belike the hardiest man that euer shewed himselfe in fronte of battayle, thought it a great deale more better for hym to bestow it without the kings dominions, and therefore set it vp in the towne of Dunkercke in Flaunders, where it was taken downe by William Locke Mercer of London. The Queene aunswered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high wordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from him, into her priuie chamber and shut the doore. He seeyng that, brake all the order of the Queenes Court, and discharged a great sort of her housholde Seruauntes, and yet left there a conuenient number, to serue her like a Princes. There was great lamentation among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then they that remayned to serue her, were sworne to serue her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some sayd that they were sworne to her as Queene, and otherwise they would not serue, and so they departed. Other that were sworne to her as Princes, and remayned there, she them vtterly refused for her Seruauntes, wherfore she remayned with the lesse number of Seruauntes.

The Pope accursed the king and his realme.

William Locum Mercer.

The princes Dowager was verye heady and wilfull.

The king kept his Christmas at Greenewiche, with great solempnitie, and after Christmas began the parliament. In which parliament Elizabeth Barton called the holy Mayde of Kent, with all her ayders and abbetters, of whome ye haue heard before, was attaynted, and her great and greeuous offences appereth in the statute made in this present parliament and the one and twenty day of Aprill next following she with her adherents were drawne to Tiborne and there executed. A parliament.

And at the place of execution, and the present time that she suffered she sayde these wordes, hether am I come to die, and I haue not bene the onely cause of myne awne death, which most iustly I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer: and yet to saye the truth I am not so much

to be blamed, consydering it was well knowne vnto these learned men, that I was a poore wenche without learnyng, and therefore they might haue easily perceyued that the thinges that were done by me could not proceede in no such sort, but their capacities and learning coulde right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether fayned: but because the things which I fayned was profitable vnto them, and therefore they much praised mee and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being puft vp with their prayses, fell into a certaine pride and foolishe phantasie with my selfe, and thought I might fayne what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crye God and the kinges highnesse most hartely mercie, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercie on me, and all them that here suffer with me.

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suretie of the crowne, to the which euerye person beyng of lawfull age shoulde be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that act, as in the same ye may most euidently see.

Monday the xxiij. day of Marche in the parliament time were solemply receyued into London as Ambassadours from Iames the fift king of Scottes, the Byshop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kynlos, and Adam Otterborne the kinges Atturney, with diuers Gentlemen on them attendaunt, which were brought to the Taylers hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady they were brought to the kinges place at Westminster, where they shewed their Commission and Message, for the which the king appointed them dayes to counsayle. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare.

The. xxx. daye of Marche the Parliament was proroged; and there euery Lorde and Burgesse and all other, were sworne to the act of succession and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to the same othe. Thys Parliament was proroged till the thirde day of Nouember next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all Englande to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at which fewe repyned, except Doctor Iohn Fysher, syr Thomas Moore knight late Lorde Chauncelor, and Doctor Nicholas Wylson Parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these three persons after long exhortation to them made by the Byshop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse deniall of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were oftentimes mocioned to be sworne: but the Byshop and syr Thomas Moore sayde that they had in their writings written the princesse Dowager Quene, and therfore they might not go against that, and the Doctor sayde that he in preaching called her Queene, which he would not with say, howbeit at length he was very well contented, and dissembled the matter and to escaped: But the other twaine stood against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chaunced that two Marchaunt straungers fell in loue with a Harlot which was called Wolfes wyfe, and this Harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so on a time the sayde Harlot appointed these straungers to come to Westminster, and shee had prepared for them a boate, in the which boate was but one man to rowe, which was a strong theefe, and in the ende of the boate lay Wolfe her husbande couered with a leather that boate men vse to couer their Cushins wyth, and so these straungers sat them downe mistrusting nothing, and when thys boteman had brought them as farre as a place that is called the Turning tree, sodainely stepped vp the sayde Wolfe and with his dagger thrust the one of them thorowe, the other cryed out to saue his lyfe, and offered a great somme of money to the boateman and him to saue his life, but no profers would be heard, nor mercie would they extende, but as cruell murderers without pittie slue the other also and bounde them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the aforesayde place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the Harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers, and tooke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and her husbande as they deserued, were apprehended, arraigned and

hanged at the foresayde turning tree, where she hanged stil & was not cut downe, vntill such time as it was knowne that beastly and filthy wretches had most shamefully abused her being dead.

1533

The ninth day of Iuly was the Lorde Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the Duke of Norffolke sat as iudge and high Stewarde of England. The sayde Lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the Axe of the Tower before him, after his inditement read, not onely improoued the sayd inditement as false and maliciously deuised agaynst him and aunswered enery parte and matter therein contayned, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors which there were readie to auouche their accusations, that to their great shames, and to his great honour, he was founde that day by his peeres not guiltie, for the which vndoubtedly the commons exceedingly ioyed and reioysed at, insomuche as there was in the Hall at those wordes not guiltie, the greatest shoute and crye of ioye that the lyke no man lyuing can remember that euer he heard.

25 The Lorde Dacres of the North.

The. xiiij. day of August was a great fyer at Temple barre and diuerse houses brent. And the. xvi. day of the same moneth was burned the kinges stable at Charing crosse otherwise called the Mewse, wherein was brent many great Horses and great store of hay.

The Mewse.

In this yere the thirde day of Nouember the kynges highnesse helde his high courte of parliament, in the which was concluded and made many and sondrie good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among all, one speciall estatute, which auctorised the kinges highnesse to be supreme heade of the church of England, by the which the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vtterly abholished out of this realme. In this parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnesse the first fruites and tenthes of all dignities and spirituall promotions. And in the ende of the same parliament the kinges maiestie most graciously graunted (and willed it by the same parliament to be establyshed) his most gracious and generall free pardon.

The Pope abholished.

The first fruites and tenths geuen to the king.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: which Admyrall was honorably receyued, and at his departing was liberally rewarded.

In this time died the Erle of Kildare prisoner in the Tower: And euen at the same time Thomas Fitzgarard hys sonne began to rebell agaynst the kyng and tooke all the kinges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadours to the Emperour to haue intreated him to take parte with him. Also he slewe the Bishop of Deuelin and brent and robbed all such as would not obey him: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall appeare.

Thomas Fitzgarard rebelleth.

1534

In the beginning of thys yere the Duke of Norffolke and the Byshop of Ely went to Calice, and thether came the Admirall of Fraunce.

26

And the. xix. day of Iune was three Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne, and their quarters set vp aboute Londō for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore and Nudigate. These men when they were arreigned at Westminster, behaued themselues very stiffely and stubbornly, for hearing their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken agaynst the kings maiestie his crowne and dignitie, they neuer blushed nor abashed at it, but very foolishly and hipocritically knowledged their treason which maliciously they auouched, hauing no learning for their defence, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterwarde in the Tower of London it did appere, for so they sayde, that they thought those men which was the Lorde Cromwell and other that there sat vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be eyther aunswered or spoken vnto. And therefore as they de erued, they receyued as you haue heard before.

Exmewe Middlemore Nudigate.

Also the. xxij. day of the same month Iohn Fysher Byshop of Rochester was behedded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This Byshop was of very many men lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning and a man of very good lyfe,

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester behedded.

but

but yet wonderfully deceiued, for he maintayned the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and denyed the kings tytle therein, who albeit he was learned, yea, and that very notably learned, yet haue you heard howe he was deceyued with Elizabeth Barton that called her selfe the holy Mayde of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that vsurped auctoritie, the more pitie.

Sir Thomas Moore beheded. Also the sixt day of Iuly was syr Thomas More behedded for the like treason before rehearsed, which as you haue heard was for the denying of the kings Maiestie supremitie. This man being learned as you haue heard before, was Lorde Chauncelour of Englande, and beside his learning he had a great wit, and in talking verie pleasant and merie conceited, and that euen to his last hower: Insomuch as at hys comming to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his vpper garment for his fee (meaning hys Gowne) and he aunswered, he should haue it, and toke him his Cap, saiyng it was the vppermost garmēt that he had. Likewise, euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a pore woman called to him and besought him to declare that he had certayn euidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat she might haue them agayne, or else she was vndone. He aunswered good woman haue pacience a little while, for the king is so good vnto me that euē within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himselfe. Also when he went vp the stayres on the Scaffolde, he desired one of the Shriefes officers to geue him his hande to helpe him vp, and sayde, when I come downe agayne, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him asking him forgeuenesse of his death (as the maner is) to whome he sayde I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the stryking of my head, my neck is so short. Also euen when he should lay downe his head on the block, he hauing a great gray beard, striked out his beard and sayde to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the block least ye sheuld cut it.

The king of Scots made knighte of the Garter. This yere in the time that the king went his progresse, which was to Gloucester, and so Westwarde, the king of Scotes was installed at Wyndsore by the Lorde Erskyn his procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner Byshop of Winchester was sent Ambassador into Fraunce, where he remayned three yeres after.

The death of the Princes Dowager. In Nouember was a solempne Procession through the Citie of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the City, for the recouering of the French king to his helth. And the viij. day of Ianuary folowyng, died the princes dowagar at Kimbalton, and was buryed at Peterborough.

Queene Anne brought a bed before her time. And in February folowyng, was Queene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyme, which was borne dead.

The fourth day of February the king helde his highe Court of Parliament at Westminster, in the which was many good and wholesome statutes and lawes made and concluded.

Abbeys of yᵉ valew of thre hundred Markes and vnder geuen to the king. And in this time was geuen vnto the king by the consent of the great and fatte Abbottes, all religious houses that were of the value of three hundred Marke and vnder, in hope that their great Monasteryes should haue continued still: But euen at that tyme one sayde in the Parliament house, that these were as thornes, but the great Abbottes were putrifyed olde Okes, and they must needes folowe: and so will other do in Christendome quod Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London or manye yeres be passed.

About this tyme sayth Sleydan, the king of England sent certaine Ambassadors into Germany to the Protestants to conclude a league with them, among the which Ambassadors was chiefe Edward Foxe Bishop of Herford. And after great conference and long communication had, at the last it was agreed that the king and they were content to enter into league vpon these condicions: 1 First that the king should set forth the pure Doctrine of the Gospell which they professed at Aspurge, and maintaine the same with them in a lawfull Counsaile if any such shall be.

2 That neyther of them admyt the callyng or place of a Counsaile, but by common assent:

assent: neuerthelesse if it may appere by certaine and manifest reasons that any such counsaile is like to be, as hath bene declared to Peter Paule, Verger, the Bishops Legate, that it be not refused: But in case the Bishop continue his purpose, that then his enterprise be letted, and by open protestation to be refused.

3 And like as the king hath ioyned himselfe to their religion, so likewise to ioyne with them in league also, and to be called the Patrone and defender of the same.

4 That common opinion of the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, to bee vtterly reiected for euer.

5 If any warre be attempted agaynst eyther part, for religion or other cause, that no ayde be geuen vnto him that inforceth the same.

6 That for the defence of the league, the king shall pay one hundred thousand Crownes, whereof the one halfe the Confederatours shall and maye employ when neede shall require, and the rest of their charges to be borne of their awne money which they shall contribute among them: But if the warre shall long endure, and the force of the enemy driue them to it: then the king to disbursse two hundred thousand Crownes, forasmuch as they if the like chaunce should fortune, stand also bound, not onely to spend their goodes but their bloud and life also. And of this somme also, the lyke consideration to be had as before, and that it be not employed to any other vse, then to defend the league, and the remainder to be restored when the warre is finished.

7 That the Ambassadours shall write to the king hereof, and when they knowe his minde, to aduertise the Duke of Saxon, and Lantgraue Van hesse thereof, that after a common Ambassade may be sent vnto him.

Now when the Ambassadors had sent these requests vnto the king they departed to Wyttenbergh. And shortly after came letters from the king of England to the Protestantes, purportyng the kinges minde therein, and the Ambassadours do aduertise the Prince elector hereof. And the. xij. day of March at Wittenbergh, whether the Duke was at that tyme come, speaking first many thinges of the kinges great good will, the Ambassadors declare howe that the most part of the requestes do content him, if a fewe might be amended. And albeit that in England all thing is quiet, neyther is there any cause wherefore the king should feare any man, and if haply any cause hath beene, the same is now taken away by the death of his wyfe forsaken, neuerthelesse to recouer and maintoyn the true Doctrine, he doth not refuse to defray the somme of money which they requyre, so that the league go forward, and hereof he will treate more at large with their Ambassadors. And where they offer vnto him this honour, that he should be defender and patrone of the league, he geueth them great thankes, and acknowlegeth their good will. And although he vnderstand with how much enuy and displeasure, the same is annexed, yet for the common welthes sake, he could be content if they can agree vpon the first and second demaunde. For onlesse there be an vniformity in doctrine, he supposeth that this charge cannot be greatly to his honour: But he would chiefely wishe that the learned of his realme and theirs might be wholy of one opinion. And where he seeth well that the same will not be, onlesse certaine places of the confession and Apologie of their doctrine may before by priuate talke be something qualified: Therefore he desyreth them instantly to send their Ambassadors, and amongest them some one that is excellently learned, which may conferre with his Deuines of the whole doctrine and cerimonies, and determine the matter. And where he sheweth himselfe so liberall vnto them, he requireth againe, that in case any man attempt warre against him: First they will ayde him eyther with fiue hundred horsemen, or else with. x. ships wel manned and furnished for foure months. Furthermore, that vpon his awne charges they shall prouide for him two thousand horsemen, and fiue thousand footemen.

Nowe when the Duke had heard the Ambassadors, he answered them that in asmuch as these thinges concerne not him alone, but his comfortes also, he will make them priuie vnto it, and vse their counsaile in the same.

But

But shortly after as will appere in the yere folowyng, the king hauyng condempned his wife Queene Anne of Adultery & incest. But (sayth Sleydan) vniustly as it is supposed and proued since, caused her head to be striken off, after she had borne him a daughter that bewtifull Ladie Elizabeth nowe Queene of England. And with her were executed certain Gentlemen of the kings priuie Chamber, Noreys, Weston, Brewton, and one Markes, which Markes cõtrary to his conscience, for hope of preferment, subscribed to a bil, whereby he condemned both himselfe, and all the rest. And he was prouoked thervnto by the lord Admirall Fitzwilliams, that was after Erle of Southhampton, who sayd vnto him, subscribe Markes, & see what will come of it, & he subscribed, and receyued therefore a reward vnloked for. And also the lord Rochefort the Queenes brother, through the false accusation of the strumpet his wyfe, which afterwards suffered therfore accordyng to her desertes, was in lyke maner put to death. Which dolefull tragidie tooke cleane away the former purposed Ambassade that should haue bene sent into England.

1535
27

On May day were a solempne Iustes kept at Grenewich, and sodainly from the Iustes the king departed hauyng not aboue. vj. persons with him, and came in the Euening from Grenewich to his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departyng many men mused, but most chiefely the Queene, who the next day was apprehended and brought from Grenewich to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condemned. Also at the same tyme was likewise apprehended, the Lord Rocheford brother to the said Queene, & Henry Norrys, Mark Smeton, William a Bruton, & sir Fraunces Weston, all of the kings priuie Chamber. All these were likewyse committed to the Tower, and after arreigned & condemned of high treason. And all the Gentlemen were beheaded on the scaffold at the Tower hill: But the Queene was with a Sworde behedded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the wordes that she spake the day of her death which was the. xix. day of May. 1536.

Quene Anne sent to the Tower.

The wordes of Queene Anne Bulleyn at her death.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I will speake nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speake any thing of that wherof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there neuer: and to me was euer a good, a gentle, and souereigne Lorde. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world & of you all, and I hartelye desire you al to pray for me. O Lord haue mercy on me, to God I cõmend my soule. And then she kneled downe saiyng: to christ I cõmend my soule, Iesu receiue my soule diuers times, till ỹ her head was striken of with the sword.

Ladie Iane Seymer maried to the king.

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed Lady Iane daughter to the right worshypfull syr Iohn Seymer knight, which at Whitsontide was openly shewed as Queene.

Lorde Thomas Haward committed to the tower.

In the parliament season Lorde Thomas haward without the kinges assent affied the Lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the Quene of Scottes and Nece to the king: for which presumpteous acte he was attainted of treason, and an act made for the like offendors, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the time of this parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy of the realme held a solempne conuocation at Paules Church in London, where after much disputacion, & debating of matters they published a booke of religiõ intituled. Articles deuised by the kings highnesse &c. In this boke is specially mencioned but three Sacraments, with the which the Lincolnshiremẽ (I meane their ignorant priestes) were offended, & of that occasion depraued the kings doings. And this was their first beginning, as ye shall plainly here.

After this booke which passed by the kynges auctoritie with the consent of the Clergy, was published, certaine Iniunctions were that time geuen whereby a number of their holy dayes, was abrogated and specially such as fell in the Haruest time, the keping of which

was

was much to the hinderaunce of the gathering in of corne, hay, fruite, and other such like necessarie and profitable commodities.

These articles thus ordained and to the people deliuered. The inhabitauntes of the North partes beyng at that time very ignoraunt and rude, knowing not what true religion ment, but altogether noseled in supersticion and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbotes and ignoraunt Priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certain Monasteries, and for the extirpation and abholishing of the Bishoppe of Rome now taking an occasion at this booke, saiyng see friendes now is taken from vs foure of the seuen Sacramentes, and shortly you shall lose the other three also, and thus the fayth of holy Church shall vtterly be suppressed and abolished and therefore sodainly they spred abroade and raysed great and shamefull slaunders onely to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kindle in the people hatefull and malicious mindes against the kinges maiestie and the maiestrates of the realme, saiyng, let vs fully bende our selues to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffer it thus to decaye, euen to dye in the field. And amongest them also were to many, euen of the nobilitie that did not a litle prouoke and stirre vp the ignorant & rude people the more stiffy to rebell and stande therein, faythfully promising them both ayde and succor against the king and their owne natiue countrye (like foolish and wicked men) thinking by their so doyng to haue done God high pleasure and seruice. There were also certayne other malicious and busye persons who added Oyle (as the adage sayth) to the Fornace: These made open clamors in euery place where oportunitie serued, that Christen religion should be vtterly violate, dispysed and set a side, and that rather then so, it behoued and was the partes of euerye true Christen man to defende it euen to the death, and not to admyt and suffer by any meanes the fayth (in the which their forefathers so long and so many thousand yeres haue liued and cõtinued) now to be subuerted and destroyed. Amongest these were many priestes which deceyued also the people with many false fables & venemous lyes and imaginations (which could neuer enter nor take place in the hart of any good man, nor faithfull subiect) saiyng that al maner of prayer and fasting and all Gods seruice should vtterly be destroyed & taken away, that no man should marry a wife or be partaker of the Sacraments, or at the length should eate a piece of rost meate, but he shoulde for the same first pay vnto the king a certaine somme of money, and that they should be brought in more bondage and in a more wicked maner of life, then the Sarazins be vnder the great Turke. With these and such other like errors and slaunderous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I may trulier speake) deceyued and mocked, beyng to light of credyt, incontinent to the helpe and mayntenaunce of religion once established and confirmed, they stifly and stoutely did conspire and agree: And in a part of Lincolneshyre, first they assembled and shortly after, ioyned into an army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apt and fitte for the warre, in number aboue tweatie thousand.

The insurrection in Lincolnshire.

False and slaunderous rumors.

Agaynst these trayterous rebelles, wyth all the haste and speede that might be (after he heard thereof) the kinges royall maiestie, in his awne proper person, furnished with a goodly and warlike armie, lacking nothing that to such a companie should appertaine, marched toward them. But these rebels hearing that his maiesty was present with his power and army royall, feared what would follow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauoured them began to withdraw themselues, so that they were destitute of Capitaines, & at the last they in writing made certayne peticions to the kings maiestie, professing that they neuer intended hurt toward hys royall person. The kings maiestie receiued their peticions and made aunswere vnto them as followeth.

First we begin and make aunswere to the foure and sixe articles, because vpon them dependeth much of the rest, concerning choosing of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, heard, nor knowne, that princes counsaylors, and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignoraunt common people, nor that they were persons meete nor of habilitie to discerne and choose mete and sufficient counsailors for a prince: how presumpteous then are ye

The kings aunswere to the rebels of Lyncolnshire.

the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realme, and of the least experience to finde fault with your prince for the electing of his counsaylors and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Gods lawe and mans lawe to rule your prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serue with both your lyues, landes and goodes: and for no worldly cause to withstand? the contrarie wherof you like Traytors and rebelles haue attempted and not like true subiects as ye name your selues.

As to the suppression of religious houses and Monasteries, we wyll that ye and all our subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this our realme, and by al the commons in the same by act of Parliament, and not set foorth by any counsaylor or counsaylors vppon there meere will and phantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade our realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the truth thereof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischiefe and abhomination of lyuing was vsed, and that doth wel appere by there awne confessions subscribed with their awne handes in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we needed by the act) to stand wherein if they amende not their liuing, we feare, we haue more to aunswere for then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the reliefe of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that they haue bene a great reliefe of the poore people, when a great many of the most part hath not past foure or fiue religious persons in them, and dyuers, but one which spent the substaunce of the goods of their houses in norishyng of vice, and abhominable lyuing. Nowe what vnkindnesse and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all our subiectes that be of that minde, that had leuer suche an vnthriftie sort of vicious persons, should enioye suche possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of the sayde houses, to the maintenaunce of their vnthriftie life, then we your naturall prince, souereigne Lord and king, which doth and hath spent more in your defences of our awne, then sixe times they be worth? As touchyng the act of vses, we maruayle what madnesse is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye would take auethority vpon you to cause vs to breake these lawes and statutes, which by all the nobles, knightes, and Gentlemen of this realme (whome the same chiefely toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seyng in no maner of thinges it toucheth you the base commons of our realme.

Also the groundes of all those vses were false, and neuer admitted by any lawe: but vsurped vpon the prince, contrarie to all equitie and iustice, as it hath bene openly both disputed and declared by all the wel learned men in the realme of England in Westminster hall: whereby ye maye well perceyue howe mad and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how vnmeete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse meete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demaund the same of your prince.

As touchyng the fiftene which ye demaund of vs to be released, thinke ye that we be so faint harted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many mo) could compell vs with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanor to remit the same? or thinke ye that any man will or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shewe a louing graunt, and then perforce would compell your souereigne Lorde and king to release the same? the time of payment whereof is not yet come, ye, and seing the same will not counteruaile the tenth penie of the charges, which we doe and daily susteyne for your tuition and safegard: make you sure by your occasions of these your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnesse and vnkindnes to vs now administred, ye geue vs cause which hath alwayes beene as much dedicate to your welth as euer was king, not so much to set or studie for the setting forwarde of the same, seyng how vnkindly and vntruely ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnesse in you to consider your duetie of allegeaunce to your king and souereigne Lorde,

the rest of our realme we doubt not hath: and we and they shall so looke on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former letters you submit not your selues.

As touching the first fruites, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportation of parte of the great and excessiue charges, which we support and beare for the maintenaunce of your welthes and other our subiects: and we haue knowne also that ye our commons haue much complayned in times past, that the most part of our goods, landes and possessions of the realme, were in the spirituall mens handes: and yet bearing vs in hande that ye be as louing subiectes to vs as maye be, ye cannot finde in your hartes that your prince and souereigne Lord should haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but to rebell and vnlawfully rise against your prince, contrarie to the duetie of allegeaunce and Gods commaundement, Sirs remember your folies and trayterous demeanors, and shame not your native Countrie of England, nor offende no more so grieuously your vndoubted king and naturall prince, which alwayes hath shewed himselfe most louing vnto you, and remember your duetie of allegeaunce, and that ye are bound to obey vs your king, both by Gods commaundement and law of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoones vpon the foresayde bonds and paynes, that ye withdraw your selues to your awne houses, euery man, and no more to assemble contrary to our lawes and your allegeaunces, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischiefe, to be deliuered to our Lieftenaunts hands, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to such condigne punishment as we and our nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not else that we and our nobles can nor will suffer this iniurie at your handes vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of soueraigntie, and shewe your selues, as bounden and obedient subiects, and no more to entermeddle your selues from henceforth with the waighty affaires of the realme, the directiō wherof onely appertaineth to vs your king, and such noble men and counsailors as we list to elect and choose to haue the ordering of the same, and thus we pray vnto almightie God, to geue you grace to doe your duties, to vse your selues towarde vs like true and faithfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliuer into the handes of our Lieuetenaunt a hundred persons, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacie and wilfulnesse, to put your selues, your wiues, children, landes, goodes, and cattels, besides the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of totall destruction, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the sworde.

After the Lincolneshire men had receyued this the kinges aunswere aforesayde, made to their peticions, eche mistrustyng other who should be noted to be the greatest medler, euen very sodainly they began to shrinke, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his awne house in peace: But the Capitaynes of these rebelles escaped not all clere, but were afterward apprehended, and had as they deserued: he that tooke vpon him as Capitaine of this rowte, named himselfe Capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with diuers other, which afterward were taken and executed.

Doctor Makerell otherwise called Capitayne Cobler.

All these thinges thus ended, the Countrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet, the kinges maiestie retired, and brake vp his army.

But see, euen within sixe dayes folowyng, was the king truly certifyed, that there was a newe insurrection made by the Northren men, which had assembled themselues into a houge and great armie of warlike men, & well appoynted both with Capitaynes, horse, harnesse, and artillary, to the number of fortie thousand men, which had encamped themselues in Yorkeshire: And these men had eche of them to other bounde themselues by their othe, to be faythfull and obedient to his Capitaine: they also declared by their Proclamations solemply made, that this their insurrection, shoulde extende no farther but onely to

A new insurrection in the North.

the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Christ, and deliuerance of holy Church sore decayed and oppressed, and also for the furtheraunce aswell of priuate as publike matters in the realme touchyng the welth of all the kings poore subiectes. They named this their sedicious and trayterous voyage, an holy and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine Banners in the field, wherevpon was painted Christ hangyng on the crosse on the one syde, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other syde, with diuers other Banners of like hipocrisie, and feyned sanctitie: the souldiors also had a certaine cognisaunce or badge, embrodered or set vpon the sleeues of there coates which was the similitude of the fiue woundes of Christ, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our Lord, and thys the rebellious garryson of Sathan, with his false and counterfeated signes of holinesse, set forth and decked themselues, onely to delude and deceyue the simple and ignorant people.

The Rebels named their enterprise an holy and blessed pilgrymage.

After that the kinges highnesse was credibly certified of this newe insurged resurrection, he makyng no delay in so waightie a matter, caused with all speede the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Exeester, the Erle of Shrewsbury with other, accompanied with his mightie and royall armie, which was of great power and strength, foorthwith to set vpon the rebelles: But when these noble Capitaynes and Counsaylors approched the rebelles, and perceyued their number, and sawe how they were bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to haue pacified al without bloud sheddyng, but the Northren men were so stiffe necked, that they would in no wise stoupe, but stoutely stoode & maintained their wicked enterprice, wherefore the Nobles abouesayde perceyuyng and seeyng none other way to pacifie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a battaile, the battaile was appointed, and the day was assigned: but see, the same night which was the night before the daye of the battaile appoynted, fell a small rayne nothing to speake of: but yet as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small foorde, and that men in maner the day before, might haue gone drishod ouer, sodainly rose of such a heigth, deepenesse, and bredth, that the like no man that there did inhabite, could tel that euer they saw it so afore, so that the day euen when the houre of battaile should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

A trew miracle of God.

After this appointment made betwene both the armies (disapointed as it is to be thought onely by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place: Then by the great wisedome and pollicie of the sayd Capitaynes, a communication was had, and a pardon of the kinges Maiestie obtayned, for all the Capitaynes and chiefe doers of this insurrection, and they promised that such thinges as they found themselues agrieued withall they should gently be heard, and their reasonable peticions graunted, and that their articles should be presented to the kinges Maiestie, that by his highnesse auctoritie, and wisedome of hys Counsaile, all thinges should be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this order euery man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hote as fire to fight, beyng letted thereof by God, went nowe peaceably to their houses, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

In this tyme of insurrection, and in the rage of hurly burly, euen when the kings army and the rebels were readie to ioyne, the kinges Banner beyng displayed, and the kinges Maiestie then lyng at Windsore, there was a Boocher dwellyng within fiue myle of Windsore, which caused a priest to preach, that all such as tooke part with the Yorkeshiremen, whom he named Gods people, did fight and defend Gods quarell, and farther the sayd Boocher in sellyng of his meate, one did bid him a lesse price of a sheepe then he made of it, he answered nay by Gods soule, I had rather ỹ good felowes of the North had it among them, & a score more of the best I haue: This priest and Boocher were accused to the kings maiestie Counsail of the treasons abouesaid on the Monday in the morning, & the same day they were both sent for, which confessed their treasons, and so accordyng to the law marshall, they were adiudged to die: and so the sayde Monday, they were both

both examined, condemned, and hanged, the Boocher was hanged on a new payre of Gallowes set on the Bridge ende before the Castel gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Windsore bridge. A Boocher and a Priest hanged at Windsore.

This yere in December was the Thamys of London all frosen ouer, wherefore the kinges Maiestie with his beautifull spouse Queene Iane, roade throughout the Citie of London to Grenewich: And this Christmasse the king by his Messengers and Heraulds, sent downe to the North his generall pardons to all capitall offenders: and shortly after came Aske to London, and so to the Court to the King: this Aske was the chiefe Capitaine of the last rebellion in the North, and now both pardoned of the king, and hys grace receiued him into his fauor, and gaue vnto him apparell and great rewardes, but as after ye shall perceyue, Aske enioyed not the king his newe friendes kindnesse a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauour at all, for there liued not a veryer wretch aswell in person, as in condicions and dedes, specially agaynst his annoynted gouernor and souereigne Lord. A great frost. Aske a rebell of the North.

The thirde day of February, was Thomas Fitz Garrad late Erle of Kildare, and fiue of his Vncles, drawen, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne, for highe treason.

Also in the sayde Moneth, Nichol Musgraue, Thomas Tilbie, wyth other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Stephan in Westmerland, with viij. thousand persons, and besieged the Citie of Carlile, from whence they were beaten, with the onely power of the Citie, and in their returnyng the Duke of Norffolke who then was made Lieutenaunt of the North, encountered with them, and tooke the Capitaynes, and according to the law martiall, arreigned threscore and fourtene of them, and hanged them on Carlile walles, but Musgraue escaped. And in the same moneth of February began yet another insurrection, by the entisement of sir Fraunces Bygod, a man no doubt that loued God, and feared his Prince, with a right obedient & louyng feare: but nowe beyng deceyued, and prouoked therevnto by false rebellious persons, it was his fortune to taste of the ende which apperteyneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaueth them to their selues, and when they will enterprise the doyng of that thing which Gods most holy worde vtterly forbiddeth: This Bygod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London, & this last rebellion began in Setrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough. A new rebellion in Westmerland. Sir Fraunces Bigod.

Also in the latter end of this yere, the Lorde Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Percy brother to the Erle of Northumberland, sir Stephen Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest, Esquier, William Lomley, sonne to the Lord Lomley, began againe to conspire, although they before had euery one of them their pardons: and nowe they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London. Robert Aske taken.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so rich as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the signe of the Legge, and vsed dayly at foure of the clocke Winter and Summer to rise and go to Masse at a Church then called saynt Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers Chappell) and one morning among all other, beyng a great mistie morning such as hath seldome bene sene, euen as he was crossing the streate from his house to the Church, he was sodaynely murdered with a Gonne, which of the neighbors was playnely heard, and by a great number of Laborers at the same time standing at Soper lane ende, he was sene go forth of his house, and also the clap of the Gonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer espied nor knowne, but many were suspected, but none coulde be founde fawtie: howbeit it is trew, that forasmuch as he was knowne to be a man of great corage and one that both could speake and also would be heard: and that the same time he was one of the Burgesses of the Citie of London & had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and cruelnie of the Clergy, he was had in contempt with them, and therefore most like by one of them thus shamefully murdered, as you perceyue that Mayster Honne was in the syxt yere of the reigne of this King. Robert Packyngton. 1536

28

In Iune the Lorde Darcy and the Lorde Hossey were arreigned at Westminster before the The Lorde Darcy, & lord Hosey condemned of high treason.

the Marques of Excester, then high Stuard of Englande, and they were both found gylty and had their iudgement as in cases of high treason.

Shortly after were also arreigned sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percey, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, syr Iohn Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife, but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nycholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Ierney and Riuers, and Robert Aske, and all founde gyltie of high treason, and all put to death at Tiborne, sauing sir Robert Cōstable, which was hanged in chaines on Beuerley Gate at Hull, and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yorke on a Tower, and sir Iohn Bulmers Paramour was brent in Smithfield in London: And in the latter ende of Iune, was the Lorde Darcy behedded at Tower hill and shortly after was the Lord Hossey behedded at Lincolne.

Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

This yere at the feast of saint George, was the Lorde Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

The birth of Prince Edward late our soueraigne Lord & king Edward the sixt.

In October on S. Edwards euen was borne at Hampton Court the noble Impe prince Edward, whose godfathers at the christening were ỹ Archbishop of Cantorburie, & the Duke of Norffolke & his Godmother the Lady Mary the kinges daughter, and at the bishopyng was Godfather the Duke of Suffolke: At the birth of this noble prince was great fiers made through the whole realme, and great ioye made with thankes geuing to almightie God which had sent so noble a prince to succede in ỹ crowne of this realme. But Lorde what lamentation shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother Quene Iane, which departed out of this life the xiiij. day of October next followyng: and of none in the realme was it more heauilier taken then of the kings maiesty himself, whose death caused ỹ king immediatly to remoue vnto Westminster where he mourned and kept himselfe close and secret a great while: and the eyght day of Nouember ỹ corps of the Queene was caried to Wyndsore with great solempnitie, and there was buried in the middes of the Queere in the Castell Church: And at the same time was made in Paules a solempne Herce for her, where was a masse and dirigie, and in like maner was song a Masse and dirigie in euery parishe church in London.

Quene Iane departed.

Quene Iane buryed.

The kings maiestie kept his Christmasse at Grenewiche in his mourning apparell, and so was all the Court till the morrowe after Candelmas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the Viscount Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and sir William Fitzwilliam high Admirall created Erle of Southampton.

Iames king of Scottes marryed the french kings Daughter.

Thys yere Iames king of Scottes maried the Lady Magdalene, the French kings eldest daughter.

1537

29 Fryer Forest condempned and brent.

In Maye there was a Frier called Frier Forest, one of the obseruant Friers, but he might haue bene more truelier named as after shall appere, an obstinate Frier, this obstinate Frier had secretly in cōfessions declared to many of the kings subiects that ỹ king was not supreme head & being therof accused & aprehended, he was examined how he could say ỹ the king was not supreme head of ỹ Church, when he himself had sworne to the cōtrarie, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer cōsented thervnto: at this answere the lords who examined him loked very straungely at the dissimulation of the Frier, but being farther accused of diuers heretical and dampnable articles, that he helde contrarie to the scripture of God, he was after sundrie examinations conuinced and confuted, and gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishment of the Church: But vpon this his submission, hauing more libertie then before he had, as well to talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certayne such outwarde men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outwarde Frier was so farre from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuration was sent him to read and looke vpon, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stood in all his heresies, and treasons before conspired. All gentle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliation was had, but the more gentler that the maies-

trates

trates were to hym, the more obstinate was the Frier, and would neyther argue nor aunswere: wherefore iustly he was condempned, and after for him was prepared in Smithfield in London a Gallowes on the which he was hanged in chaines by the middle and armeholes all quick, and vnder the Gallowes was made a fyre, and so he consumed and brent to death. At his comming to the place of execution, there was prepared a great Skaffolde, on which sate the nobles of the realme, and the kings maiesties most honorable counsayle, onely to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, if any sparke of repentaunce would haue happened in him: there was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renoumed and famous Clarke the Byshoppe of Worcester called Hugh Latimer, declared to hym his errors and openly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and with many good and godly exhortations moued him to repentaunce, but such was his frowardnesse that he neyther would heare nor speake: And a little before the execution, a houge and a great Image was brought to the Gallowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped: This Image was called Daruell Gatheren, and the Welshemen had a prophesie that this Image should set a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesie now toke effect, for he set this Fryer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothing. This Frier when he sawe the fyre come and that present death was at hande, caught holde vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpaciently tooke his death, that no man that euer put his trust in God neuer so vnquietly nor so vngodly ended his lyfe: if men might iudge him by his outward man, he appered to haue little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his ending. Vpon the Gallowes that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses following.

Hugh Latymer Bishop of Worcester.

A prophecye of Daruell Gatheren.

Dauid Daruell Gatheren,	And Forest the Fryer
As sayth the Welshmen	That obstinate lyer
Fetched outlawes out of hell.	That wilfully shall be dead.
Now is he come with speare and shielde,	In his contumacie,
In harnesse to burne in Smithfielde	The Gospell doth denie
For in Wales he may not dwell.	The king to be supreme head.

In Iuly was Edmond Conings bye attaynted of treason, for counterfeating of the kinges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attaynted and both put to execution as Traytors at Tiborne. And the Sonday after Bartelmewday, was one Cratwell Hangman of London, and two persones more hanged at the Wrestling place on the backeside of Clerkenwell beside London, for robbing of a Booth in Bartelmew fayre, at which execution was aboue twentie thousande people as I my selfe iudged sayth Hall.

Cratwell a hangman hanged.

In this moneth of August, the king of Scottes maryed the Ladye Marye late Duches of Longuile. And in September by the speciall motion of the Lorde Cromwell all the notable Images vnto the which were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offeringes, were vtterly taken away, as the Images of Walsingham, Ypswiche, Worceter, the Lady of Wilsdon, with many other. And likewise the Shrines of counterfeated Saintes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and diuerse other. And euen foorthwith by the meanes of the sayd Cromwell all the orders of superstitious and begging Fryers, as White, Gray, Blacke, Augustine, Croched Friers, and likewise all the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters and Houses were suppressed and put downe.

Idolatrous Images suppressed.

All counterfeit religions suppressed.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperor to the kinges maiestie that he would take to wyfe the Duches of Myllayne, but in this matter the Emperors counsayle so dalied with the king that shortly he left of that suite: of the which breaking of with the Emperor, the Duke of Cleue heard, and therefore forthwith he made suyte to the kinges maiestie, for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperors counsayle thought by a cautell to haue brought the King to sue to the Bishoppe of Rome for a licence which thing the kinges maiestie soone smelled and perceyued, whereabout they went.

The

The Lorde Marques of Excester and other accused and condemned of high treason.

The thirde day of Nouember were Henry Marques of Excester and Erle of Deuonshire, and sir Henry Poole knight and Lorde Mountagew and sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the Tower which three were accused by syr Gefferie Poole brother to the Lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two Lordes were arreigned the last day of December, at Westminster before the Lorde Awdeley of Waldon, Lorde Chauncellor, and then high Stewarde of Englande, and there founde giltie, likewise on the thirde daye after was arreigned Sir Edward Neuell, Syr Gefferey Poole and two Priestes called Croftes and Collyns, and one Holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Ianuary were the sayde two Lordes and Sir Edward Neuell behedded at the Tower hyll, and the two Pristes and Holand were drawne to Tiborne and there hanged and quartered, and Syr Gefferey Poole was pardoned.

On Ashewednesday were Iohn Iolnes, Iohn Potter, and Wylliam Manering, hanged in the Princes Liueries, because they were the princes Seruaunts, on the South side of Paules Churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley Esquyre in the same place of malice pretensed.

Also on the thirde daye of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the County of Surrey knight of the Gartier, and Maister of the kinges horse, before attainted of treason, behedded at the Tower hyll, wher he made a goodly confession, both of his folye and superstitious fayth, geuing God most harty thankes that euer he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first sauored the life and sweetenesse of Gods most holye worde, meaning the Bible in Englishe, which there he reade by the meane of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that prison, but before he was a Citezen and Poyntmaker of London, which Philips two yeres before had bene there prisoner himselfe, and sore troubled as well by syr Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London, who often times examined the sayd Philips, and layde many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldely vsed him selfe, that he maugre their euill willes, escaped clerely their handes.

Sir Nicholas Carew behedded.

Thomas Philips.

The answere of king Henry the eyght for comming to the generall counsaile.

At this time the Pope sommoned a generall counsayle to be holden at Mantua. And herevnto king Henry in the name of him selfe & his Nobles published a writing, saiyng that where there is a Counsayle called by the Bishop of Rome, the which he hath none aucthoritie to do, and called at such a time, when mortall warre is betweene the Emperor and the French kyng, and the place appoynted at Mantua, whether it is neyther safe nor commodious for all men to come. He in deede desyreth a Christian counsayle with all his heart, but vnto the Bishoppes counsaile, he will neyther come himselfe nor yet send his Ambassadors: for this is alwayes their fashion, that for their owne lucre sake, they will in such maner of assemblyes oppresse Christ and his veritie: And for his part he will haue nothing to do with the Bishop of Rome, nor regardeth no more his decree, then the writing of any other Bishop: adding that counsailes were wont to be called by the aucthoritie of the Emperor and kinges, which maner ought to be restored especially at this tyme when the Bishoppe hath so many graue persons to accuse him. Yet neuerthelesse can he neither be reprehended without the daunger of a mannes life, nor accused presently: but in a lawfull counsaile: neyther is their any prouision made for him or his by safe-conduite, although there were yet manifest daungers that should let him that he coulde not come: For it is no newes to the Bishoppes to falsifie their fayth, and to sprinkle and defile themselues with innocent bloud. And albeit it shoulde be lawfull for others to repayre thether, yet were it no safety for him, whom the Bishop hath layde wayte for, whom he hateth deadly, whom he seketh to bring in hatred with other kings, for none other cause assuredly, then for that his Tiranny is exiled out of his realme, and his yerely reuenues taken away, which thing in very dede he taketh in most euill part, & so much the worse for that he feareth lest other kings warned through his example, will hereafter do the like.

Sir Wylliam Paulet Lord Saint Iohn.

The ninth day of Marche, the king created at Westminster sir William Pawlet *knight*

Treasorer of his housholde, Lorde Saint Iohn, and sir Iohn Russell Comptroller of his house, Lorde Russell. Sir Iohn Russell, Lord Russell.

The same time the king caused all the Hauens to be fortefied, and rode to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the Sea coastes, and sent commissioners throughout all the realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same season on Easter daye, was there three score vnknowne shippes liyng in the downes, wherefore all Kent arose, and mustered in harnesse the same daye. Bulwarkes made by king Henry the eyght.

The eyght and twentie daye of Aprill, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the 1538
which Margaret Countesse of Salisburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Excester, Reignolde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lorde Mountagew, syr Adrian Foskew, Thomas Dingley knight of saint Iohnes, and diuers other were attainted of highe treason, which Foskew and Dingley were the tenth day of Iuly behedded. 30 Margaret Countesse of Salisburie.

The kinges highnesse which neuer ceased to studie and take payne both for the aduauncement of the common welth of this his realme of Englande, of the which he was the onely supreme gouernor and head, and also for the defence of the same, was lately enformed by his trustie and faythfull friendes, that the cankard and cruell serpent the Bishop of Rome, by that Archetraytor Reignolde Poole, enemie to Gods worde, and his naturall Countrie, had moued and stirred diuers great Princes and Potentates of Christendome to inuade the realme of Englande, and vtterly to destroye the whole nation of the same: wherfore his Maiestie in his awne person, without any delay tooke very laborious and painfull iourneyes towardes the sea, coastes. Also he sent diuers of his nobles and Counsaylors to view & search all the Portes and daungers on the coastes, where any meete or conuenient landyng place might be supposed, aswell on the Borders of England, as also of Wales. And in all such doubtfull places, his highnesse caused diuers and many Bulwarkes, and fortifications to be made. And further his highnesse caused the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southhampton to prepare in readinesse shippes for the sea, to his great cost and charges. Cardinall Poole. Bulwarkes made.

And besyde this, to haue all his people in a readinesse, he directed hys Commissions thoroughout the realme to haue his people mustered, and the harnesse and weapons seene and viewed, to the entent that all things should be in a readinesse, if his enemies would make any attempt into this realme: And amongest other, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Forman knight, Maior of London, and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betweue the ages of lx. and. xvj. and the number of harnesses, weapons, with their kinds and diuersities: Whervpon the sayde Lorde Maior and his brethren, euery one hauyng with them one of the Counsaile or learned men of the Citie repayred to their wardes, and there by the othe of the common counsaile and Constables of the same warde tooke the number of the men, harnesses, and weapons, accordyng to theyr Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes, and the number of the persons, they thought it not expedient to admitte the whole number of such as were certifyed for hable and apt persons for to muster: Wherefore then they assembled themselues againe, and chose out of the most hable persons, and put by the other, and specially all such as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be prouided. But when they were credibly aduertised by the kinges Counsaylor Thomas Lord Cromwell knight of the noble order of the Garter Lorde priuie Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was much bounden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the Citie Muster in a conuenient number, and not to set forth all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the Citie. Then eftsones euery Alderman repayred to his ward, and there put asyde all such as had Iackes, coates of Plate, coates of Mayle, and Briganders, and appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, except such as should beare Morishe pykes, which had no harnesse but sculles: and they appoynted none but such as had white harnesse, neyther did they admit any that was a straunger, although they were Denizens. When it was knowen that the king would see the muster, Lord how glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruice, it woulde haue made any faythfull subiectes heart to haue reioysed. Then euery man beyng of any The great Muster in London.

substaunce prouided himselfe a coate of white Silke, and garnished their Bassenets with turues lyke Cappes of Silke set with Ouches, furnished with Cheynes of Golde and feathers: other gylted their Harnesse, their Halbardes, and Pollaxes. Some, and especiall certaine Goldsmithes had their breast plates, yea and their whole harnesse of syluer bullion. The Constables were all in Iornets of white Silke, with Cheynes, and Battell Axes. The meaner sort of people were all in coates of white cloth curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before and behinde. The Lorde Maior himselfe was in a fayre Armor the crestes thereof were gylt, and ouer that a coat of black Veluet with halfe sleeues, and so was sir Roger Cholmley knight Recorder of London, and al the other Aldermen and Shirifes, and suche as had bene Shirifes, all well mounted on stirryng horses richely trapped and couered, with Battelaxes in their handes, and Mases and Chaynes about theyr neckes. The Lorde Maior had foure footemen all in whyte Sylke, cut, ruffed, and pounced: he had also two Pages well mounted on stirryng Coursers, richely trapped and appareled in coates of Crimosyn Veluet, and cloth of Golde paled, with Chaynes of Golde, the one bearyng his helme, and the other his Axe. He also had. xvj. tall men on foote with gylt Halbardes, whose Dublets were white sylke, and hosen, dublets, and shoes all white, cut after the Almaine fashion, puffed and pulled out with red sarcenet, euery one hauing a white leather Ierkin all to cut, and Chaynes about their neckes, with feathers and Brooches on their Cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about him foure Halberdes trymmed warlyke.

The Chamberlayne of the Citie, and the Councellors of the same and the Aldermens Deputies, which were appoynted to be Wyffelers on horsebacke, were all in white Dammaske Coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great Chaynes about their neckes, and proper Iauelyns or Battelaxes in their handes, and Cappes of Veluet richely decked.

The Wyffelers on foote, foure hundred proper and light persons all appareled in whyte Silke or Ierkyns of leather cutte, with white Hose and shooes, euery man hauyng a Iauelyn or Slaughsword to kepe the people in array and Chaynes about their neckes, and white feathers in their Cappes.

The Minstrels were all in white, with the armes of the Citie, and so was euery other person at this Muster without any diuersitie, sauyng the Lorde Maior, the Recorder and his brethren, who had Crosses of Veluet or Satten pyrled with Golde.

The Standard bearers were the tallest men of euery warde, for whom were made. xxx. new Standardes of the deuise of the Citie besyde banners.

When euery thing was prepared, euery Alderman mustered his awne warde in the fields, viewyng euery man in his harnesse, and to cause such as could shote, to take Bowes in ther handes, and the other Billes or Pykes.

The. viij. day of May, accordyng to the kinges pleasure, euery Alderman in order of battaile with his warde came into the common field at Mile ende, and then all the Gonnes seuered themselues into one place, the Pykes in another, and the Bowmen in another, and likewise the Bilmen, and there rynged and snayled, which was a goodly sight to beholde: for all the fieldes from white Chapell to Myle ende, and from Bednall Greene to Ratclyffe, and to Stepney were all couered with harnesse, men, and weapons, and in especiall the battaile of Pykes seemed to be a great Forrest. Then euerye part was deuided into three partes, the Pykes in three partes, and so the other. Then were appoynted three battayles, a forewarde, middlewarde, and rereward.

The order of the Muster in goyng.

About. viij. of the clocke in the mornyng marched forward the lyght peces of ordinaunce, with stone and powder, after them folowed the Drōmes, and Fyffes, and immediately after them a Guydon of the armes of the Citie. Then folowed maister Sadler Capitaine of the Gunners, vppon a good horse in harnesse, and a coate of Veluet with a Chaine of Golde, and foure Halbardes about him appareled as before is rehersed. Then folowed the Gunners foure in a ranke, euery one goyng fiue foote a sunder, euery mans shoulder euen with another, which shot altogether in diuers places verye cherefully, and especially

ly before the kinges Maiestie, which at that time sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster, where he viewed all the whole company: In like maner passed the second and third battailes, all wel and richly appoynted. They passed as is sayd, the formost Capitaine at. ix. of the clocke in the mornyng by the little Conduit entryng into Paules Church yarde, and so directly to Westminster, and so through the Sanctuary, and round about the Parke of Saint Iames, and so vp into the field, and came home through Holborne: and as the first Capitaine entered againe to the little Conduite, the last of the Muster entered Paules Churchyard, which then was foure of the clocke at after noone. The number was. xv. thousand, besyde Wyffelers and other wayters.

1539
31
The great Onele and Odonele.

In August the great Onele and Odonele entered into the Englishe pale in Irelande, and brent almost twentie myle within the same: wherefore the Lorde Grey then Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the. xxx. day of August and put them to flight: And therefore the king sent ouer fiue hundred fresh souldiours to ayde his deputie.

Ambassadors sent out of Germanie for the conclusion of a mariage betwene the king and the Ladie Anne of Cleaue.

In the ende of September the. xvj. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bauyre Countie of Palantine or Palsgraue of the Ryne, and the. xviij. day came to London, the Marshall of Duke Iohn Frederick prince Elector of Saxony, and the Chauncelor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder and Berry: the Palsgraue was receyued and conducted to Wyndsore by the Duke of Suffolke: & the other were accompanied with other nobles, and the. xxiij. day of the same moneth they al came to Wyndsore, where eyght dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: and the Palsgraue shortly departed and was honorably rewarded: and at that season was concluded the mariage betwene the king and the Lady Anne, sister to Duke William of Cleue, and great preparation was made for the receiuyng of her.

Hugh Feryngdon, Rugge, Onyon.

The. xiiij. day of Nouember Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng and two Priestes, the one called Rugge, and the other Onyon, were attaynted of high treason, for denieyng the king to be supreme head of the Church, and were drawne, hanged and quartered at Reding. This Abbot was a stubborne Monke and vtterly without learning. The same day was Rycharde Whityng Abbot of Glascenbury likewise attaynted and hanged on Tower hill beside his monasterie, for the sayde case and other great treasons, which also was quartered: and the first daye of December was Iohn Beche Abbot of Colchester put to execution for the same confederacie and treason.

Richard Whityng Abbot.

John Beche Abbot.

Pencioners.

In December were appointed to wayte on the kinges highnesse person fiftie Gentlemen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the king.

The receyuing of the Lady Anne of Cleue.

The. xj. daye of December at the Turnepike on this side Grauelyng was the Lady Anne of Cleue receyued by the Lorde Lisle, Deputie of the towne of Calice, & with the speares and horsemen belonging to the retinue there, all beyng freshe and warlike appareled, and so marchyng toward Calice a mile and more from the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southampton great Admirall of Englande, and apparelled in a Coate of purple Veluet cut on cloth of Golde, and tyed with great Aglets and Trefoiles of gold, to the number of foure hundred, and baudrick wise he ware a chayne, at the which did hang a Whystell of Golde set with riche stones of a great value. And in his companie thirtie Gentlemen of the kings housholde verie richely appareled with great and massy chaynes, and in especiall syr Fraunces Brian, and syr Thomas Seymers chaynes were of great valure and straunge fashion. Beside this the Lorde Admirall had a great number of Gentlemen in blewe Veluet and crymosyn Sattyn, and hys yomen in Dammask of the same colours, and the Maryners of his ship in Sattyn of Bridges, both coates and sloppes of the same colours, which Lorde Admirall with lowe obeysaunce welcommed her, and so brought her into Calice by the Lanterne gate, where the ships lay in the hauen garnished with their banners, pencels and flagges, pleasauntly to beholde. And at her entrie was shot such a peale of Gonnes, that all the retinue much maruayled at it. And at her entrie into the towne, the Mayor of the towne presented her with an hundred Marke in golde. And before the Staple hall stood the Marchaunts of the Staple well apparelled, which likewise presented her with an hundred souereynes of Golde in a riche Pursse,

which hartely thanked them, and so she roade to the kings place called the Checker, and there she laye fiftene dayes for lack of prosperous winde. During which time goodly iustes and costly bankets were made to her for her solace and recreation. And on saint Iohns daye in Christmas, she with fiftie sayle toke passage about none and landed at Deele in the downes about fiue of the clock, where sir Thomas Cheiney lord Warden of the Portes receyued her, and there shee taryed a space in a Castell newely built, and thether came the Duke and Dutchesse of Suffolke, and the Byshop of Chichester, with a great number of knightes and Esquires and Ladies of Kent and other which welcommed her grace, & so that night brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested till Monday: on which day for all the storme that then was she marched towarde Cauntorburie, and on Baram downe met her the Archebishop of Cauntorbury accompanied with the Bishop of Ely, saint Asse, saint Dauyes and Douer, and a great companie of Gentlemen well apparelled, and so brought her to saint Austens without Caunterburie, where she lay that night: and on the next daye shee came to Syttyngburne and there lodged that night. And as shee passed towarde Rochester on Newe yeares euen on Reynam downe, met her the Duke of Norffolke and the Lorde Dacre of the South, and the Lorde Mountioye with a great company of knights and Esquires of Norffolke and Suffolke, and the Barons of the Exchequer, all in coates of Veluet with chaynes of Golde, which brought her to Rochester, where shee laye in the Palace all New yeares day. On which day the king which sore desired to see her grace accompanied with no more then eyght persons of his priuie chamber, and both he and they all apparelled in Marble coates priuily came to Rochester, and sodaynly came to her presence, which therwith was somewhat astonied: but after he had spoken and welcommed her, shee with most gracious and louing countenance and behauior him receyued and welcomed on her knees, whome he gently toke vp and kissed: and all that afternone commoned and deuised with her, and that night supped with her, and the next day he departed to Grenewiche, and she came to Dartford.

The landing of the lady Anne of Cleue.

The king secretly meteth and saluteth the Lady Anne of Cleue.

On the morowe beyng the thirde day of Ianuary, and Saturday in a fayre playne on blackheth, more neerer the foote of shooters hill, then the ascendent of the hill called blackheth hill, was pitched a riche tent of cloth of Golde and dyuers other tentes and pauilions, in the which were made fyres and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyue her grace: and from the tentes to the Parke gate of Grenewich were all bushes and firres cut downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shewe of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the East side, stoode the Marchaunts of the Stilyard: and the West side stood the Marchaunts of Iean, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniardes in coates of Veluet. Then on both sydes of the waye stood the Marchauntes of the Citie of London and Aldermen with the counsaylors of the sayde Citie to the number of a. C. lx. which were mixed with the Esquires: Next vpward towarde the tentes stood knights: than the fiftie gentlemen Pencioners, and all this sort were apparelled in Veluet and chaines of Golde, truely accompted to the number of twelue. C. and aboue, beside them that came with the king and her grace, which were sixt hundred in Veluet coates and chaines of Golde. Behind the Gentlemen stood the seruyng men in good order, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoeuer had well viewed them might saye that they for tall and comely personages and clene of lymme and body, were able to geue the greatest prince in Christendome a mortall breakefast if he were the kings enimie: And of this sort the Gentlemen appertayning to the Lorde Chauncellor, the Lorde priuie Seale and the Lorde Admirall and diuers other Lordes, beside the costly lyueries and comely horses, ware chaynes of golde.

The receyuing of the Lady Anne of Cleaue at Blackheth.

Pencioners.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes, from the Parke gate towarde the crosse on the heth, which was betwene the rankes and the tentes, and in this order they continued till the king and shee were returned.

About twelue of the clock her grace with all the company which were of her awne nation to the number of a hundred horse, accompanied with the Dukes of Norffolke and

Suffolke, the Archebishop of Caunterburie and other Byshops, Lordes and knightes, which had receyued and conueyed her as you haue heard before, came downe shooters hill toward the tentes, and a good space from the tentes met her the Erle of Rutlande her Lorde Chamberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce her Chauncellor and all her counsaylors and officers, amongst whom Doctor Day apoynted to be her Almoner made to her an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to her on the kinges behalfe all the officers and seruaunts: which oration was aunswered vnto by the Duke her brothers secretorie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queene of Scots, the Ladie Marques Dorcet, daughter to the Frenche Queene beyng Neeces to the king, and the Duchesse of Richemond, and the Countesse of Rutlande and Herfford with diuers other Ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of lxv. saluted and welcomed her grace, which alighted out of her Chariot, in the which she had ridden all her long iourney, and with most goodly demeanor and louing countenaunce gaue to them hartie thankes and kissed them all, and after all her counsaylors and officers kissed her hande, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that shee was arriued in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings Trompets, then the kings officers beyng sworne of his counsayle, next after them followed the gentlemen of the kinges priuie chamber, some apparelled in coates of Veluet enbrodered: other had their coates garded with chaynes of Golde, verie riche to beholde, which were well horsed and trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so Sir Wylliam Hollys knight Lord Maior of London roade with the Lorde Par beyng yongest Baron. Then folowed Bishoppes apparelled in black Sattin. Then immediatly folowed the Erles, and then Duke Philip of Bauier and Countie Palantine of the Rhyne, richely apparrelled with the liuerey of the Toysant or Golden fleece about his necke. Then followed the Ambassadours of the Frenche king and the Emperour, next folowed the Lorde Priuie Seale, Lorde Cromwell, and the Lord Chauncellor: then Garter king of Armes, and the other Officers of Armes and the Seriеauntes at Armes gaue their attendaunce on euery side of the Lordes: which Lordes for the most part were apparelled in purple veluet, the Lorde Marques Dorcet in the same suyte bare the kings sword of estate. After him a good distance folowed the kings highnesse mounted on a goodly Courser, trapped in rich cloth of Golde trauerced latice wise square, all ouer embraudered with Golde of Dammaske, pyrled on euery syde of the embraudery, the buckles and pendentes were all of fine Gold. His person was apparelled in a coate of purple Veluet, somewhat made like a frocke, all ouer embraudered with flatte Golde of dammaske with small lace myxed betweene, of the same golde, and other laces of the same so goyng trauerse wise, that the ground litle appered: about which garment was a riche garde very curiously embraudered, the sleeues and brest were cutte, lined with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubies, and Orient Perle, his sword and sworde gyrdle adorned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his nightcappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so rich of Iuels that few men could valew them. Beside all this he ware in baudricke wise a coller of such balistes and Perle that few men euer saw the like: and about hys person ranne ten footemen all richely apparelled in Goldesmithes worke. And notwithstanding that this riche apparell and precious Iuels were plesaunt to the nobles and all other beyng present to beholde, yet his Princely countenaunce, hys goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceeded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparison of his person, all his ryche apparell was litle esteemed. After him followed his Lorde Chamberleyne, then came Syr Anthony Browne Maister of his Horse, a goodly Gentleman and a comly personage, well horsed, trapped, and richly apparelled, leading the kings horse of estate by a long reigne of Golde, which horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with crimosin veluet and satten, all ouer embrodered with golde after an an-

tyke

tyke fashion, very curiously wrought. Then folowed the pages of honor in coates of rich tinsell and crimosyn Veluet paled, ryding on great Coursers all trapped in crimosyn Veluet, embrodered with new deuises and knots of golde which were both pleasaunt and costly to behold. Then folowed syr Anthony Wyngfield Capitayne of the Gard, and then the Gard well horsed and in riche cotes. In this order the king rode to the last ende of the ranke, where the speares or Pencyoners stood; and there euery person that came with the king, placed himself on the one side or the other, the king standing in the mids.

When her grace was aduertised of the kinges comming, she issued out of her tent beyng apparelled in a riche gowne of cloth of golde reysed, made round without any trayne after the Dutch fashion, and on her head a Kalle, and ouer that a round Bonnet or cappe set full of Oryent Pearle of a very proper fashion, and before that shee had a cornet of blacke Veluet, and about her necke shee had a partelet set full of rich stone which glystered al the field. And at the dore of the Tent shee mounted on a fayre Horse richly trapped, with her footemen about her in Goldesmythes worke embroderod with the blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Carbuncle of golde, and so she marched toward the king: which perceyuing her to approche came foreward somewhat beyond the Crosse on blacke Heth, and there paused a litle in a fayre place tyll shee came nerer: then he put of his Bonnet, and came forward to her, and with most louely countenaunce and princely behauiour saluted, welcommed and embrased her to the great reioysyng of the beholders: and she likewise not forgetting her dutie, with most amyable aspect and womanly behauiour receyued his grace with many swete words and great thanks and praisings geuen to hym. And while they two were thus commoning, the fiftie Pencioners and the Garde departed to furnish the Courte and Hall of Greenewiche. And when the king had talked with her a litle while, he put her on his right hande, & so wyth their footemen they rode as though they had bene coupeled together. O what a sight was this to see so goodly a Prince and so noble a king to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especiall of so good qualities, I thinke no creature could see them but his heart reioysed.

Now when the king and shee were met and both their companies ioyned together, they returned through the rankes of the knightes and Esquyers which stoode still all this while and remoued not, in this order: First her Trompettes went forward, which were twelue in number besyde two Kettle Drommes on horsbacke, then followed the kinges Trompettes, then the kinges Councellors, then the Gentlemen of the priuie chamber, then the Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of Veluet, all on great horses: after them the Maior of London in crimosin veluet with a riche coller, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, next following Bishoppes then Erles with whom rode the Erles of Ouersteyne and Waldocke of her countrye, then Dukes and the Archbishop of Cauntorbury, and Duke Philipe of Bauire, next followed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Priuieseale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lord Marques with the kings sword, next followed the king himselfe equally with his fayre Ladye, and behinde him rode syr Anthony Browne with the kinges horse of estate as you heard before, and behinde her rode Sir Iohn Dudley Mayster of her horses, leading her spare palferay trapped in rich Tissue downe to the grounde: after them followed the Henxemen or Pages of honor, then followed the Ladye Margaret Douglas, the Ladye Marques Dorcette, the Dutchesse of Richmounde and Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutlande and Hertforde, and other Countesses: Then followed hir Graces Chariot in the which she rode all her iourney, well caruedband gilte with Armes of her countrey curiously wrought and couered with cloth of golde, all the horses were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them rode Pages of honor in coates of veluet, in the which Chariot rode three auncient Ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot followed sixe Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Countrey all richely apparaled with Cappes set with Perle, and great Chaynes of dyuers fashions, after the vsage of their Countrye, which were very fayre of face,

face, and with them rode six Ladyes of England well besene. Then folowed another Chariot likewise gilt, and furnished as the other was: after that Chariot folowed ten Englishe Ladies well appareled, next them another Chariot all couered with black cloth, and in that foure Gentlewomen which were her Graces Chamberers: then folowed all the remnant of the Ladies Gentlewomen, and Maydens in a great number, which did weare that day French whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke, with thre Laūders appertaynyng to her grace: next after folowed a Horslitter of cloth of Golde and Crimosyn Veluet vpon Veluet paled, with horses trapped accordyngly which the king sent her, then folowed the seruyng men of her traine, all clothed in blacke and on great horses.

In this order they rode through the rankes, and so through the Parke, and at the late Friers wall all men alighted sauyng the king, the two Maysters of the horses and the Henxmen which rode to the hall dore, and the Ladyes rode to the Court gate. And as they passed they behelde on the wharfe how the Citizens of London were rowyng vp and downe on the Thames euen before them, euery craft in his Barge garnished with Banners, Flagges, Stremers, Pencelles, and Targettes, some paynted and beaten wyth the kinges Armes, some with her Graces armes, and some with the Armes of their Craft or Mistery: Besyde the Barges of euery Craft, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batchelers Barge, decked with clothe of Golde, penons, pencelles, and Targets, in great number, on whom wayted a Foyst that shot great peeces of Artillary. And in euery Barge was dyuers sortes of Instrumentes, and children and men singyng, which sang and played altogether, as the king & the Lady passed on the Wharfe, which sight and noyse they much praysed and alowed.

When the king and she were within the vtter Court, they alighted from their horses, and the king louingly embrased her, and kissed her, biddyng her welcome to her awne, and led her by her left arme through the hall which was furnished beneath the harth with the kings Garde, and aboue the harth with the fiftie Pencioners with their Battelaxes, and so brought her vp to her priuie Chamber, where he left her for that tyme.

And assone as the king and she was entered the Court, was shot out of the Tower of Grenewich and thereabout, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the kinges company and hers was entered the Parke, as you haue heard, then all the horsemen on Blackheth brake their array, and had licence to depart to London, or to their lodgyng. To see howe long it was or the horsemen could passe, and howe late it was in the night ere the footemen could get ouer London Bridge, I assure you it was wonderous to beholde, the number was so great.

Thus this noble Ladie remayned vnmaried vntill the Tewesday folowyng beyng the daye of the Epiphanie: On which day about. viij. of the clocke in the mornyng, his Grace beyng appareled in a Gowne of clothe of golde, raysed with great flowers of siluer, furred with blacke Iennets, hys coate Crimosin Sattyn, all to cut and enbrodered, and tyed with great Diamondes, and a rich Coller about his necke, came solempnly with his nobilitie into the Gallary next the Closets, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetch the Ladie Anne, which was appareled in a Gowne of riche clothe of golde, set full of large flowers of great and orient pearle, made after the Dutch fashion round, her heare hangyng downe, which was fayre, yelow, and long: On her head a Coronall of golde replenished with great stone, & set about full of braunches of Rosemary. And about her necke and middle, Iewels of great value and estimation: In this apparell she goyng betwene the Erle of Ouersteyn, and the Graunde Mayster Hostoden, which had the conduite and order of the performaunce of her mariage, with most demure countenaunce and sad behauiour, passed through the kings Chamber, all the Lordes goyng before her, till they came to the Gallary where the king was, to whom she made three low obeysances and curtesies. Then the Archbishop of Cauntorbury receyued them, and maryed them together, and the Erle of Ouersteyn did geue her: and about her mariyng Ring was written: GOD SEND ME WEL TO KEPE.

When the mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the kinges Closet, and there heard Masse, and offered their Tapers, and after Masse had wine and spices, and that done the king departed to his Chamber, and all the Ladies wayted on her to her Chamber, the Duke of Norffolke goyng on the right hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the left hande of her grace.

After, ix. of the clocke, the king with a gowne of riche Tissue lyned with Crimosyn Veluet enbrodered, came to his Closet, and she in her heare in the same apparell that she was maryed in, came to her Closet with her Sergeaunt of Armes, and all her Officers, like a Queene, before her. And so the king and she went openly on Procession, and offered and dyned together. And after dinner she chaunged into a Gowne lyke a mannes Gowne, of Tissue with long sleeues gyrt to her, furred with rich Sables, her narrow sleeues were very costly, but on her head she had a Cap as she ware on the Saterday before with a Cornet of Laune, which Cap was so riche of Perle and stone, that it was iudged to be of great value. And after her fashion, her ladies and gentlewomen were appareled very rich and costly with Chaines of diuers fashions, and in this apparell she went that night to Euensong, and after supped with the king: and after supper were Bankettes, Maskes, and diuers disportes, till the tyme came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest.

The Sunday after were kept solempne Iustes, which much pleased the straungers. On which day she was appareled after the English fashion, with a French Whoode, which so set foorth her beautie and good visage, that euery creature reioyced to behold her.

When the Erle of Ouerstein, and other Lordes and Ladyes which had geuen their attendaunce on her grace all that iournay, and had beene highly feasted of the King and other Nobles verye sumptuously, they tooke their leaue and had great giftes geuen to them, both in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leauyng behind them them the Erle of Waldock, and diuers other gentlemen and Damosels, which were retayned with her grace, till she were better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth day of February next ensuyng, the king and she came to Westminster by water, accompanied with many Nobles and Prelates in Barges on whom the Maior and his brethren in scarlet, and. xij. of the chiefe companies of the Citie, all in Barges garnished with Banners, Pennons, & Targets, richly couered and replenished with musitians, gaue their attendance, and by the way all the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the Tower was shot a great peale of Gunnes, in goodly order.

The. xxiij. day of February, were foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery house of the foure principall Innes of Court one, where sate the Lord Chauncelor, the Lorde Priuie seale, and. xiiij. of the chiefe of the kinges Counsaile, and there the Lord Chauncelor declared, howe Sir Iohn Shelton knight, had by the aduise of sir Humfrey Browne knight the kinges Sericaunt, sir Nicholas Hare knight, the kinges Counsaylor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and William Coignesby Esquier, attournay of the Duchie of Lancaster, all beyng his seruauntes and of his fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, Anno. xxvij. to the great hinderaunce of the kinges prerogatiue, and the true meanyng of the sayd statute, and also to the euill example of all other, that should defraude their Lords of their seigniories. Wherefore the sayd sir Humfray Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, were that day by the whole Counsaile of the king dismissed of their Offices and seruice to the king, and sent to the Tower: and within three dayes after was William Coignesby sent thether, where they remayned ten dayes, and after were deliuered: but they three lost all theyr Offices, that they had of the king.

Sir Iohn Shelton. Sir Hūfrey Browne. Sir Nicholas Hare.

The. xij. day of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of Speaker, in the which was freely graunted without contradictions, foure fiftenes and a subsedie, of two shillinges of landes, and. xij. pence of goodes, toward the great charges of Bulwarkes.

The.

The. xviij. day of April, at Westminster was Thomas Lord Cromwel created Erle of Essex, and made great Chamberlein of England, which euer the Erles of Oxenford had, which promotions he enioyed short tyme, as in the next yere may appere. Thomas Lord Cromwell created Erle of Essex.

In this Parliament also the religion of saint Iohns in England, which of most men was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolued, whereof heeryng sir William Weston knight, Prior of saint Iohns, for thought dyed on the Ascention day, beyng the fift day of May.

In this moneth was sent to the Tower, Doctor Wilson, and Doctor Sampson Byshop of Chichester, for relieuing of certaine Traiterous persons, which denied the kings supremacie: and for the same offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimation in the Citie, committed to the Marshall See, and after in Westmynster hall was arraigned and attaynted in the Premunire, and loste all hys goodes. 1540 Richard Farmer Grocer condemned in a Premunire.

The ninth day of Iuly, Thomas Lorde Cromwell, late made Erle of Essex, as before you haue heard, beyng in the counsayle chamber, was sodainely apprehended and committed to the Tower of London, the which many lamented, but mo reioysed, and specially such, as eyther had beene religious men, or fauoured religious persons, for they banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wyshing that that day, had bene seuen yere before, and some fearing least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie. Other who knew nothing but truth by hym, both lamented him, and hartely prayed for him: But this is true, that of certayne of the Clergie, he was detestably hated, and specially suche as had borne swynge, and by hys meanes was put from it, for in deede he was a man, that in all his doings seemed not to fauor any kinde of Popery, nor coulde not abide the snuffing pride of some prelates, which vndoubtedly whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: which was that the. xix. day of the sayde Month, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his aunswere, which lawe many reported, he was causer of the makyng thereof, but that is false and vntrue: The articles for the which he dyed, appereth in the Recorde, where his attaynder is written, which are to long to be here rehersed, but to conclude he was there attaynted of heresie, and highe treason. And the. xxviij. day of Iuly was brought to the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, where he sayde these wordes folowyng. Thomas lord Cromwell committed to the Tower.

I am come hether to die, and not to purge my selfe, as maye happen, some thinke that I will, for if I should so doe, I were a verie wretche and miser: I am by the lawe condempned to die, and I thanke my Lorde God that hath appointed me this death, for mine offence: For sithence the time that I haue had yeres of discretion, I haue lyued a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue bene a great trauayler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to highe estate, and sithence the time I came thervnto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aske him hartily forgeuenesse, and beseech you all to pray to God with mee, that he wyll forgeue me. O father forgeue mee O sonne forgeue mee, O holy ghost forgeue me: O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I pray you that be here, to beare mee recorde, I die in the Catholike fayth, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any Sacrament of the Church. Many haue slaundered me, and reported that I haue beene a bearer of such as hath maintayned euil opinions, which is vntrue, but I cõfesse that lyke as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct vs in the truth, so the Deuill is readie to seduce vs, and I haue bene seduced: but beare me wytnesse that I die in the catholike faith of the holy Church. And I hartily desire you to pray for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you, in helth and prosperitie. And after him that his sonne prince Edwarde that goodly ympe, may long raigne ouer you. And once agayne I desire you to pray for mee, that so long as lyfe remayneth in this fleshe, I wauer nothing in my faith. And then made he his prayer, The wordes of the Lorde Cromwell spoken at his death.

which was long, but not so long, as both Godly and learned, and after committed his soule into the handes of God, and so paciently suffered the stroke of the Axe, by a ragged and boocherly miser, which very vngoodly perfourned the office.

Sergeaunts Feaste.

On saint Peters euen, was kept the Serieants feast at saint Thones with all plentie of vittayle. At which feast were made ten Serieauntes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Temples two. At which feast were present, all the Lordes and commons of the parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a great number of the commons of the Citie of London.

The Lordes & Commons of the parliament bidden to the Sergeauntes feast.

The morrowe after Midsommer daye, the king caused the Queene to remoue to Richemond, purposing it to be more for her helth, open ayre and pleasure: but the sixt daye of Iuly, certaine Lordes came downe into the nether house, which expressely declared causes, that the mariage betweene the king and her was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the conuocation clerely determined, that the king might lawfully marry where he would, and so might she: and so were they cleerely deuorced and seperated, and by the parliament enacted and concluded, that shee should be taken no more as Queene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

Queene Anne deuorced, and called Ladye Anne of Cleue.

Lorde Leonard Graye.

In this yere the Lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas Lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande, practised sundrie feates for his profite, as in delyuering Traitors beyng hostages, and especially his Nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused such of the Irishe men, as he had intelligence with all, to inuade suche of the kings friendes, as he fauored not: Wherefore the king sent for him, and he mistrusting and seing no refuge, wrote to the kings enemies to inuade the English pale after his departure. And also he kept the kings treasure to his awne vse, without retaining souldiors according to his commission, whervpon when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

In Iulye the Prince of Salerne, in the realme of Naples, and the Lorde Lois Deuola, came into Englande to see the king, which had highe chere and great rewards, and so departed. And after them came Done Frederick Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrare, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Terra Noua, and Mounsire de Flagy, and sixteue other Gentlemen, from the Emperors Court into England to see the king, which on the day of Mary Magdalene came to the Court to Westminster, and were highly feasted and well entertcyned, and with great rewardes departed.

Lorde Hungerford beheaded.

The twentie and eight day of Iuly as you haue heard before in this yeare, was the Lorde Cromwell behedded, and with him likewise was behedded the Lorde Hungerford of Heytesburie, which Lorde Hungerford at the time of his death, seemed to be verie vnquyet in his minde, and rather in a frensie then otherwise.

Barnes. Gerard and Ierom.

The thirtie daye of Iuly, were drawne on herdels out of the Tower to Smithfielde, Robert Barnes Doctor in diuinitie, Thomas Garet and Wylliam Ihorome Bachelers in Diuinitie: Powell, Fetherston, and Abell. The first three were drawne to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned: and the latter three drawne to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered.

Powell, Fetherstone, and Abell.

The last three which were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mencion made of their offences, which was for the denyng of the kings supremacie, and affirming that his mariage with the Ladie Katheryn was good: These with other were the treasons, that they were attaynted of, and suffered death for.

Thomas Epsam an obstinate Monke.

The fourth daye of August Thomas Epsam, sometime Monke of Westminster, which had bene prisoner for treason, three yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Iustices of Gaole deliuery at Newgate, & would not aske the kinges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him, wherefore his Monkes garment was plucked from his back, and he repried

pried tyll the king knewe hys malicious obstinacie: and this was the laste Monke that was seue in his clothing in Englande.

In this Moneth were certayne Commissioners sent by the king into Irelande, to enquire of the Lorde Leonard Gray, which certefied dyuers articles agaynst him, as ye shall heare in the next yere followyng.

The eyght day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, Nece to the Duke of Norffolke, and daughter to the Lorde Edmond Haward, shewed openly as Queene at Hampton Court, which dignitie she enioyed not long, as after ye shall heare. Katherine Haward shewed as Queene.

In the latter ende of this month was vniuersally through the realme great death, by reason of newe hote Agues and Flixes, and some pestilence, in which season was such a drougth, that Welles & small riuers were cleane dryed, so that much Cattle dyed for lack of water: and the Thames was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the rayne had increased the freshe waters. A great death and strange sickenesse.

On the. xxij. daye of December, was Raufe Egerton seruaunt to the Lorde Audeley Chauncelour, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfeityng of the kinges great seale, & had sealed a great number of licenses for Denizens, & one Thomas Harman that wrote them, was also executed: for the statute made the last parliament was very extreme against straungers, and namely against those which were not Denizens, which caused them to offer to Egerton great sommes of money to helpe them to be Denyzens, the desire whereof caused hym to practise, that which brought him to the ende, that before is declared. Raufe Egerton hanged. Thomas Harman.

In the end of thys yere the French king made a strong Castel at Arde, and also a bridge ouer into the Englishe pale, which bridge the Crewe of Calice did beat downe, and the French men reedified the same, and the Englishe men bet it downe agayne. And after the king of Englande sent fiftene hundred workemen, to wall and fortefie Guysnes, and sent with them fiue hundred men of warre, wyth Capitaynes to defend them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there were fiftie thousand Englishe men landed at Calice with great ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche king sent in all haste, the Duke of Vandosme, and diuers other Capitaynes, to the Frontiers of Picardy to defend the same. The king of Englande hearing thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the Lorde Russell, his great Admirall into the marches of Calice, to set an order there: and after them sent two. C. light horsemen of the borderers of Scotlande: whome the french men called stradiates, which Lordes when they had set all things in a good order shortly returned. The buylding of the Castell of Arde.

In the beginning of this yere, fiue Priestes in Yorkeshyre began a new rebellion, with the assent of one Leigh a Gentleman, and nine Temporall men, which were apprehended, and shortly after in diuerse places put in execution, insomuch that on the. xvij. day of Maye, the sayde Leigh and one Tatersall, and Thornton, were drawne through London to Tiborne, and there were executed. And syr Iohn Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Yorke. 1541. 33 A newe rebellion. Leigh Tatersall Thornton Sir Iohn Neuell.

On the same day was Margaret Countesse of Salisbury, which had beene long prisoner in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and shee was the last of the right line and name of Plantagenet. Margaret Countesse of Salisbury behedded.

The ninth day of Iune, were Damport and Chapman, two of the kings Gard, hanged at Greenewiche by the Friers Wall, for robberies in example of all other. Damport, Chapman.

During this season, the commissioners that before were sent into Irelande, to inquire of the Lord Gray, certefied twentie articles of high treason against him, wherevpon he was arreigned and tryed by knyghtes, because he was a Lorde of name, but no Lorde of the parliament: howbeit he discharged the Iury, and confessed the inditement, and thereupon was iudged, and after behedded at the Tower hill, where he ended his life very quyetlye and godly. The Lorde Leonard Gray condemned.

Mantell, Roydon, Frowdes.

In this season was arreigned and condempned three Gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at Saint Thomas of Wateringes. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the South arreigned before the Lorde Audeley of Walden, then Chauncellor of England, and that day Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the sayd Lorde Chauncellor and his Peres, he confessed the Indytement, and so had iudgement to be hanged. And the twentie and nine daye of Iune, beyng Saint Peters day at after noone, he was led on foote, betwene the two Shrifes of London, from the Tower through the Citie to Tiborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his bodye buried in the Church of Saint Sepulchers. The cause of the death of this noble man, and the other Gentlemen, was a murder of a simple man, and an vnlawfull assemblie made in Sussex. Great moane was made for them all, but most speciall for Mantell, who was as wittie, and as toward a Gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a man hable to haue done good seruice.

The Lorde Dacres of ye South hāged.

Submissions.

This sommer the king kept his progresse to Yorke and passed through Lincolneshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the Temporaltie, confessing their offence, and thanking the king for his pardon: and the towne of Staunforde gaue the king twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fortie pounde, and Boston fiftie pounde that part which is called Linsey gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Church of Lincolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entred into Yorkeshire, he was met with two hundred Gentlemen of the same Shire, in coates of Veluet, and foure thousand tall yomen, and Seruing men, well horsed: which on their knees made a submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pound. And on Barnesdale met the king, the Archebishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the king six hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yorke, New Castell, and Hull, and eche of them gaue to the king an hundred pound. When the king had beene at York twelue dayes, he came to Hull, and deuised there certaine fortifications, and passed ouer the water of Homber, and so through Lincolne Shyre, and at Alhalontide came to Hampton Court.

Queene Katherin behedded.

At this time the Queene late before maried to the king called Queene Katheryn Hawarde was accused to the king of dissolute liuing before her maryage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knew of it. And sith her mariage shee was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, which was brought to her chamber at Lincolne in August last in the progresse time, by the Lady Rocheford, and were together alone, from a xj. of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the morning, and to him shee gaue a Chayne, and a rich Cap. Vppon this the king remoued to London, & she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet serued as Queene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, they were put to deth at Tiborne, the tenth day of December. And the two and twentie day of the same moneth, were arreyned at Westminster, the Lorde William Hawarde and his wife, which Lorde William was Vncle to the Queene, Katheryne Tilney which was of counsayle of her hauing to do with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwoulde, the Queenes women, and Walgraue and William Ashy, and Damport Gentlemen, and seruaunts to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indited of misprision, for concealing the euill demeanor of the Queene, to the slaunder of the king, and his succession: all they confessed it, and had iudgement to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes and the profite of their landes, duryng their liues: howbeyt shortely after, diuerse of them were deliuered by the kinges pardon.

Culpeper, Diram, Lorde William Hawarde Katherin Tilney, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwoold, Walgraue, Willia Asby Damport, Margaret Benet.

Peticions made to the king by the parliament house.

The. xvj. day of Ianuary the Parliament beganne, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the king certaine peticions.

1 First that he would not vexe himself with the Queenes offence, and that she and the Ladie Rocheford, might be attainted by parliament.

2 And because protractyng of tyme, which the more should be to his vnquietnesse, that

that he would vnder his great seale, geue his royall assent, without tariyng the ende of the parliament.

3 Also, that Diram and Culpepper, before attaynted by the common law, might also be attainted by parliament.

4 Also, that Agnes Duchesse of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Bridgewater her daughter, which were for concealyng the said offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the Lorde William and other, arreigned of the same, might be likewyse attainted. Agnes Duchesse of Norffolk, Katheryn Countesse of Bridgewater.

5 Also, that whosoeuer had spoken or done any act, in the detestation of her abhominable liuyng, should be pardoned.

To the which peticions the king graunted, saiyng that he thanked the Commons, that they tooke his sorow to be theirs. Wherevpon the Queene and the Ladie Rocheford were attainted by both the houses. And on Saterday beyng the. xj. day of February, the king sent his roial assent, by his great Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the common house called vp, and there the acte read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daye, these two Ladies were behedded on the greene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt. And shortly after the king maryed the Lady Katheryn Parre that had bene wife to the Lorde Latimer, and she was sister to the Marques of Northampton. Quene Katherin and the Ladie Rocheford behedded.

At this Parliament the king was proclaymed king of Ireland, which name his predecessors neuer had, but were alwayes called Lordes of Ireland. The king proclaymed king of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle bastard to king Edward the fourth, in the Tower of London vnattainted, when he should haue bene deliuered, and put at his libertie. And the. xij. day of the sayd moneth, sir Iohn Awdeley sonne and heyre to the sayd Lorde Lisles wyfe, was at Westminster created Viscount Lisle.

The Parliament sittyng, in Lent one George Ferrers Bourgeoys for the towne of Plimmouth, was arested in London vpon a condempnation, at the suyte of one Whyte. Wherupon the Serieaunt at Armes of the common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredstreete to fetch him: but the Clerkes would not deliuer him, wherefore the Serieaunt and his man, would haue brought him away perforce. Diuers of the Shirifes officers there present, withstood the Serieaunt, so that they fell to quarrelling: and the Serieants man was sore hurt. After the fray ended, the Shirifes of London, whose names were Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckly came to the counter, and first denyed the deliuery of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered him. But this matter was so taken in the common house, that the Shirifes and the Clerke, and fiue officers, and the partie plaintife, were sent to the Tower, and there lay two dayes, and were deliuered againe by the Speaker and common house. George Ferrers.

In this yere Iames Erle of Desmond came to the king, and was honourably enterteyned and well rewarded. And in September the great Onele came to Grenewich, where he and a Capitaine of the North parts of Ireland called Magannysse, and the Bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the king and his heyres truely: which submission by the king considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Grenewich the said sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron, and gaue hym a great Chayne, and made Magannysse and his Cosyn knightes, and gaue them both Chaynes, and he gaue to the Lord Mathias, sonne to the Erle, the Baronny of Duncan. 1544. 34 Iames Erle of Desmond in Ireland. The great Oncle. Eustace Onele called great Onele made Erle of Tereowen.

At this season the kinges Maiestie prepared for warre into Scotland, the cause why this war was made is most manifestly declared by that which foloweth, which the kinges Maiestie published by this title. *A declaration conteinyng the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scottes, wherein also appereth the true and right tytle that*

that the kinges most royall Maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland. And it beginneth thus.

A declaratiō of the cause of warre with Scotland set forth by the king.

¶ Being now enforced to the warre, which we haue alwayes hetherto so much abhorred and fled, by our neighbor and nephew the king of Scots, one who aboue all other, for our manifolde benefites towardes him, hath moste iust cause to loue vs, to honour vs, and to reioyce in our quietnesse: We haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doynges and behauiour in the prouocation of this warre, and likewyse the meanes and wayes by vs to exchue and aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, whereby we be nowe prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtteraunce and dimulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelity of this tyme, in which thinges of such enormitie do brest out and appere.

The king of Scottes our nephew and neighbor, whom we in his youth and tender age preserued and mainteyned from the great daunger of other, and by our auethoritie and power conducted him safely to the reall possession of his estate, he now cōpelleth and forceth vs for preseruation of our honor and right, to vse our puyssaunce and power agaynst him. The lyke vnkindenesse hath beene herctofore shewed by other insemblable cases agaynst Gods lawe, mans law, and all humanitie: but the ofter it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of Princes for the raritie of them can so happen but seldome, as it hath now come to passe.

It hath beene verye rarely and seldome seene before, that a king of Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of England: We can not, ne wyll not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sory it toke no better effect. The king our father in that matter mynded loue, amitie, and perpetuall friendship betweene the posteritie of both, which how soone it fayled, the death of the king of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his vniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie to their reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkindnesse of the father extinguishe in vs the naturall loue of our nephewe his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we then forgettyng the displeasure that shoulde haue worthily prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished & brought vp our nephew to achieue his fathers possession and gouernemēt, wherin he now so vnkindly vseth & behaueth him towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre agaynst him.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, and by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in deedes so iniured, contemned and dispysed, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermit and passe ouer. Wordes, writynges, letters, messages, ambassades, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasauntly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sent, then hath beene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruite, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continually in apparaunce put foorth so fayre buddes: and therefore would hardily beleue or geue eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neuerthelesse the same dedes so manifest, as we must nedes haue regarded them, had we not bene so lothe to thinke euill of our nephew, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sort toward vs. And therefore hauyng a message sent vnto vs the yere past from our sayd nephewe, and a promise made for the repayring of the sayd king of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therfore, the same meetyng was not onely disappoynted, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our sayde Nephew his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispyte of vs: We were yet glad to impute the default of the meetyng to the aduise of his Counsaile, and the inuasion of the lewdnesse of his subiectes: and accordyng therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such Ambassadors, as repayred hither at Christmasse afterwarde, as if no such causes

of

of displeasure had occurred, specially consideryng the good wordes, sweete wordes, pleasaunt woordes, eftsoones proponed by the sayde Ambassadors, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the king of Scots hauyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receyued and enterteyned such rebels, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurrection in the North agaynst vs with refusall before tyme, vpon request made to restore the same: yet neuerthelesse vpon offer made, the sayde Ambassadours, to sende commission to the Borderers, to determine the debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretence of amitie, and so fayre wordes, as could be in specche desired: we were content for the tyme to forbeare to presse them ouer extremely in the matter of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desyrous to make tryall of our sayd Nephew in some correspondence of deedes, condiscended to the sendyng of Commissioners to the Borders, which to our great charge we did, & the king of Scots our sayd Nephew the sembleable. Where after great trauaile made by our Commissioners, this fruite ensued, that beyng for our part chalenged a piece of our ground, plainely vsurped by the Scottes, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substãciall, more auten-tique, more plain and euident cannot be brought forth for any part of ground within our realme. The same was neuerthelesse by them denyed, refused, and the euidence onely for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen. And yet it was so auncient, as it could not be counterfeyt now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so smal waight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this denyall beyng in this wyse made vnto our Commissioners, they neuerthelesse by our commaundement departed as friendes fro the Commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath beene accustomed for good rule vpon the Borders in the meane tyme.

After which their recesse, the Lorde Maxwel, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule, but yet added therewith that the Borderers of Scotlande shoulde withdraw their goodes from the Borderers of England: And incõtinent after the Scottish men Borderers, the fourth of Iuly, entered into our realme sodainely, and spoyled our subiectes, contrary to our leagues, euen after such extremitie, as it had bene in tyme of open warre. Whereat we much maruayled, and were cõpelled therfore to furnishe our Border with a garrison for defence of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scottes sent vnto vs Iames Leyrmouth, Maister of hys householde, with letters deuised in the most pleasaunt maner, offeryng redresse and reformation of all attemptates. And yet neuerthelesse at the entry of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great number of the Scottes, then not looked for, made a forrey into our Borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiects, and to their extreeme detriment, wherewith, and with that vnsemely dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayd Leyrmouth, and suffered oure selfe to be somewhat altered by his wordes and fayre promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired to find the king of Scots such a nephew vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud with our gratuitie vnto hym did require. In the meane tyme of these fayre wordes, the deedes of the Borderers were as extreme as might be, and our Subiectes spoyled: and in a roade made by syr Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same syr Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, and yet deteyned in Scotland, without putting them to fine and ransome, as hath beene euer accustomed. And beyng at the same time a surseasaunce made on both sides, at the suite of the sayde Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceased not to make sundry inuasions into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget fayre wordes, and onely to consider the king of Scots dedes which appered vnto vs of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defence of our subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therfore put in a redinesse our armye, as a due meane

James Leirmouth Ambassadour from the Scottishe king.

wherby

wherby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safegarde of our to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowlege had thereof, the king of Scottes ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre wordes, which in our naturall inclynation wrought eftsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to finde in the king of Scottes such regarde and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephew to such an Vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towardes him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and suite made vnto vs, we determined to stay our army at Yorke, appoynting the Duke of Norffolke our Lieutenaunt, the Lorde Priuieseale, the Bishop of Durham, and the Maister of our horses, there to common, treat, and conclude with the Ambassadors of Scotlande, for an amytie and peace vpon such condicion, as by reason and equytie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschued, beyng by sundry inuasion of the Scottes than opened and manifest.

In this communication betweene our and their Commissioners, after diuers degrees of commission, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficile or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the Commissioners of Scotlande sayde, they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe, that the king of Scottes our Nephieu, might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easely be componed and determined. Whervpon they left speaking of anye articles of amitie, and the Ambassadours of Scotlande made much outward ioy in communication of meeting, they shewed themselfe in wordes, fashion and behauor much to delight in it, to reioice in it, & therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished and for their part they tooke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certayne to take effect, and onely desyred syx daies to obtaine aunswere from their Maister, and our army from that time to stay and go no further: Wherevnto our Commissioners then agreed.

Subtile and crafty Scots.

After these six dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotlande, with power to conclude a meting precisely at such a place, as they knew well we would not, he could not in Winter obserue and kepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadors of Scotlande to releue that displeasure, and to temper the matter, wherby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was geuen to the Ambassadors to excede their commission in the apoyntment of the place, and to consent to any other that by our Commissioners should be thought conuenient, which maner of proceeding, when our Commissioners refused, alleging that they would not conclude a meeting with men, hauing no commission therevnto. The Ambassadors of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and larger commission agreeable to their instructions for appoyntement of the place, obteyned a delay of other syx dayes to send for the sayde ample Commission without restraynt of place. And after those six dayes they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: But therewith they shewed also new instructions, conteyning such a restraynt as the former commission did conteyn, so as the liberty geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instructions, with addicion of a speciall charge to the Ambassadors not to exceede the same.

And thus first the Ambassadors of Scotlande seemed to haue will and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meting by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the commaundement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partely to excuse their king, who should seme secretely to wyll more, then in the commission he did openly professe. And then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructiõs for defence of themselues why they proceded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein their king, whose fault they disclosed to discharge themselues, trusting that by benefite of the

winter approching, and the time lost in their communication their Maister should be defended against our power for this yere, without doyng for their part that by honor, right, lawe, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our Subiectes beyng taken prisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre, and in this meane time stayed a great part of our armye already prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this time Ambassadors (as ye haue hearde) assembled to talke of an amytie but concluded none. The treating of amytie was put ouer by communication of a meeting.

The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appereth a playne deuise onely inuented for a delay, which hath geuen vs light, whervpon more certainly to iudge the king of Scottes inward affection towards vs, whose deedes and wordes well wayed and considered, doth vs playnely to vnderstande, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and plesaunt words and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroade with his vnkinde and displeasaunt deedes. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kindred, he knowledgeth benefits, onely the fault is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in deedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, which God hath put in oure hande as an extreme remedie, whereby to obteyne both quyetnesse for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes and leagues.

We haue paciently suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffer our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedie? Thys is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their woordes be. Should we suffer our rebels to be deteyned contrarie to the leagues without remedy? This is also done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our lande to be vsurped contrarie to our most playne euidence, onely vpon a will, pride, and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done agaynst vs, and geue suche signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidently perceyued the lack of such affection as proximitie of bloud should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephew, than we did heretofore the inuasion of his father. But consydering we be so surely assertayned of the lack thereof, and that our bloud is there frorne with the colde aire of Scotlande, there was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkinde dealyng, vniust behauior, vnprincely demeanor of him that yet in nature is our Nephewe, and in his actes and deedes declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, ne to haue suche earnest regard to the obseruation of his pactes and leagues, ne such respect to the intertainment of the administration of Iustice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and conseruation of amity doth require: which we much lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puyssaunce agaynst him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue beene) but for recouery of our right, the preseruation of our subiectes from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as haue passed betweene vs, firmely trustyng that almightie God vnder whom we reigne, will assist and ayde our iust proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuayle agaynst wrong, falshoode, deceyt, and dissimulation.

Hetherto it appereth howe this present warre hath not proceeded of any demaud of our right of superiority, which the kinges of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: But this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong ministred by the Nephew to the Vncle most vnnaturally, and supported contrary to the de-

sertes of our benefites most vnkindly. If we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of thys realme had more oportunitie in the minoritie of our Nephewe. Ne in anye other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certaine title, to any realme that he can claime, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuely of the kings of Scotlande by deedes, woordes, actes and wrytings contynually almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henry the sixt, in whose time the Scottes abused the ciuill warre of thys realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omittyng of their duetie: which for the proximitie of bloud betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omit to demaunde our right if it might conserue peace, then by demaunding thereof to be sene to mooue warre, specially agaynst our neighbor, agaynst our Nephewe, against him whome we haue preserued from daunger, and in suche a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

The kyng of Scots haue alwayes acknowleged the kinges of England to be their Superior Lords.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hetherto of the matter, it is neuerthelesse true, that the kings of Scottes haue alwayes knowledged the kings of England superior Lordes of the realme of Scotlande, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appereth first by historie, written by such as for confirmation of the truth in memorie, haue truely noted and signified the same.

Secondly it appereth by instruments of homage made by the kinges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotlande, at diuers and sundrie times sealed with their Seales, and remayning in our treasorie. Thirdly it appereth by Regesters & Records iudicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of tytle beyng most playne, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First as concerning histories, which be called wytnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient waye and meane, whereby the things of antiquitie maye be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as playnely this matter as could be wyshed or required, with such a consent of wryters, as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteyning a declaratiõ of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparaunce. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or moe of one estate might be rulers in one Countrie vnite, as this Isle is: so is it probable & likely, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoyding dissension, that there should be one superior in right, of whome the sayde estates should depende. According whereunto we read how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britayne tooke first that name (beyng before that time inhabited with Gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Occean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: vnto whom as being the elder sõne, the other two brethren should doe homage recognisyng and knowleging him as their superior. Now consider i. Brutus conquered all this Ilande, as the historie sayth he did, and then in his awne time made this order of superiority as afore: how can there be a tytle deuised of a more playne beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning for the order of this Iland, at that time specially when the people were rude, which cannot without continuall strife and variaunce conteyne two or three rulers in all points equal without any maner of superioritie, the inwarde conscience and remorse of which superioritie should in some part dulle and diminish the peruerse courage of resistence and rebelliõ. The

Brute of whome this realme was first called Britaine.

first

first diuision of this Isle we find it written after this sort without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according herevnto we find also in histories set foorth by dyuers, howe for transgression agaynst thys superioritie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctly to commit to wryting, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amongst other diligently ensearching, what he might truely wryte of al Europe, and the Ilandes adioyning, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the nature, maners, and conditions of the Scottes, which who so list to read, shall finde to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we finde them now at this present, he calleth Scotlande part of Englande, which is agreeable to the deuision aforesayde, beyng in deede as in the lande continuall without seperation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto the same, as by particuler declarations shall most manifestly appere by the testimonie of suche as haue left wryting for proofe and confirmation therof. In which matter passing ouer the death of king Humber, the actes of Dunwald king of this realme, the deuision of Belin and Brene, the victories of king Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of our Lorde. 900. which is. 642. yeres past, a time of sufficient auncienty from which we shal make speciall declaration and euidence of the execution, of oure right and title of superioritie, euermore continued and preserued hetherto.

The homages of the Scotter done to the kings of England from time to time.

Edwarde the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryan a Scot wryting that storie in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, & this dominion continued in that state. xxiij. yere: At which tyme Athelstaine succeeded in the crowne of Englande, and hauing by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the Countrie of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely worde, that it was more honor to him to make a king, then to be a king.

To make a king is more honorable then to be a King.

Twentie and foure yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. 947. Eldred king our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Irise then king of Scottes.

Kynald king of Scottes.

Thirtie yeres after that, whych was in the yere of our Lorde. 977. king Edgar our predecessor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in Englande by the death of Saint Edwarde king and martir, destroied by the deceit of his mother in law: but yet within memory.

Malcolme king of Scottes.

Forty yeres after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgare, that is to saye, in the yere of our Lorde. 1017. Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vttered some piece of their naturall disposition, wherevpon by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor. xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to saye, the yere of our Lord. 1056. Malcolme king of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayde progenitor saint Edward: vnto whome the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Wylliam the Conqueror.

Within. xj. yeres after that William Conquerour entered this realme, whereof he accoumpted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therefore in the sayde yere, which was in the yere of our Lorde a thousand. lxviij. the sayd Malcolme king of Scottes did homage to the sayde William Conquerour, as his superiour by conquest kyng of Englande.

Xxv. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M.xciij. the sayde Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewyse fayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordeyned in that estate by the sayde William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordingly.

Edgar king of Scottes. Seuen yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M.C. the sayde Edgar king of Scottes, did homage to Henrye the first, our progenitour.

Dauid king of Scottes. Xxxvij. yere after that Dauid king of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephen, then obteynyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayde Matylde, and therevpon forbare. After which Dauyds death, which ensued shortly after, the Sonne of the sayde Dauyd made homage to the sayde King Stephyn.

William king of Scottes. Fourtene yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Cl. William king of Scottes, and Dauid his brother, with all the Nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reseruation of their duetie to Henry the second his father.

Xxv. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Clxxv. William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their naturall inclination, king Henry the second, then beyng in Normandie, William then king of Scottes knowledged finally his error, and made hys peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the Nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within. xv. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M.Clxxxx. the sayde William King of Scottes, came to our Citie of Cauntorburye, and there did homage to our noble progenitour King Rycharde the first.

Fourtene yeres after that, the sayd William did homage to our progenitour king Iohn, vpon a hill besydes Lyncolne, makyng his othe vpon the Crosse of Hubert then Archbishop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a merueylous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Alexander king of Scottes. Xxvj. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M.CC.xvj. Alexander king of Scottes maryed Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the thirde, at our Citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmasse: at which time the sayde Alexander king of Scottes repayred to the sayde feast of coronation, and there did his dutie as aforesayd.

Iohn Bayliolł king of Scottes. Within. xxviij. yeres after that, which was the yere of our Lorde. M. CC. lxxxij. Iohn Balioll king of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the sayd king Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotlande, and to moue sedition therefore, agaynst them of the house of Baliol, which made for a season some interruption in the sayde homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie. For within. xliiij. yere after, which was the yere of our Lorde. M.CCC.vj. Edwarde Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and enioiyng the Crowne of Scotland made homage to our progenitor Edward the thirde.

Dauid Bruse king of Scottes. And. xx. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord. M. CCC. xxvi. Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the Crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde.

Edward Bayliolł king of Scottes. Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward the thirde, to chastice the infidelity of the Scottes, made warre against them: where after great victories, Edward Balioll hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendered clerely the same to our said progenitor at the towne of Rokisbrough in Scotland: where our sayd progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteyned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on the one party by confiscation acquited, & on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitor Edward the thirde, began sedicions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the sayd Richard, and the deuolution of the same, to Henry the fourth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folow their accustomed maner. And yet Henry the fift for recouery of his

right

right in Fraunce commaunded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iourney. And in this time the realme of Scotland beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of which our Nephew directly commeth, Iames Steward king of Scottes, in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.xxiij. made homage to Henry the sixt at Windsore. Which homage was distant from the tyme of the other homage made by Dauid Bruse. lx. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memorie of man. Iames Steward king of Scottes.

All which homages and fealties as they appere by story to haue beene made and done at times and season as aforesaid: so do there remaine instrumentes made therevpon and sealed with the seales of the kinges of Scotland testifiyng the same. And yet doth it appere by story, howe the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasury diuers of these instruments, which neuerthelesse were after recouered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumentes be, here is incerted the effect in worde and sentence as they be made, which we do, to mete with the cauellation and contriued euasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntyngdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hande, to say he was cut with a Sicle. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

I Iohn. N. king of Scottes shall be true and faythfull vnto you Lorde Edward by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superiour Lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I holde, and clayme to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my fayth and fidelitie of life and limme, and worldly honour agaynst all men, and faythfully I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesayd, as God so help and these holy Euangelistes. The oth that the king of Scots taketh when he doth his homage.

Now for the thirde part touchyng recordes and registers, we haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handled, and with suche circumstances declaryng the matters, as they be & ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written and reported in this matter. For amonges other thinges, we haue the solempne act, and iudiciall processe of our progenitour Edward the first, in discussyon of the title of Scotland, when the same was chalenged by. xij. competitours: That is to say. Of this ye may reade more in the xxiiij. yere of king Edward the first.

Florentinus comes Holandie,	Rogerus de Mundeuille
Patricius de Dūbar comes de Merchia,	Ioannes de Comyn.
Willielmus de Vesty	D. Ioannes de Hastinges.
Willielmus de Ros	Ioannes de Balliolo
Robertus de Pinbeny	Robertus de Bruse
Nicholaus de Soules	Ercius rex Norwegie.
Patricius Galightly.	

And finally after a great consultation and mature deliberation, wyth discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the tytle of Baliol, according whereunto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmation of the duetie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the king of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes howe when those competitours of the realme of Scotlande repaired to our sayde progenitor, as to the chiefe Lorde for discussion of the same, in as much as the auctoritie of the iudgement to be geuen depended therevpon: It was then ordered that the whole parliament of Scotlande, spirituall, temporall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considerying vpon what grounde and foundation the kinges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the sayde homages and recognition of superioritie, the sayde parliament finding the same good and true, should if they so denied it, yeelde and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same. At which parliament was alleged vnto them, as appereth in the same recordes, not onely these actes of the Princes before those dayes, and before rehersed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the wrytings and letters of forreyn princes, at that time recityng and rehersyng the same: whervpon the sayde parliament did there agree to this our superioritie, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and seuerally make homage and fealtie with proclamation, that whosoeuer withdrewe himselfe

himselfe from doyng his duetie therein, should be reputed as a rebel: And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edwarde the first. The realme of Scotland was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by him and all Castels and holdes were surrendered to him as to the superior Lorde in the time of vacation, benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our sayde progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of Englande, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeyed, and executed: and finally all that we doe nowe in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the tyme of our contention for that tytle in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the Bishops of saint Andrewes and Glascoo were not as they now be Archebyshops, but recognised the Archebishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that Countrey.

Nowe if the Scottes will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre and by force which is not true: what will they saye or can they for shame allege agaynst their awne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed and testefied by their writings and seales? wherevnto nothing enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace and quyet without armour or compulsion. If they say they did it not, they speake lyke themselues, if they say they did it, then doe they now lyke themselfe, to withdrawe their duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appereth vnto you the beginning of the right of superiority, with a perpetuall continuaunce, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearyng vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we denie not. Whereby they haue many times sought and taken their oportunities to withdrawe the doing of their duetie in knowledge of our superioritie ouer them, which to auoyde, they haue not cared what they sayde or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue: liyng alwayes in a wayt when they might annoy this realme, not without their awne great daunger, perill, and extreme detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their duetie, so God euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them therevnto within memorie, notwithstanding any their interruption by resistence, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henry the sixt neuer indured so long as it made intermission within time of minde, whereby the possession might seme to be empayred, from the time of Henry the sixt vnto the seuenth yere of our reygne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of tytles tyll oure time and sythence by warre outwardly vexed and troubled: The story is so lamentable for some part therof, as were tedyous to reherse.

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the sixt our Graundfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great traueyles to attain quietnesse in this realme, finallye in the time of preparation of warre against Scotlande, dyed.

Richard the third then vsurped for a small time in yeres, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hande ouerthrew in battayle, and most iustly attayned the possession this realme, who neuerthelesse after the great tempestious stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to a perfite quyet and rest, ceased and forbare to require of the Scottes to do their duty thinking it policie rather for that time to assay to tame their nature by the pleasant coniunction and conuersation of affinitie, then to charge them with their faulte, and require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constraine and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaund of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe foure and thirty yeres we were. xxj. yere letted by our Nephew his minorite, beyng then more carefull how to bring him out of daunger, to the place of a king, then to receyue of him homage when he had full possession of the same. Wherefore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henrye the sixt a hundred. xxij. yeere, at which tyme the homage was done at Windesore by Iames Steward, then king of Scottes, as afore. lvj. of these yeres the crowne of this

this realme was in contention, the trouble whereof engendered also some businesse in the tyme of the king our father, which was. xxiiij. yere: And in our time. xxj. yere hath passed in the minorytye of our Nephew. So as finally the Scottes resorting to their onely defence of discontinuance of possession, can onely allege iustly but. xiij. yere of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times sithens the homage done by Iames Steward, such as the silence in them had they bene neuer so long, could not haue ingendered preiudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edwarde for not demaunding homage beyng in strife for that estate, whervnto the homage was due? What should Richard the third serche for homage in Scotlande, that had neyther right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature, neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they would exchue if they might, beyng his realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sedicion, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious to the purpose, is not allegeable in prescripcion for the losse of any right. And the minoritie of the king of Scottes hath endured. xxj. yeres of our reigne, which beyng an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidently to. xiij. yeres, which. xiij. yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, like as the Scottes haue likewise ceassed to offer and tender the same. For which cause neuerthelesse we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demaund any such matter, now beyng rather desirous to reioyce and take comfort in the friendship of our Nephew, as our neighbour, then to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue, as he shoulde haue towarde vs. But such be the workes of God, superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superioritie may be knowne, demaunded and required, to the entent that according therevnto all thinges gouerned in due order here, we maye to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorye: which he graunt vs to do, in such rest, peace, and tranquilitie, as shall be meete and conuenient for vs.

The king sendeth a great armye into Scotlande.

When the king had set forth the declaration of the cause of his warre as is aboue mencioned. Then he sent forth the Duke of Norffolke Liuetenaunt generall, accompanyed with the Erles of Shrewisburie, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguysh, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North partes, and syr Anthony Browne Maister of the kinges Horse, Syr Iohn Gage Comptroller of the kinges house, and twentie thousande men well appoynted, which entred Scotlande the. xxj. day of October, and taried there eyght dayes without battayle, and brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skitshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spittle, the two Merdens, Slederike, and the two Broxlawes, Florys and the Faire Crofte, Edeem Spittell, Roxborough, Kelsey and the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, & Hadyngton. And while the Duke was at Farneton in Scotland, ỹ fourth day there came to speake with him halfe a myle from the hoste, from the king of Scottes, the Bishop of Orkeney and Iames Leiremouth Master of the housholde, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the armye lay so longe in Scotland as they might, for hunger and colde without any countenaunce of harme, and so for necessitie returned to Barwicke. And all this iourney the Standard of the Erle of Hampton which died at new Castell, was borne in the foreward, because he was appoynted Capitaine of the same.

The king of Scottes heeryng that the armie was returned, raysed an armie of xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme vnder the guydyng of the Lord Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bostyng to tarry as long in England, as the Duke did in Scotland. And so on Friday beyng Saint Katheryns euen, they passed ouer the water of Eske, and brent certaine houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Iacke of Musgraue sent worde to sir Thomas Wharton Wardeyn for the king on the west Marches, to come on to succor them: howbeit the sayde two valiant Captaines,

although the Scots entred fiercely, yet they manfully and couragiously set on them, with an hundred light horse, and left a stale on the syde of a hill, wherewithall the Scottes were wonderfully dismayde, eyther thinkyng that the Duke of Norffolk had bene come to the West marches with his great armie, or else they thought that some greater armie came, namely when they espyed sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with three hundred men only. But at that time, so God ordeined it to be, that they at the first bront fled, and the Englishmen folowed, and there were taken prisoners the Erles of Casselles, and Glancarne, the Lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the Lord Flemmyng, the Lorde Sommerwell, the Lorde Oliphant, the Lord Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere the kinges minion, Iohn Rosse Lord Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the Lorde Eskyn, Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles two brethren, Iohn Lesley Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and two hundred Gentlemen more, and aboue viij. hundred common people, insomuch that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They tooke also. xxiiij. Gunnes, foure Cartes with speares, and ten pauilions. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinall of Scotland promised them heauen for destruction of England.

The victory at the water of Eske.

A great number of the Nobilitie of Scotland taken prisoners.

This was called the battaile of Solemne Masse.

The king of Scottes tooke a great thought for this discomfiture, and also because that an English Herauld called Sommerset was slain at Dunbarre, which things together he tooke so vnpaciently, that he dyed in a frensie. Although many reported that the king himselfe was at this bickeryng, and there receiued his deathes wound, and fled therewith into Scotlande. But howsoeuer it was, true it is as is aforesayde he dyed, and the Queene his wyfe was deliuered of a daughter, on our Ladie euen before Christmas called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesayd. xxiiij. of the chiefe of them, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and there were two dayes. And on saint Thomas day the Apostle before Christmasse, they were solempnly conueyed through London to Westminster, where the kinges Counsaile sate, and there the Lord Chauncelor, declared to them their vntruth, vnkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaryng farther how the king had cause of warre against them, both for the deniyng of their homages, and also for their trayterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subiectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde lawes of the Marches, for which doynges, God as they might perceyue had scourged them: Howbeit the king more regardyng his honour, then his Princely power, was content to shewe to them kindnesse, for vnkindnesse, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept them in straight prison, by iust lawe of Armes, yet he was content that they should haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, they were appointed to Dukes, Erles, Bishops, Knightes and other Gentlemen, which so enterteined them, that they confessed themselues neuer to be better enterteined nor to haue had greater chere. But after their new gladnes, tidyngs came to them, of the death of their king, which they sore lamented, and heeryng that he had left an only daughter his heyre, they wished her in England, to be maried to the prince the kings sonne. The King and his Counsaile, perceiuyng the ouerture nowe to be made, which way without warre these two realmes might be brought into one, sent for all the prisoners few lackyng, to his Manor of Hampton Court, on saint Stephens day, where they were so well enterteyned, both of the king and his nobles, that they sayd, they neuer saw king but him, and sayd that God was better serued here, then in their Countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in England was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And they promised the king, to do al that in them lay with their friendes to performe asmuch as he required. Wherevpon not without great rewardes, they departed toward Scotland on Newyeres day, and by the way they saw the Prince, and came to Newecastell to the Duke of Suffolke, who vpon hostages deliuered them, and so they entered Scotland and were well and gladly welcomed.

The death of the Scottish king.

The birth of Mary daughter to the king of Scottes.

The first motion of the mariage of the heyre of Scotland with prince Edwarde heire of England began of the Scottes.

Likewise the Erle of Angus, which was banished Scotland, and had of the kinges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and Sir George Douglas hys Brother had fiue hundreth Marke. These were accepted into Scotland, and restored by the last kinges will, and the Erle of Angus

and diuers of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priuie Counsaile of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, gouernor of the yong Queene, and the realme, as next heire apparaunt; notwithstandyng that the Archebishop of Saint Androwes and Cardinal, enemie mortal to the king and realme of England, for the Bishop of Romes auctboritie (and partly set on by the French king, for the same cause) had forged a will, that the King had made him Gouernour, associate with two Erles of his affinitie, both of the realme and of the yong Queene, contrary to the lawes of Scotland. Wherevpon the sayd Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his friendes, tooke vpon him the rule of Gouernor, and put the sayde false Cardinall in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custome of the Marches. And so in March next followyng, the Scottes began their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor open warre, betwene England and Fraunce, but ships were taken on both sydes, and Marchants robbed. And at the last the Marchauntes goodes on both parties were seazed, and likewise the Ambassadors of both realmes were stayed: howbeit shortly after, the Ambassadors were deliuered, but yet the Marchauntes were robbed, and no warre proclaymed.

In the end of this yere, came from the Gouernor of Scotlande as Ambassadors, sir William Hambleton, Iames Leyrmouth, and the Secretorie of Scotland, whose message was so meanely liked, that they were faine to sende an Herauld into Scotland, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the Erle of Glancarne, and sir George Douglas, and whatsoeuer their aunswere was, sir George returned in post, and within. xx. dayes, came againe with an honest aunswere, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

In the beginning of thys yere on Trinitie Sonday, was a new league sworne betwene the king and the Emperor at Hampton Court, to be friends to their friendes, and enemies to their enemies. 1543

35

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the king of England.

The thirde day of Iune came to the Court from the realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Macke Wylliam Brough, the Lorde Macke Gilpatrick. And in Iulye the sayde Obryn was created Erle of Townon, and Lorde Macke Wylliam was created Erle of Claurikard, and syr Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebranky, and so with rewardes they toke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Moneth the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with great rewardes.

Certaine Irish Lords come into England.

At this season the king and the Emperour sent Garter and Toyson kings at armes to demaund certayne things of the French king, which if he did denie, then to defie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his lande, and so they returned. Wherevpon the sayde demaunds were shewed to the Ambassador at Westminster. And in Iuly the king sent ouer sixe thousand tall men, whereof was Capitayne generall, syr Iohn Wallop, and syr Thomas Seymour Marshall, and syr Richarde Cromwell Capitayne of the horsemen, which assaulted a towne called Laundersey, vnto the which assault came the Emperour in proper person. And shortly after came downe the French king in proper person with a great armie, and offered the Emperour battayle, by reason whereof the siege was raysed, and streight the Frenchmen vittayled the towne, which was the onely cause of their commyng. For the next day the Emperor beyng redie at the houre appoynted to geue battail, & the french men made great shew, as though they would haue come forward, but they dalyed of al that day, and in the night they ran away, and trusted some to their horses, and some to their legges lyke tall felowes.

Warre with Fraunce.

Laundersey.

And in thys time by reason of a statute that was lately made, commonly called the statute of sixe articles, there was many men in trouble namely at Wyndsore, but for this and suche other that concerne religion, I referre you to the boke of the monuments of the Church published by maister Fox.

The Lords of Scotland who in the last yere (as you haue heard) were taken prisoners in England, were at New yeres tyde released and sent home raunsome fre into Scotland vpon their othes and promise to do that in them lay for the conclusiō of a mariage to be

had betwene Mary the sole and only heire of Scotland, and Edward the prince and heyre of England, who immediatly vpon their returne did cause to be sommoned & cõuocated a parliament in Scotland, and in the same concluded, agreed & determined the aforesaid mariage, and confirming their act vnder their great seale, sent the same vnto king Henry the eight. And for the better conclusion and solemnization thereof: there was time and place appointed: But herevnto the Cardinal of saint Andrewes would not agree: Wherfore the Lordes committed hym to safe custodie, and shortly after by the meanes of the French king, the Lordes of Scotlande went from all that they had done, and namelye the Lorde Hamelton the gouernour, who went both from his oth and promise, the whych was the occasion that king Henrye made agayne newe prouision for warre, and sent into Scotlande a great power to theyr no little losse and detryment, as in the yere next following shall be shewed.

A pestilence. Mighelmasse terme kept at saint Albones.

Thys yeare was in London a great death of the pestilence, and therefore Mighelmas terme was adiourned to saint Albones, and there was it kept to the ende.

In the weke of Christmasse came to the king to Hampton Court Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile prince of Malfeta Duke of Iuano Capytaine generall of the chiualrie and armie of the Emperour Charles, which came to the king to appoint what time the armie and the Emperour should be readie to inuade Fraunce, and the appointment taken he departed and had for his rewarde a. C.liii. ounces in golden plate, and foure thousand three ounces in guylt plate, which all was very curiously wrought. And all the time that he lay here, he lay at the kings cost.

Lord william Parre created Erle of Esse

The Sunday before Christmas was Lord wylliam Parre, brother to the Queene, which had maried the daughter and heyre of Lorde Henrye Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Court, created Erle of Essex. And sir William Parre knight Vncle to them both, was made Lorde Parre of Horton and Chaumberlayne to the Queene. And on Newyeares day was Sir Thomas Wriothesley the kinges secretarie, made Lorde Wriothesley of Tichefielde.

Also this yeare was open warre proclaymed with Fraunce, and lycence geuen to the kings subiectes to seaze vpon the French men and their goods, as in like cases before had bene accustomed.

1544

This yere the king sent a great armie into Scotlande by Sea, and he made the Erle of Hertfford Lieutenaunt generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle high Admirall, which valyaunt capitaynes so sped them, that the third day of May the Lorde Admirall arriued with all his Fleete, which was two. C. sayle in the Fryth, where hee landed dyuers of hys men, and there tooke diuers vessels, which after did high seruice. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lith where they landed their men, and marched forwarde in three great battayles, whereof the Lorde Admirall led the vawarde, the Erle of Shrewesburye the arerewarde, and the Noble Erle of Hertford being Lieutenaunt of the battaile: where they founde the Scottes assembled to the number of sixe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the first the Scottes made towarde the Englishe men as though they woulde haue set on the vawarde, but when they perceyued the Englishe men so willing to encounter with them, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceyued the deuotion the English men had to see hys holynesse, after certayne shot on both sides, they made a sodayne retreat, and leauing their artillarye behinde them fledde towarde Edenborough. The first man that fled was the Cardinall like a valiaunt Champion, and with him the Gouernour, the Erle of Huntley, Murrey and Bothwell, with many other great men of the realme. And shortly after the English men mauger all the Scottes might doe, entred the towne of Lith where that night the army encamped them, and there they found such riches as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

35 A great army sent into Scotlande.

Lith taken and spoyled.

The next day the Armye went towardes Edenborough towne, and when they aproched nere, the Prouost of the towne accõpanied with one or two Burgesses, and two or three Officers at armes desired to speake with the kings Lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne

towne said, that the Keies of the towne shoulde be deliuered vnto his Lordeship conditionallye that they might goe with bag and baggage, & the towne to be saued from fire: Whervnto aunswere was made by the sayd Lieutenant, that whereas the Scots had so manifestly broken their promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole Parliament, as is euidentlye knowne to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kinges highnesse to take vengeaunce of their detestable falshoode, to declare and shewe the force of his highnesse sworde to all such as shoulde make any resistaunce vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde to them resolutely that vnlesse they would yelde vp the towne frankely without condition, and cause man, woman and childe, to issue into the fieldes, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he woulde put them to the sworde, and their towne to the fire. The Prouost aunswered that it were better for them to stande to their defence. Whervpon commaundement was geuen to the saide Prouost and Officers at armes vpon their perill to depart. And foorthwith the Lorde Lieutenaunt sent to the vaward that they should march towards the towne which coragiously set forward, and the Englishe Gunners manfully set on the gates, specially Sir Christopher Morice, that they did beat the Scottes from their Ordinance, and so entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force and there slue a great number of the Scottes: And finally, it was determined by the sayde Lorde Lieutenaunt vtterly to ruinate and destroy the saide towne with fire, which thing immediatly was attempted, but bicause night was come, the army withdrew to their campe, & then a fresh the next day set fire where none was before, which continued that daye and two dayes after burning. And shortely after came vnto this armye by lande foure thousand light horsemen sent by the king, which after they were come, the armie forsoke their shippes and sent them whome laden with spoyle and Gunshot which they founde there, and dislodged their campe out of the towne of Lith, and set fire in euery house, and brent it to the ground: and so returned home by lande, through all the mayne countrye of Scotland, burning and destroyyng euery pyle, fortresse and Village that was in their walke, and so with great honor to the great reioysyng aswell of the kinges maiestie as of all his faythfull and louing subiectes, they returned againe into England with the losse skant of fortie persons: and because their great exployt may be the better knowne, here shall follow the names of the chiefe Boroughes, Castels and townes brent and desolated by this royall army. Edenbrough brent and spoyled.

The Borough and towne of Edenborough with the Abbey called holy Roode house, and the kinges palace adioyning to the same.

The Abbey of New bottle: parte of Muskleborough towne, with the Chappell of our Lady Lawret.

Hadington towne with the Friers and Nonry. Lawreston with the Gfaunge, the towne of Lith brent, and the hauen and Pier destroyed, the Castell and village of Cragmiller, Preston towne and the Castell, a Castell of Oliuer Sancklers, the towne of Dumbarre.

Drilaw,	Wester Crag,	Enderleigh the pile and towne,
Broughton,	Chester Felles,	Crawnend,
Dudiston,	Stanhouse,	The Ficket,
Beuerton,	Trauent,	Sheustone,
Markle,	Trapren,	Kirkland hyll,
Hatherwike,	Belton,	East Barnes,
Bowland,	Butterden,	Quickwood,
Blackborne,	Raunto,	Bildy and the Tower,

Also townes and villages brent vpon the Sea by the English Fleete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kinkone,	Saint Minetes,	The Queenes Fery,

Parte of Petynwaynes, the Brent Islande, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kinges Maiestie prepared two great armies to Fraunce, the one was A great camp at Mutterell.

was conducted and led by the Duke of Norffolke, and the gentle Lorde Russell Lorde priuie seale, which encamped at Muttrell and besieged the towne, where they laye a long time, and left the towne as they founde it: The other armie was led by the valyaunt Duke of Suffolke which was the kings Liuetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accompanied with the Lorde Chamberleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the field, and syr Iohn Gage Comptroller of the kings house, & syr Anthony Browne maister of the kings horses, with dyuers & many other Capitaynes: the. xix. day of Iuly encamped before Bulleyn on the East side of the same vpon the hill, where after many sharpe skirmishes they gayned first the olde man, and shortly after basse Boleyn.

Bulleyne besèged.

The king in his owne person encampeth him selfe before Bulleyne.

The fourtene day of Iuly the kings maiestie in his royall person passed the seas from Douer to Calice, and the sixe and twentie day encamped him selfe before Bulleyn, on the North side within lesse then halfe a mile of the towne, where his grace remayned till the towne was surrendered vnto his maiesty: the which towne he so sore assauted and so besieged with such abundaunce of great ordinaunce, that neuer was there a more valyaunter assault made, for beside the vndermyning of the Castell, tower and walles, the towne was so beaten with ordinaunce, that there was not left one house whole therein: and so sore was layde to the charge of the Frenchmen that after the king had assaulted them by the space of a Month, they sent foorth of the towne to the king two of their chiefe Capitaynes, called Semblemound, and Mounsire de Haies, which declared that the chiefe Capitayne of the towne with his retinue was contented to delyuer the towne vnto his grace, so that they might passe with bagge and baggage, which request the kings maiestie, mercifully graunted them. And so on the next day, the Duke of Suffolke rode into Bulleyn, to whome in the kings name, they delyuered the keyes of the towne. And at after none departed out of Bulleyne all the Frenche men. The number of the men of warre, that were strong and galaunt, that came out of the towne were of horsemen. lxvij. of fotemen xv.C.lxiii. of Gonners eyght hundred, of hurtmen. lxxxvij. of women and children. xix.C.xxvij: So there was in al that came out of the towne, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great number of aged, sicke, and hurt persons, that was not able to go foorth of the towne. The last person that came forth, was Monsire de Veruine, graund Capitaine of the towne, which when he approched neere the place where the king stoode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with him a space, the king toke him by the hand, & he reuerently kneling vpon his knees, kissed his hand, & afterward mounted vpon his horse, & so departed.

The kinges enterance into Bulleyn.

The. xviij. day, the kings highnesse hauing the sworde borne naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt Conquerour rode into Bulleyn, and all the Trompetters standing on the walles of the towne, sounded their Trumpets, at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of all the kings true subiectes, the same beholdyng. And in the enteryng, there met him the Duke of Suffolke, and delyuered vnto him the keyes of the towne, & so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him on the South syde of the towne. And within two dayes after, the king rode about all the towne within the walles, and commaunded that our Lady Church of Bulleyn, should be defaced & plucked downe, where he appointed a Mount to be made, for the great force & strength of the towne.

When the King had set all thinges there in suche order, as to his wisedome was thought best, he returned, to the great reioysing of all his louing subiectes.

In the meane season, that the king lay before Bulleyn, and was like to haue conquered the same, as at the last he did, as before you haue heard, the Emperour tooke a peace with the Frenche king, to the no little griefe and displeasure of the Kinges Maiestie, and that was the cause that the King so sodainly brake vp his armie, aswell at Bulleyne, as also at Mutterell, and so he returned.

The Dolphin stealeth vpon Bulleyne and did much hurt.

Shortly after, diuers and many sharpe skirmishes were made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn namely by the Dolphyn, who with a great power in the night season stale vpon Base Bulleyn,

Bulleyn,' takyng there a great sort of sicke persons, and women in there beddes, whome without mercy they slue. Howbeit so manfully the Englishmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyn behaued themselues, gettyng weapons out of the highe towne, that they beate the Frenche men againe out of the Base Towne, and after with the helpe of the high towne, they slue a great number of them, and so againe possessed quietly, the sayd Base towne: Besyde I say this skirmishe and many mo, Mounsire de Bees came with. xv. thousand men, and encamped right agaynst the towne on the other syde of the water, entendyng there to haue builded a fort. But the fourth day of February, he was set vpon in his awne Campe, by the most valiant and fortunate Erle of Hertford, and Lord Lisle, the Lorde Gray and other: at whose commyng the sayde Monsire de Bees, with all his puyssaunce fled, leauyng behinde them all their Ordinaunce, Tentes, and Plate.

The seuenth day of Iune, a great armie of Frenchmen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyn, and skirmished with the Englishe men, to the no great gaine of the Frenchmen: but this armie which was accoumpted to the number of. xx. thousande there encamped, began againe to builde a Fort, which before they departed accomplished the same. 1545 37 The building of the newe Forte at Bulleine.

In Iune the Lorde Lisle Admirall of England, with the Englishe flete entered the mouth of Sain, and came before new Hauen, where the great armie of Fraunce lay, which were two hundred shippes, and. xxvj. Gallyes of force, whereof the Bishop of Rome had sent. xx. well furnished with men and money, to ayde the French king. The Englishmen beyng but an hundred. lx. saile, and all great shippes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certaine peeces of ordinaunce at them, which caused the Gallies to come abroade, and shot at the Englishemen, which Galies had great aduauntage, by reason of the calme weather; twise eche part assaulted other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the winde rose so great, that the Galies coulde not endure the rage of the seas: and the Englishemen were compelled to enter the maine seas, for feare of flattes, and so sayled vnto Portesmouth, where the king then lay, for he had knowlege by his espials, that the French armie entended to land in the Isle of Wight, wherefore he repayred to that cost to see his realme defended.

After the departyng of the Englishe nauie from Newe hauen, the Admirall of Fraunce, called the Lorde Danibalt, a man of great experience, halsed vp his sayles, and with his whole nauie, came to the poynt of the Isle of Wight, called Saint Helenes poynt, and there in good order cast their Ankers, and sent. xvj. of his Galies daily to the very Hauen of Portesmouth. The English nauie liyng in the hauen, made them prest and set out towards them, and stil the one shot at the other. But one day aboue al other, the whole nauie of the Englishemen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their settyng forward, a goodly shippe of Englande called the Marye Rose, was by to much folly drowned in the middes of the Hauen, for she was laden with to much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were verye low, and the great ordinaunce vnbreeched, so that when the ship should turne the water entered, and sodainly she sanke. In her was Sir George Carewe knight, Capitaine of the sayde shippe, and foure hundred men, and much ordinaunce. The Marye Rose drowned. Sir George Carew knight drowned.

At the same tyme certaine of the Frenchmen landed in the Isle of Wight, where there Capitaine was slaine and many other, and were both to theyr great losse and paine, driuen againe to their Gallyes.

The king perceiuyng the great nauy of the French men to approch, sent letters for men into Hampshire, Sommerset shire, Wilshire, and diuers other places adioynyng: which repayred to his presence in great numbers, well furnished with armure and vitaile, and all thinges necessarie, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the Sea coast, furnished with men in great number.

The French Capitaines hauyng knowlege, by certain fishermen which they tooke, that the king was present, and also of the great power that he had in redinesse, they disankred,

kred, and sayled alonges the coastes of Sussex, and a smal number of them landed in Sussex, which neuer returned to their ships, for they were taken vp by the way.

When they had searched all the coast, and saw men euer redie to receiue them, they turned the sterne, and returned home again, without any act worthie to be written, done, or enterprised: sauyng that in this meane time theyr new Fort against Bulleyn, was strongly furnished and finished.

The number of the Frenchmen, as diuers prisoners that were taken in the Isle of Wight, and in Sussex did report, were. lx. M. And at this tyme the French king wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him that his armye had gotten the Isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton, & Portesmouth, and diuers other places, which writyng was as true, as the French king hath in all his leagues and promises bene to the king of England.

The Erle of Hertford entered with an armie into Scotland.

In August folowyng, the noble Erle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland, with. xij. thousand men, and destroyed all the townes in the middle Marches, and passed to the west Marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotland, and destroied Coldingham Abbey: and yet the Frenchmen and Scottes which lay at Kelsey, durst not once encounter with him.

The death of Charles duke of Suffolke.

In this Moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt Duke of Suffolke, a hardie Gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all estates and degrees of men, high and low, rich and poore, hartily beloued, and his death of them much lamented, he was buryed at Windsore.

A Parliamẽt.

The. xxiiij. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westminster, by auctoritie whereof, was graunted to the king a subsedie of two shillinges viij. pence of the pound, of moueable goodes, and foure shillinges the pounde in lande, to be payed in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitals, were committed to the kings order, duryng his lyfe, to alter and transpose: which his grace at the prorogation of the Parliament, promysed to do to the glorie of God, and the common profite of the realme.

Treyport burned.

A little before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt Lord Lisle, Lorde Admirall, landed in Normandie, and brent the suburbs of Treyport, and dyuers villages along the Sea coast, and destroyed and tooke almost all the shippes in the hauen, which was a riche and a goodly praye, and so returned without any dammage.

The French king sore moued with these doynges, sent Mounsire de Bees with. xii. M. men, which entered into the English pale, besyde Graueiyn, and brent Marke and diuers small villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner were skirmishes and *Alarmes* betwene high Bulleyn, and the new buylded Fortresse, but the losse ranne euer on the Frenchmens side.

This yere was meanes made by the Emperor, that certaine Ambassadors of England and Fraunce might mete to common of a peace, whervpon the king of England sent to Guisnes, Cutbert Bishop of Durisme, sir William Paget his Secretory, and doctor Tregonell. And the French king sent to Arde a Bishop, the chiefe president of Roan, and a Notarie, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherefore the king hauyng perfite knowlege, howe the Frenchmen intended to builde a newe Fortresse on Saint Iohns rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: which thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but dayly had put Bulleyn in trouble. Wherefore he meanyng to preuent so great a mischiefe, sent ouer the noble Erle of Hertford, and the valiant Lord Lisle Admirall, and many valiaunt Capitaynes, with seuen thousand good Souldiors, which gat the rode but two dayes before the Frenche men appoynted to haue bene there, and in that place encamped themselues. Mounsire de Bees leader and conducter of all the French affayres, encamped himselfe besyde Hardilow, and durst not once come forth to set on our men, notwithstanding his former preparation and deuice.

The Erle of Hertford and the Lorde Lisle sent to Bulleyn.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were dayly betwene the Bullenois, and the French Bastilion: and one day the one part lost and the other gayned, and likewise the losers regayned: but in one skirmishe were lost. xvj. English Gentlemen, and.

lxxx. other, although there were slain three rascall Frenchmen, and in this skirmishe was slaine, sir George Pollard. And in a like iournay was slain sir Raufe Elderkare, Capitaine of the light horsemen, with a few other Englishmen, but yet a great multitude of French men, at that tyme lay on the grounde.

Sir George Pollard slain.
Sir Raufe Eldarkare slaine.

The. xxiiij. day of December, the kinges Maiestie came to the Parliament house, to geue his royall assent, to such actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oration, to the which it hath euer bene accustomed, that the Lord Chauncelor made aunswer, but at this time it was the kinges pleasure, that it should be otherwise, for the king himselfe made him aunswere, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

King Henry the eight his answere to the speaker of the Parliament.

ALthough my Chauncelor for the tyme beyng, hath before this tyme vsed, very eloquently and substancially, to make aunswere to such orations, as hath beene set foorth in this highe Court of Parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mynde and meanyng, and the secretes of my heart, in so plaine and ample maner, as I my selfe am and can do: wherefore I takyng vpon me to aunswer your eloquent oration Maister Speaker, say that where you in the name of our welbeloued Commons, hath both praysed and extolled me, for the notable qualities, that you haue conceyued to be in me, I most hartily thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duetie, which is to endeuor my selfe to obteine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a Prince or Gouernour should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise my selfe, both bare and barrein: but of such small qualities, as God hath endued me withall, I render to his goodnesse my most humble thankes, entendyng with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my person: These thankes for your louyng admonicion and good counsaile first remembred, I eftsones thanke you againe, because that you consideryng our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gaine, but to our great cost) which we haue lately susteyned, aswell in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortresse, which was to this realme most displeasant and noysome, and shall be by Gods grace hereafter, to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue freely of your awne myndes, graunted to vs a certaine subsedie, here in an act specifyed, which yerily we take in good part, regardyng more your kindnesse, then the profite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louyng heartes, then by your substaunce. Besyde this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioyce when I consider, the perfite trust and sure confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauyng vndoubted hope, and vnfeyned beliefe in my good doynges, and iust procedynges for you, without my desyre or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all Chauntryes, Colleges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certaine act, firmely trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common welth. Surely if I contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the Church to decay, or learnyng (which is so great a Iuell) to be minished, or poore and miserable people, to be vnrelieued, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie friend to you, nor charitable man to mine euen Christian, neither a louer of the publike welth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt must be rendered of all our doynges. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation shall be serued, more Godly and goodly then you will wishe or desyre, as hereafter you shall plainly perceyue.

Now sithence I finde such kindnesse, on your part toward me, I cannot chose, b t loue and fauor you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoreth his Subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or Commons more loue and obaye their souereigne Lord, then I perceyue you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require my persone shall not be vnaduentured: yet although I wyth you, and you with me, be in this perfite loue and concorde, this friendely amytie cannot continue, except both you my Lordes temporall, and you my Lordes spirituall, and you my louing

subiectes, studie and take paine to amende one thing, which surely is amys, and far out of order, to the which I most hartely require you, which is, that charitie and concord is not amongest you, but discorde and dissencion, bereth rule in euery place, Saint Paule sayeth to the Corinthians, and in the xiij. Chapiter, Charity is gentle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and so forth in the sayde Chapiter: Beholde then what loue and Charitie is amongst you, when the one calleth the other Heretick and Anabaptist, and he calleth him againe Papist, Ypocrite and Pharasey. Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these signes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of charitte amongst your selfes, will be the hinderaunce and asswaging of the feruent loue betweene vs, as I sayde before, except this would be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nedes iudge the faulte and occasion of this discorde, to be partly by negligence, of you the fathers and Preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a mā which liueth in adultery, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I se here dayly that you of the clergye preache one agaynst another, teach one contrary to another, inueigh one against another without charitie or discrecion. Some be to stiffe in their olde Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curyous, in their new Sumpsimus. Thus all men almost be in varietie and discorde, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the worde of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I iudge you charitable persones doyng this? No no, I cannot so do: alas how can the poore soules liue in concorde, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons, debate and discorde? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhorte you, and set forth Gods worde both by true preaching and good example geuing, or else I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high minister here, will se these deuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruaunt, and an vntrue officer.

Although I say the spirituall men be in some faulte, that charitie is not kept amongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, be not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuy, for you rayle on Bishops, speake slaunderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order, and Christian fraternitie. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher, erreth or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayle or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high auctoritie to reforme and order such causes and behauiours: and be not iudges your selues, of your owne phantasticall opinions, and vaine expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy Scripture and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstand that it is licensed you so to doe, onely to informe your owne conscience, and to instruct your children and famyly, and not to dispute and make Scripture a rayling and taunting stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light persons do) I am very sory to knowe and here, how vnreuerently that most precious iewell the word of God is disputed, rymed, song, and iangeled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. And yet I am euen as much sorye, that the readers of the same, folow it in doyng so faintly and coldely: for of this I am sure, that charitie was neuer so faynt amongst you, and verteous and godly liuing was neuer lesse vsed, nor God himselfe amongst Christians was neuer lesse reuerenced honored, or serued. Therefore as I sayde before, be in charitie one with an other, like brother and brother, loue dred and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and souereigne Lorde, exhorte and require you) and then I doubt not, but that loue and league, that I spake of in the beginning shall neuer be dissolued or broken betweene vs. And to the making of lawes which be now made and concluded, I exhorte you the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering of the same, or else your labor shalbe in vaine, and your common welth nothing relieued. Now to your peticion, concerning our royall assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath

passed both the houses. They shall be read openly, that ye may heere them. Then were they openly read, and to many his grace assented, and diuers he assented not vnto. This the kinges Oration was to his Subiectes there present such comfort, that the like ioye coulde not be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes reade, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

In this time there was by the Frenche men, a voyage made towarde the Isle of Brasile, with a ship called the Barcke Ager, which they had taken from the Englishe men before. Barcke Ager. And in their way they fortuned to meete sodainely with a little Craer, of whome was mayster one Goldyng, which Goldyng was a feat and hardie man. The Barcke perceyuing thys small Craer to be an Englishe man, shot at him and bouged him, wherefore the Craer drewe straight to the great ship, and sixe or seuen of the men lept into the Barcke. The Frenchmen looking ouer the boorde at the sinking of the Craer, nothing mistrusting any thing that might be done by ỹ Englishmen. And so it fortuned that those Englishmen, which climed into the ship, found in the end therof a great nũber of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature thereof is, set them a fyre, & threw them at the French men that were aborde, and so blynded them, that those few Englishmen that entered the ship, vanquished all that were therin, and draue them vnder hatches, and brought the Barke clerely away againe into England.

In the Month of Aprill, by meanes of dyuers princes, an assemble was had, betwene both the realmes of Englande and Fraunce at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the king of Englande, the Erle of Hertford, the Lorde Lisle Admirall, Sir Wylliam Paget Secretary, and Doctor Wotton Deane of Cauntorbury. And for the Frenche king, the Lorde Clado Doneball Admyrall and Marshall of Fraunce, the Byshop of Eureux, a President and a Secretary. After long debating and diuers breches, a peace was concluded, and proclaymed in the kinges Courte, and in the Citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And lykewise was it done at Parys and Roan. For the performaunce whereof, the Viscount Lisle Admyrall, wyth the Bishop of Duresme, and dyuers Lordes, and aboue an hundred Gentlemen, all in Veluet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Parys, and were there solemply receyued and feasted, and shortly returned. 1546 38 A peace concluded betwene England and Fraunce.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanyed wyth the Byshop of Eureux, the Erles of Naunteuile, and Villiers, and dyuers great Lordes, besyde two hundred gentlemen well appoynted, tooke hys Galey at Deepe, and hauyng in his companie twelue fayre Galies, well trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer tooke lande, tyll he came to Grenewiche, where he was receyued by the Erles of Essex, and Darby, the xix, day of August. And the next Daye, he with all his Galies, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and on all the bankes by the water syde, faye peeces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially the Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And from thence he roade through London, in great triumph, the Mayor and the craftes standyng in the streetes in good order, to the Byshops Palace of London, where he lodged till Bartholomew euen, on which day he was conueyed toward Hamptõ Court, where in the waye the prince hauyng with him the Archebyshop of Yorke, the Erles of Hertforde, and Huntyngdon, and aboue two thousand horse, met him and embraced him, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders greatly reioysed and much maruayled at hys wit and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, geuing the prince the vpper hande as he rode. And at the vtter gate of the Court, the Lorde Chauncelor, and all the kinges counsayle receyued him, and brought him to his lodgyng. Ambassadors of Fraunce.

On Bartholomew daye, the king richely appareled, welcomed him, and in great triumph went to the Chapel, where the league was sworne and signed. To tell you of the costly banquet houses that were built, and of the great banquets, the costly Maskes, the liberall huntings that were shewed to hym, you would much maruaile, and scant beleue. But on Fryday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of Plate, to the value of twelue

hundred pounde, returned to London, and on Sonday tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diuers of his companye, had much plate, and manye horses and Greyhounds geuen them. Also the Admirall had geuen to him, of the Citie of London, two Flagons guilt, & two parcell guilt, to the somme of an hundred and six and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus with liberall rewardes and honorable entertainement they returned into Fraunce.

Although this peace pleased both the English and the French nations, yet surely both mistrusted the continuance of the same, considering the olde prouerbe, that which the eye seeth, the hart rueth, for the Frenchmen stil longed for Bulleine, and the Englishmen minded not to geue it ouer: in so much as during the Admyrals of Fraunce being in England, the Capitaine of the newe Fortresse began to make a Pile, euen at the very hauen mouth of Bulleyne: called Chatylyons Cardeyne: but the Lorde Gray Capitaine there, put away the workemen, and tooke away their tooles, and filled the Trenches, to the Frenchmens great displeasure. And after, the French King caused vpon a great paine, that all the Trenches and new inuentions, should be cast downe and filled by his owne people, least he should seme to be the breaker of the peace.

About Mighelmasse this present yere, Thomas Duke of Norffolk, and Henry Erle of Surrey his sonne and heyre, vpon certaine surmises of treason were committed to the Tower of London. And immediately after Christmasse folowing, the king then liyng in extremities of death, the sayde Erle was arreigned in the Guilde hall before the Lorde Maior of London, the Lorde Chauncellor of Englande, and diuers other Lordes and Iudges, beyng there in commission. The speciall matter obiected against him, was for bearing certaine armes supposed to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he denied not, but iustified the same, as of right appertayning vnto hym, and all his auncestors Dukes of Norffolke, and by them borne time out of minde, without chalenge or empechment. But yet to his inditement he pleaded not guiltie. And for that he was no Lord of the Parliament, he was enforced to be tried by a common enquest of his countrie, whiche founde him guiltie, and therevpon he had iudgement of death, and shortely after was executed at the Tower hill, whose death was greatly lamented of many, for that he was a Gentleman endued with great learning and many excellent vertues.

The Duke his father came neuer to any tryall, but was supposed to be attaynted by parliament, which supposed attayndor was vpon good and iust considerations reuersed in the first yere of Queene Marye, where appered not onely the innocencie of the sayd Duke, but to his great honour and commendation was declared to be a right valiaunt and true seruaunt to the crowne of Englande.

The king as aforesayde nowe languishing and liyng in the extremes of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onely yelded himselfe vnto almightie God, but also to the order, that during the minoritye of his sonne Prince Edward, his Executors who were to the number of. xvj. whose names shall after be shewed, that they, I say, should also be the counsaylors and ayders of the sayde Prince in all his affayres, aswell priuate as publicke, theire names were these.

Thomas Cranmer, Archebishop of Cauntorburye.

Thomas Wriothesley, Lorde Chauncellor.

Sir William Pawlet knight of the order, Lorde Saint Iohn, and Lord great Mayster.

Sir Edwarde Seymer knight of the order, Erle of Hertforde, highe Chamberlayne of England.

Sir Iohn Russell knight of the order, Lord Priuie seale.

Sir Iohn Dudley knight of the order, and Viscount Lisle and highe Admirall of Englande.

Cutbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham.

Syr Anthonye Browne knight of the order, Mayster of the horse.

Sir

Sir Edmond Mountagew knight, chiefe Iustice of the common place.
Thomas Bromley knight, one of the Iustices of the kings Benche.
Sir Edward North knight, Chauncelor of the Augmentations.
Sir William Paget knight of the order, chiefe Secretary.
Syr Anthony Denny knight.
Sir William Herbert knight.
Sir Edward Wootton knight, treasurer of Calice.
Nicholas Wootton, Deane of Cauntorbury, and Yorke.

So soone as the aforesaid Noble king had finished his last will and testament, as aforesayd, he then yelded hys spirite to almightie God, and departed this world the. xxviij. day of Ianuary in the. xxxviiij. yere of hys reigne, and in the yere of our Lorde. 1546. Whose corps according to his will was conueyed w all funerall pompe to the College of Windsore there to be enterred.

The discription of king Henry the eyght.

Thys Prince of all other that euer reigned ouer this realme, was most renoumed and famous, and whatsoeuer he attempted, the same had most prosperous successe, aswell in warres, as in all other matters of great importance, wherein he delt farre aboue all other Princes, as may appere thorowout the whole discourse of hys historie. Of personage he was tall and mightie, and in his latter yeres somewhat grosse, in witte and memory most excellent. Of such maiestie tempered with humanitie and gentlenesse, as was comely in so great and Noble a Prince. In knowledge of good letters, he farre passed all the kings of this realme that had bene before him, and for his magnificence and liberalitie he was renoumed throughout all the worlde.

EDWARDE THE SIXT.

1546
1

AS soone as God had called to his mercie king Henry the eight as aforesayde, the executors of the sayde king with other of the nobilitie, assembling themselues together, did first by sound of Trompet in the Citie of London the. xxviij. day of Ianuarie. 1546. proclayme Prince Edward, who was then at Bishops Hatfield, King of this Realme, by the name of Edward the sixt king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defender of the fayth, and of the Churches of England and Ireland in earth the supreme heade, he beyng then but. ix. yeres of age, and yet endued with notable vertues and great learnyng.

Shortly after the Erle of Hertford with other of the Lordes resorted to Hatfield aforesayd, and from thence conducted the king with a great and right honourable companie to the Tower of London. Duryng the tyme of whose abode there, for the honour of his maiestie, and suretie of his royall person, Edward Erle of Hertforde one of his Vncles on the mothers syde, was by order of the Counsaylors aforenamed, or the more part of them, with the assent of the kinges Maiestie, not onely created Duke of Sommerset, but also openly named and published Gouernor of his royall person, & Protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, whose aduauncement was well allowed of al the noble men sauyng of Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southhampton, Chauncelor of England, who for his ouermuch repugnyng to the rest in matters of Counsaile, was not onely depriued from

Edward erle of Hertford created duke of Sommerset and Protector.

Thomas Wriothesley Erle of Southhampton.

from hys office of Chauncelor, but also remoued from place and auctheritie in Counsaile, and the custodie of the great seale of England, which onely belongeth to the Lord Chauncelor, was by order aforesaid cõmitted to William Lord Saint Iohn, great mayster of the kinges householde, and one of the kinges Executors as aforesayde.

The coronation of king Edward.

Soone after great preparation was made for the kinges coronation, the which was performed and done at Westminster, the. xxv. day of Februarie next folowyng (beyng then Shrouesunday) with all the solemnitie and honour that might be, the perticulers whereof I ouerpasse because the lyke hath bene before rehersed in this booke in other kinges tymes.

The coronation beyng finished, the kinges Maiestie by the aduice of his Vncle the Protector, and other of his priuie Counsaile, myndyng first of all to seeke Gods high honour and glory, did therefore entend a reformation in religion, and did not onely set foorth by certaine Commissioners or Visitors sundrie Iniunctions for the remouyng of Images out of all Churches to the suppressyng and abandoning of all Idolatrie and superstition within his realmes and dominions, but also certaine Homelies, or Sermons, to be vsually read in the Church vnto the people, which were by his sayde Visitors accompanyed with certaine Preachers, throughout the realme for the better perswasion of the people published and put in vre. At Easter next folowyng, he set out also an order throughout all the realme, that the supper of the Lorde should be ministred to the lay people in both kindes, that is to say, both in Bread and Wine.

Iniunctions.

Homelies.

The communion in both kindes.

These thinges done, the sayd Lord Protector, with the rest of the counsayle, calling to minde the euill vsage and daliaunce of the Scottes concerning the matter of mariage betweene the kinges maiestie and the Ladye Mary heire of Scotlande which as you haue before heard in the. xxxv. yere of king Henry the eyght, was concluded by parliament in Scotland, thought it not for the kinges honor to be in such maner deluded by them. Considering therefore how honorable and profitable it should be for the quyetnesse and safetie of both the realmes, that these two princes might ioyne in matrimonie did deuise sondry wayes and meanes to bringe the same to passe, and the rather for the charge which kinge Henry before his death (as it is sayd) had geuen them. But the Lordes of Scotland were so corrupted by the French king and abused by the Scottish clergy, & namely by Cardinall Beton, that they fledde from all that they had before promised. Wherefore nowe was prepared a great and puyssaunt army to passe by land into Scotlande vnder the conduction of the Lord Protector as generall, and the Erle of Warwike Lieuetenaunt of the armye. And in like manner was appoynted a nauie to passe by Sea, whereof the great Galley and. xxiiij. tall shippes were well furnished with men and munitions for the warre, besides many Merchants shippes and other smaller vesselles which serued for the caryage of vittayle. And of this fleete the Lord Clynton was Admirall, and sir Thomas Woodhouse Viceadmirall.

Warre with Scotland.

Now assone as the Army by land was in a readinesse and set forward to be by a daye appoynted at Berwicke, the Lord Clinton with his nauie set also forward by Sea, and by Goddes helpe had so good passage that they arriued in safetie at Barwicke in time conuenient, and there attended vpon the armie which went by lande and passed along the sea coast in such maner as the army passed by land. So that alwayes as the army by land lacked vittaylles, the shippes were at hand to vittayle them.

The armie that trauayled by land marched out of Barwicke the fourth day of September, and in good array passed forwarde into Scotlande fiue daies iourney, before they could vnderstand of any army assembled in Scotland. And in their passage they tooke and rased downe to the ground certain Castles and holdes, as Douglasse, Anderwicke, Thonetone and the towne of Hadington, which towne of Hadington, was afterward fortefied and kept with a garrison of souldiers as in the course of this history shal after appere.

The Scottishe armie.

In thys meane season the Scottes had assembled a puyssaont host, estemed to the number of thirtie thousand men, who to forstalle our armie from further inuasion into the countrie,

trie, encamped themselues vpon a streight mere to a litle riuer called Eske, foure miles on this side the Citie of Edenborough, minding there to attende our comming, because there was none other way conuenient for our armie to passe.

The. ix. day of September both the armies came within the sight of eche other, not distaunt by estimation aboue two myles, the riuer of Fryth liyng on the East, and a hill called Fauxcide Bray on the West, whereon standeth a litle Castle, and the Scottysh campe north from vs vpon the Riuer of Eske aforesayde within foure miles of Edenborough.

And at this time our men were in no readinesse to fight, nor did not then think they should haue battaile. Insomuch that the Duke of Somerset lord Protector, standing and viewing the Scottes how they aduaunced themselues towardes battayle, sayde vnto the Erle of Warwicke who then was with him, that for his life the Scottes ment nothing lesse then to fight at that time.

But here I thinke it not a mysse before I go any further to the declaration of the fortune of this battayle beyng at hande, something to degresse and shew what the Lorde Protector had done a litle before this vnprouided battayle, and I do the rather note it, for that I am perswaded that by reason thereof the successe was the more prosperous.

Ye haue hearde a litle before the setting forward of this warre, how to auoyde bloudshed and to draw the inconstant nation of the Scottes to conformitie and vnitie, & specially in a matter to none more profitable and beneficiall then to themselues, which was to haue aduaunced and set forth that mariage, that they themselues had by the consent of their whole parliament agreed vnto. And for the confirmation of the same had geuen forth to king Henry the eyght the great Seale of Scotland, as before ye haue heard. The Kinges maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector and other of the priuy counsayle had had with them many and sundry conferences, and had sent vnto them many and sundry Ambassadors, and vsed all the meanes that was possible to haue reduced them to the performaunce of their promise, rather then to hasard their countrie vpon a conquest. And now seyng no trauayle could preuaile, they were inforced to suffer the two deuouring serpentes of the earthe, that is the sworde and fire to be let lose and to vse their accustomed rage and fury, with consumption of richesse, libertie and life. The dyscreete Protector thought yet as the last refuge and meane to attayne peace not onely himselfe, but also to moue all other by prayer to call vpon the ayde and mercy of almightie God, that it might please his deuine maiestie to molifie the hard heartes of the Scottes for the better auoyding of the shedyng of innocent and Christian bloud. And for this purpose he caused a speciall prayer to be made, which beyng imprinted was published and commaunded wyth all reuerend deuotion to be sayde in all the Churches of England.

A prayer published for the auoidyng of the effusion of Christian bloud.

But now to returne againe to the battaile, ye heard that the Armies on both sydes approched so nere that the one was in the others sight: ye heard also that the Lorde Protector was of opinion, that it was not ment of the Scottes to fight at that tyme, but onely that they made a shewe of themselues, which he termed to be but a Scottishe bragge, howbeit it proued farre otherwise. For sodainly the Scottes beyng encamped in a valey by the riuer of Eske, arose and made great hast vp the hill, mindyng to haue obteyned the hill, the wind, and the sonne, which if they had gotten, then our men had bene much hindred, the which thing the Englishmen perceyued, who as then were not in good array, neither could their armie of footemen come so soone to the recouerie of the hill as they would. Wherefore to stop the Scottes of their purpose, the Lorde Gray beyng Capitain of the horsemen, was forced (partly out of order) to set forward, and to geue the onset vpon the Scottes, onely to stay them from the hill. The which English horsemen nobly and valiauntly encountered with the Scottes footemen, but the Scottes stoode so close, and were so defended with their Pykes, that our men coulde not enter. By reason whereof diuers of the Englishe Gentlemen that gaue the onset were ouerthrowne and slaine, the which when they that folowed perceyued, they reculed, and in runnyng backe, ranne through a peece of the

English

English armie of footemen (which by this tyme had recouered the hill, and were behinde the Englishe horsemen) and hurt many of them, howbeit the footemen brake not their array, but stood still in good order in the face of the Scottes. The Scottes perceiuing the English footemen to haue recouered the hill, and seyng the whole armie readie to geue them the onset, and the vawarde marchyng towardes them, sodainly (of what occasion no man certainly can tell) they forsakyng their weapons, and their former places fled, the which when our men perceyued, they with a great shoute cryed they flie, they flie, & therewithall they fled in dede spedily, and our men pursued after in chase as fast, namely our horsemen, and folowed so egerly and with such fiercenesse, that they ouertooke many and spared in dede but fewe. And the chase continued almost the length of fiue myles, and al the way was couered with dead men, Pikes, Iackes, Skulles, Swords, Bucklers, Daggers, & other weapons, and the riuer made red with bloud. And at this battail called Muskiebrough field, nere vnto a place called Pinkerslough, there were slaine, as some of the Scottes themselues confessed. xiiij. thousand Scottes, among the which number as it was well knowne by credible report, there were slaine of noble men, Lordes, Lardes, and Gentlemen. xxvj. hundred and aboue, and there were taken prisoners of the Scottes. xv. hundred, whereof many were Gentlemen. And among other the Erle of Huntley was one, who was taken by sir Raufe Auane. And within lesse then two yeres folowyng, he made his escape, and gat again into Scotland. And of the Englishmen there were slaine not aboue one hundred persons.

Muskelborough fielde.

After this battaile finished, with victorie to the great honor of the Lord Protector, the Erle of Warwike, and other the noble & valiaunt Capitaynes there present, and to the high honor of the kings Maiestie, and the realme of England, the sayde Lorde Protector considerynge of vertue and well doyng, the proper mede and due reward to be honour, aswell therefore for reward to them that had before done well, as also to encourage other hereafter to do the lyke, did adourne many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen, with dignities as foloweth.

Sir Raufe Sadler
Sir Fraunces Brian } Banerettes, or (as I thinke) rather Baronets.
Sir Raufe Auane

Knightes made.

¶ Knightes.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton.
The Lorde Edward Seymer.
The Lorde Thomas Haward
The Lorde Waldike
Sir Thomas Dacres
Sir Edward Hastinges
Sir Edmond Bruges
Sir Iohn Thinne
Sir Miles Partridge
Sir Iohn Conway
Sir Gyles Poole
Sir Raufe Bagnall
Sir Oliuer Laurence
Sir Henry Gates
Sir Thomas Chaloner
Sir Fraunces Fleming
Sir Iohn Gresham
Sir William Skipwith
Sir Iohn Buttes
Sir George Blagge
Sir William Fraunces

¶ Knightes.

Sir Fraunces Knolles
Sir William Thorborow
Sir George Haward
Sir Iames Wilford
Sir Raufe Copinger
Sir Thomas Wentworth
Sir Iohn Maruen
Sir Nicholas Straunge
Sir Charles Sturton
Sir Hugh Askew
Sir Fraunces Dalmyn
Sir Richard Townley
Sir Marmaduke Constable
Sir George Audeley
Sir Iohn Holcroft
Sir Iohn Wentworth
Sir Thomas Danby
Sir Iohn Talbot
Sir Rowland Clerke
Sir Iohn Horsley
Sir Iohn Forster

Sir Henry Hossey
Sir Water Bonham
Sir Robert Brandlyn
Sir Iames Granado
Sir Christopher Dyes
Sir Peter Negro
Sir Alonso de vile.

The noble men and other that were Officers, and had the conduction of the aforesayde army were these.

The Duke of Sommerset Lorde Protector, generall of the armie, Capitaine of the battaile, wherein were foure thousand footmen.

The valiaunt Lord Lisle, Erle of Warwicke, Lorde Lieutenant of the armie, and had the foreward, wherein were three thousand footemen.

The Lorde Dacres had the rereward, wherin were three. M. footmen.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton was high marshall of the armie, and Capitaine generall of all the horsemen, beyng in number foure thousand.

Sir Raufe Sadler knight, treasurer of the armie.

Sir Fraunces Brian knight, Capitaine of the light horsemen, in number two thousand.

Sir Raufe Avane knight, Lieutenaunt of all the men of Armes, and Demilaunces.

Sir Thomas Darcy knight, Capitaine of all the kinges Maiesties Pencioners and men of armes.

Sir Richard Lee knight, deuiser of the fortifications.

Sir Peter Mewtas knight, Capitaine of the Harkebussiers, whiche were in number sixe hundred.

Sir Peter Cambo knight, Capitaine of two hundred Harkebussiers on horsebacke.

Sir Fraunces Flemyng knight, Maister of the Ordinaunce.

Sir Iames Wilford knight, prouost Marshall.

Sir George Blagge, and sir Thomas Holcroft Commissioners of the Musters.

Edward Shelly the Lorde Grayes Lieutenaunt of the men of armes of Bulleyn, who was the first that gaue the onset, and dyed most honourably in the aforesayde battaile.

Iohn Brenne Capitaine of the Pioners, beyng in number. xiiij.C.

Thomas Audeley and Edward Chamberleyn, Harbengers of the field.

The Officers that attended vpon the nauie that passed by Sea were these.

The Lorde Clynton Lorde Admyrall of the fleete.

Sir William Woodhouse knight his Viceadmirall.

There were in the armie of great ordinaunce. xv. peeces, and of cariages. ix. hundred Cartes, besyde many Wagons, whereof the Commissarye generall was George Ferrers.

The next day after this battaile, the Lorde Protector with the armye marched forward to the towne of Lithe, where they remayned. x. or. xii. dayes, and there began to make Trenches and fortifications: But because Winter approched, & the season of the yere serued not, it was thought good in tyme to returne home to the Borders. And in their returnyng, first they tooke a Castell called Lowthair, and placed for Capitaine thereof sir Hugh Willoughby. And from thence they marched to the Castell of Hunes, where was shewed some face of resistance, but when the Englishmen had planted their ordinaunce and artillary, they yelded, and there was placed Capitaine Edward Dudley esquier, sonne and heyre to the Baron Dudley. And from thence they passed to the Castell of Rokesborough, which beyng a place very meete to kepe frontire warre, the same beyng yelded, was forthwith by the Englishmen fortified, & there was made Capitain, sir Raufe Bulmer, and so he returned vnto Barwicke, and thether came vnto him, these Lardes and Gentlemen of Scotland, and submitted themselues vnto the king of Englandes obedience and tooke their othe, whose names folow.

The Larde Cefford
The Lard of Fernyhurst
The lard of Grencechard
The Lard of Huntill
The Lard of Huntley
The Lard of Markston
The Lard of Boniworth
The Lard of Ormeston
The lard of Malesteines
The Lard of Warmdsey
The Lard of Linton
The Lard of Egerston

The

The Lard of Marton	Robert Carre of Greidon	Thomas Carre
The Lard of Mowe	Adam Kirton	Water Holiburton
The Lard of Ryddell	Androw Meither	Richard Hangaside
The Lard of Remersyde	Saundyr Sporenose	Androw Carre
¶ Gentlemen.	Marke Carre	Iames Douglas
George Trombill	George Carre	Iames Carre
Iohn Holyburton	Alexander Mackdowell	Iohn Carre.
Robert Carre	Charles Rothirford	

A Lard in Scotland, is a degree next vnder a knight, which we call an Esquier, or such a one as is Lord of a towne.

After that the Lord Protector had done all the thinges before expressed, he then departed from Berwicke to Newcastell, and there calling to remembraunce the worthy seruice done by certayne other gentlemen who before at the makyng of knightes had withdrawen themselues from the preferment of honor, and yet were right worthy thereof, did therefore direct his letters with auctoritie to the Erle of Warwicke, then remayning at Barwicke for the comming of the Scottish Commissioners, to adorne and aduaunce to the order of knighthoode these persones following, which was done accordingly, whose names were these sir Andrew Corbet a right graue and valiaunt Gentleman, a carefull Capitaine ouer his souldiors, and verie skilfull in his peece, and also a strong and worthie Archer, sir Arthur Mainwaring a politique Capitayn, sir Thomas Neuell the Lord Neuels brother, Sir Anthony Strelly, and sir Richard Verney.

During the time that the Lord Protector was occupied with the Scots as aforesayd, the Lordes of the counsaile that remayned in Englande, with great helpe of Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorburye, and other of the Clergy of the realme, greatly furthered and aduaunced religion, and namely the bookes of Homelyes and Paraphrase of Erasmus, the which Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and other were muche offended as ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

But to returne, when the Lorde Protector had put all thinges in order in Scotland as aforesayd, and had fortefied the fortes and Castelles vpon the borders, he returned into Englande, and the Citizens of London hering of his comming determined to receyue him, and conueigh him thorough the Citie with much ioy and triumph. But he hauing knowlege thereof was offended therewith, and forbade any such tryumph to be made for him, for sayd he if any thing hath bene done to the honor of the realme, it was gods doing, and willed them to giue him the prayse.

A parliament at Westminster.

Soone after the comming home of the Lorde Protector, the kinges maiestie called his high court of parliament, and held the same at Westminster the foure and twentie day of Nouember in the first yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the foure and twentie day of December then next following. And in this parliament among other things, there was geuen vnto the kinges maiestie all Colleges, Chauntryes and Free Chapels to be bestowed and vsed at his pleasure. And also in the same parliament was repealed the estatute of six articles made in the time of king Henry the eyght, and diuerse other tending to that effect.

Fraunces the French king dead.

And in the ende of this yere dyed Fraunces the French king, for whome a solempne obsequy was kept in Paules in London, and Henrye his sonne succeded him in that kingdome.

And here once againe to remember the affayres of Scotland, the king and hys counsayle consyderyng the suretye of the same did not onely consist in makyng of good defence vpon the borders, did therefore deuise for the subiection of the inner part of that lande to haue some speciall forte or place for the better pacefiyng and keping quyet of that countrye. And in conclusion they thought it meete to fortefie the towne of Haddyngton, to the which wyth all speede was sent a garrison to defend the same.

A litle before Ester next following, the king by his Lieger in Fraunce was credibly cer-

tefied that the French king made great prouision to go into Scotland, for the remouing of the English garrison that kept the towne of Haddington as after ye shall heere.

The king heering these newes, caused new musters to be made, and a new armye to be raysed, to be sent into Scotlande for the defence of Haddington. And for this prouision there were first certaine letters sent from the kings maiestie vnto certaine Citezens of London, who before had bene ceassed at a certaine valure of goodes. And in the superscription of the sayde letters, the king named euery one to whome he wrote Esquier, requiring them to haue in a readynesse by a day appoynted certayne Demylaunces, and certaine light horsemen, with all the furniture that to them belonged. Of the which letters certaine of the sayd Citezens were very ioyous because of their new dignities, in that they were made Esquiers which is asmuch to say as horsemen: But the grauer sorte could well haue forborne that preferment, and haue remayned footemen as they were before. And this yere the watch in London, which had not beene vsed nintene yeres before was againe kept by sir Iohn Gresham then Maior of London, both on the euen of saint Iohn Baptist, and also on the euen of saint Peter next followyng, as brauely and freshly as it had bene at any time set out before. And the same was much beutefied with the company of horsemen aboue mencioned. 1547 2 A newe armie to go into Scotland. Esquiers made in London. Midsomer watche.

Soone after this, the king was certefied that Mounsire de Essy Lieutenaunt to the French king, and Peter Strozy and Mounsire Dandelot and a Dutch Capitaine called the Ringraue, with ten thousand men were arryued in Scotland, and had beseged the towne of Haddington: wherfore in all hast possible the King set forwarde his armye. But before the army could come, there went from Berwicke vnder the guyding of syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer knightes. xiij. hundred horsemen, where of were seuen hundred men of armes, and Dimilaunces. The Frenchmen hauing knowlege of their comming, layde a bushement for them, and the most part of them were eyther taken or slayne, namely syr Robert Bowes and syr Thomas Palmer were taken prisoners, howbeit for all this ouerthrowe, our Englishmen manfully and valiauntly defended the towne of Haddington, and often skirmished with the Frenchmen, and put them to the worsse. The siege of this towne of Haddington by the Frenche men was long, fierce and terrible, and the batterie was so great that no parte of the walles of the towne were left vnbeaten downe. Notwithstanding by the manly and valiaunt courage of the Englishmen, and namely of syr Iames Wilford who was Capitaine of that towne, whatsoeuer was in the day beaten downe by the Frenchmen, the same was again fortefied in the night by the Englishmen, although the slaughter of our men there was so great, that they filled vp their ditches, and made their rampiers with the dead English carcasses. And this siege continued from the. xxviij. day of Iune vnto the twentie day of August next following, and then came thether the Erle of Shrewesbury with the army afore mencioned, which were to the number of fiftene thousand, of the which there were fiue thousand Almaines, whose Capitaine was named Cortpennie. Haddington in Scotland beseged by the French. Sir Robert Bowes and sir Thomas Palmer take. Sir Iames Wilforde a valiaunt Capitaine. The Erle of Shrewesbury vittayleth Haddington.

The Frenchmen and Scottes knowyng of the commyng of the Englishe armie, departed with speede from the siege of the sayd towne of Haddyngton, much commendyng and praysyng the English Capitaynes and soldiors, and specially one Capitaine of the Frenchmen, at his departure, came to the towne of Haddyngton, desiryng audience and sayde, God prosper you ye are good soldiors, the honour is yours, and the shame is ours, the which prayse of enemyes beyng voyde of all parcialitie and affection, is commonly most true. So that after the Erle had well vittayled the towne, and furnished the same with fresh and lustie souldiors, he then departed into England. After whose departure, the Englishemen kept the sayde towne valiauntly, both agaynst the Scottes and Frenchmen, and helde the same vntill the. xx. day of September, in the thirde yere of the reigne of this king Edward. And then it so chaunced by reason of tumultes and rebellion among our selues in sundrie places within the realme, that the king was forced to send the Erle of Rutland, accompanied with three thousand Almaynes, and three thousand Borderers The French men flye from the siege of Haddington.

Haddington raced and destroied by the Englishmen.

to the saide towne of Haddington, who raced the same downe ... from thence all their ordinaunce, with all their bag and baggage to Barwicke in all peaceable and quiet maner.

A pestilence.

After the returne of the souldiors from Haddyngton, there happened in London a great mortalitie by pestilence, and diuers were buryed in the morning before day, and late in the euening, and that in very close maner. Wherfore a commaundement from the king was directed to the Churchwardens, and Curates of euery Parishe in London, prohibityng that no corps should be buryed before sixe of the clocke in the mornyng, nor after sixe at night. And that there should be at the buriyng of euery corps, one Bell rong by the space of three quarters of an houre at the least.

A parliamẽt.

The kinges Maiestie shortly after this, sommoned his high Court of Parliament to be holden at Westminster vpon prorogation the fourth daye of Nouember, in the second yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vnto the, xiiij. day of March next folowyng, which was in the thirde yere of his reigne. And in this Parliament the vse of the Masse was cleene forbidden, and a booke made for the vniformitie of diuine seruice, and the administration of the Sacramẽts in the English tongue, was published & set forth.

Sir Thomas Seimour attainted and executed.

And in this Parliament also was attainted sir Thomas Seymer, called Baron Seymer of Sudley, brother to the Lorde Protector, high Admirall of England. The causes and articles obiected against him, are expressed in the booke of statutes. And the. xx. day of March next folowyng, which was in the thirde yere of the king, he was behedded at the Tower hill, and then it was commonly talked, that the fall of the one brother, would be the ouerthrow of the other, as soone after it came to passe.

After the ende of this Parliament, and at the ende of the next terme, the Lorde Protectors grace, and the rest of the kinges priuie and learned counsaile being present in the starre Chamber, called before them all the Iustices of peace, and knightes of the shire, where the Lorde Riche beyng then Lorde Chauncelor, made vnto them this Oration folowyng.

1548

3

An exhortacion or rather an admonitiõ geuen to the Iustices of Peace.

It hath bene vsed and accustomed before this tyme, to call at certaine tymes the Iustices of peace before the kinges Maiesties counsaile, to geue vnto them admonition and warnyng, diligently as is their duetie, to looke to the obseruyng of such thinges as are committed to their charge, accordyng to the trust which the kinges Maiestie hath in them. Howbeit at this tyme we call you not before vs of custome, but rather of necessitie: for heryng dayly and perceiuyng as we do, the great negligence and little hede which is taken and geuen to the obseruation of the good and wholesome lawes and orders in this realme, whervpon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the kings Maiesties Proclamations, and orders taken by the Counsaile (as we are aduertised) not executed, the people brought to a disobedience, and in a maner all his Maiesties studie and ours in settyng a good and most godly stay to the honour of God, and the quiet of the realme, spent in vaine, and come to nothing. The which as we haue great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh in kepyng the realme in a Godly order and stay, we must nedes impute and lay the fault therof in you which are the Iustices of peace in euery shire. To whome we are wont to direct our writynges, and to whose trust and charge the kings Maiestie hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his actes of Parliament, and of his lawes.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent, and so slack, in that that it doth appere that you do rather looke as it were through your fingers then diligently see to the execution of the sayd lawes and proclamations. For if you would accordyng to your dutyes, to your othe, to the trust which the kinges Maiestie hath in you, geue your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most Godly statutes, and Iniunctions, there shonld no disobedience, no disorder, nor euill rule be begon, or aryse in any part of the realme, but it should by and by be repressed, kept downe, and reformed. But it is feared that the thing it selfe geueth occasion therevnto, that diuers of you do not onely set foorth, but rather hinder, so much as lyeth in you, the kinges Maiesties procedynges, and

5 are

are content that there should aryse some disobedience, and that men should repine against Godly orders set forth by hys Maiestie, you do so slackly loke to the execution of the same: So that in some shires which be farther of, it may appere that the people haue neuer heard of diuers of his Maiesties Proclamations, or if they haue heard, that you are content to winke at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were neuer commaunded. But if you do well consider and remember your duties, first to almightie God, and then to the kinges Maiestie, the welth of the whole realme, the safegarde and suretie of your awne selues: you must nedes see, that except such orders as the Kinges Maiestie hath set, and hereafter shall appoynt to be kept: Neyther the Realme can be defended, if the enemye shoulde inuade, nor in peace it can not stande, but vpon the contempt of good and wholesome lawes, all disorder and inconueniences should come: The people shoulde be wylde and sauage, and no man sure of hys awne. And if at anye tyme there was occasion, and cause to bee circumspect and diligent aboute the same, there was neuer more tyme then nowe. How we stand in Scotlande ye knowe, and that other forreine power maketh great preparation to ayde them, and in deede doth come to their ayde, whereof we are surely informed and certefied. Wherfore if there should not be good order and obedience kept in the realme, the realme were like vtterly to be destroied. Neuer forreine power could yet hurt, or in any part preuaile in this realme, but by disobedience and misorder within our selues. That is the way in the which god will plague vs, if he mind to punish vs. And so long as we do agree among our selues, and be obedient vnto our Prince & to his godly orders & lawes, we may be sure ỹ god is with vs & that foreyn power shall not preuayle against vs nor hurt vs: wherfore once againe and still we must and do lay this charge vpon you that are the best of the shire and Iustices of the peace, that with so conuenient speede as you can, that you do repayre downe into your coũtries, & you shal geue warning to the Gentlemen of the shire that haue no necessary businesse here, ỹ they repayre downe eche man to his country, and there both you and they, who be reconed the stay of euery shire, to see good order and good rule kept. Prouide that your Sessions of Gaole deliuery and quarter Sessions be well kept, and there in your meetinges to be such that Iustice may be well and truly ministred, the offendors and malefactors punished according to the lawes of the realme without any feare of any man, rather then for fauor ye shall suffer those to escape which with their euill example might bring other to the lyke mishap. And that all Vagabons, all lewde & light taletellers & sedicious bearers of false newes of the kinges Maiestie or of his counsaile, or such as will preache without licence, be immediatly by you represt and punished. And if there should chaunce any light or lewde felowes to make any rowtes or ryots or vnlawfull assemblies, any sedicious meetinges, vprores or vprysynges in any place, by the sedicious and diuelish mocion of some priuie Traytors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehende the first aucthors and causers thereof, and certefie vs wyth speede. The lightnesse of the rude and ignorant people must be represt and ordered by your grauitie and wisdome. And here you may not (if any such thing chaunce) dissemble with those such lewde men, and hyde your selues, for it shall be required of you if such misorder be, and surely without your ayde and helpe, or your dissemblyng, such mysorder cannot be. Nor we do not say that we feare any such thing likely to chaunce: But we geue you warning before, least it shoulde chaunce, we haue to much experience in this realme what inconuenience commeth of such matters. And though some light persones in their rage do not consyder it, yet we doubt not but you way it and know it well enough. And if it should chaunce our enimies (who is mayntayned by other forreine power and the Bishop of Rome) sodainly to arriue in some places of England, either driuen by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye ought to se such orders by fiering of their Beacons, as hath alredy bene written vnto you by our letters, to repulse the same in so good array as you can, as we do not doubt but ye will for the safegard of your countrie, so that the enemie shall haue litle ioye of his comming. And for that purpose ye

shall see diligently that men haue horse, harnesse, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the statutes and good orders of the realme and the kinges maiesties commaundements, and so for this time ye may depart.

Man purposeth but God disposeth.

Here is to be noted, that accordyng to the olde adage, Man purposeth but God disposeth. The cause that the former and earnest admonicion was made, specially at this tyme, was onely for feare of the landyng of forreyne powers within this realme. For true it is, that the kinges maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector and other of his Counsaile minded this yere the conquest of Scotland, and for the same had made great prouision aswell beyond the sea in Germanie, from whence he had fiue thousande Launceknightes, whose Capitaine was Cortpeny, of whome mencion is made before at the rasyng and defasyng of the towne of Haddyngton in Scotland: Besyde these also were made other great prouisions within the realme. And the Scottes at this tyme beyng in great feare of England, made such suite to the Pope, and the French king, that they graunted them great ayde, and the French king was with his power in a great readinesse. But beholde the wonderfull worke of God: That which was feared and of vs purposed, came not to passe, and that which was least feared, & little or nothing thought vpon, sodainly happened, to the great daunger of the destruction of the whole realme of Englande (if almightie God had not holpen vs with the mightye arme of his defence) which chaunced by intestine and ciuil warre among our selues, as after ye shall here. By reason whereof those straungers which before were prepared at the kinges Maiesties great costes and charges for the conquest of Scotland, were employed as necessary men to suppresse the rebellion of our awne nation, and to saue England from destruction, such are the workes of the Lorde against mans pollicie.

The kinges Maiestie as aforesayd purposing the inuasion of Scotland, made nowe great prouision for the same. But in this as he did euer before, he vsed all gentle meanes and pollicies to winne them without sheddyng of bloud, if it were possible: wherefore he nowe wrote vnto them a solempne Epistle exhortatory, to moue them to the consideration of themselues, and the state of their Countrie. The Copie of which Exhortation followeth word for word as it was written, and the title thereof was this.

1548 3

¶ Edward by the grace of God Duke of Sommerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchampe, Lorde Seymer, Vncle to the kings highnesse of England, Gouernor of his most royall person, and Protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiectes, Lieutenaunt generall of all his Maiesties Armies, both by lande and sea, Treasurer and Erle Marshall of England, gouernor of the Isles of Gernesey, and Iersey, and knight of the most noble order of the Garter, with others of the counsaile of the sayd most high and noble Prince Edward, by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland king, defender of the fayth, and in earth vnder Christ, the supreme head of the Churches of England and Ireland. To the Nobilitie and Counsaylors, Gentlemen, and the Commons, and all other the inhabitauntes of the realme of Scotland, gréetyng and peace.

An Epistle exhortatory sente the Scottes.

COnsideryng with our selues the present state of things, and weiyng more deepely the maner and termes wherein you and we doe stand. It maketh vs to maruaile what euill and fatall chaunce doth so disseuer your heartes, and maketh them so blinde and vnmindefull of your profite, and to still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreme mischiefes. The which we whom ye will nedes haue your enemyes, go about to take away from you, and perpetually to ease you thereof. And also by all reason and order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to seeke and require moderate agrementes of vs, whome God hath hetherto accordyng to our most iust, true and Godly meanynges and ententes, prospered and set forwarde with your affliction and miserie: Then that we beyng superiors in the field, Maisters of a great part of your realme, should seeke vpon you. Yet to the entent that our charitable myndes and brotherly loue should

not

not ceasse by all meanes possible to prouoke and call you to your awne commoditie and profite. Euen as the father to the sonne, or the elder brother to the yonger brother: And as the louyng Phisitian would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant pacient: We are content to call and crie vpon you, to looke on your state, to auoyd the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers then enemies, and rather Countrimen, then Conquerors. And if your Gouernor or Capitaynes shall reteyne and kepe from you this our exhortation as heretofore they haue done our Proclamation, tendyng to the lyke effect for their awne priuate welth and commoditie, not regardyng though you be still in miserye, so they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, and shall still abuse you with feyned and forged tales: Yet this shall bee a witnesse afore God and all Christen people, betwixt you and vs: that we professyng the Gospell of Iesus Christ, accordyng to the doctrine thereof, do not ceasse to call and prouoke you, from the effusion of your awne bloud, from the destruction of the realme of Scotlande, from perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the finall destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forreyn nations: to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your wryters hath alwayes wished might once come to passe. Who that hath read the storyes in tymes past, and doth marke and note the great Battayles fought betwene England and Scotland, the incursions, rodes, and spoyles, which hath bene done on both the parties. The realme of Scotland fiue times wonne by one king of England. The Scottishe kings sonnes taken prisoners, some slaine in battaile, some for very sorow and discomfort vpon losse, dyyng and departyng the worlde: and shall perceyue agayne that of all nations in the world, that nation onely besyde England, speaketh the same language, and as you and we be annexed & ioyned in one Island: so no people are so like in maner, forme, language, and all condicions as we are. Shall not he thinke it a thing very vnmete, vnnaturall, and vnchristian, that there should be betwixt vs so mortall warre, who in respect of all other nations be and should be like as two brethren of one Islande of great Briteyne? And though he were a straunger to both, what would he thinke more meete then if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, & to be deuided in rulers which is al one in Countrey. And forsomuch as two successors cannot concur and fall into one, by no other maner of meanes then by mariage, whereby one bloud, one lignage, and parentage is made of two, and an indefesible right geuen of both to one, without the destruction and abholishing of eyther. If God should graunt that whatsoeuer you would wishe other then that which nowe not by fortune hath chaunced, but by his infinite mercy, and most inscrutable prouidence, as careful for you he hath geuen vnto you. The which thing that you should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not by blinde fortune, how vnlikely hath it bene, and howe sodainly hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed.

Your last king beyng a prince of much excellency and yong, whom you know aftera promise broken contrary to his honor, and misfortune by Gods iust iudgement following vpon it, God eyther by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take away from you, had three children: Did not almightie God as it were to shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and enemitie of both the nations shoulde be taken away, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men children of those babies beyng distant the one from the other, & in diuerse places both as it were at one time, and within the space of foure and twenty houres leauing but one mayden chylde and princes. A matter worthy to be noted:

When the most wise and victorious Prince late our king and Maister king Henry the eyght in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and most vertuous wife Quene Iane, his other two wifes before that mariage departed this worlde, and neuer surmise nor question made of that mariage sith that time to this daye, nor so much as all her life time, name or motion to or of any other wife, one Prince of so high expectation, of so great gyftes of God, the right and vndoubted heyre of the realme of

England

England and his maiestie onely of male issue left behinde him to succede the imperiall crowne. If nothing else had bene done, what can any wise or any Christian man that thinketh the worlde to be gouerned by Gods prouidence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise but that it was Gods pleasure it should be so that these two realmes should ioyne in mariage, and by a godly Sacrament make a godly, perpetuall, and most friendly vnitie, and concorde, wherby such benefites as of vnitie and concorde commeth, maye through his infinite grace come vnto these realmes. Or if any man of you or of any other nation doubteth hereof (except you looke for miracles) to be done herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two Princes, the children alredy had, the doubtfull chaunce least eche of them should haue a sonne, or both daughters, or not of meete ages, with other circumstances both of the partie of this realme of Englande and that of Scotland, which hath not chaunced in eyght hundred yeres, it must nedes be reconed a great meruell and a miracle. But let it be no miracle seyng that God doth not now speake in Oracles, as amongest the Iewes he did: And present prophecies now a dayes be but eyther not certayne or else not playne: what more certayntie can bee had of Gods will in this case then the before rehersed doth brynge: But if God himselfe should speake: what coulde he speake more, then he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chaunces, yf you be still affiycted and punished, may he not say, I of mine infinite mercy and loue to your nation had prouided a right heyre and a prince to the one, and a right heyre and Princes to the other to be ioyned in my holy lawes, and by the law of nature and the worlde to haue made, and vnitie concorde and peace, in the which Isle of both the realmes, you refused it, you loued better dissention then vnitie, discorde then agrement, warre then peace, hatred then loue and charitie. If you do then therefore smart for it, whome can you blame, but your owne election? But because some of those who maketh herevnto impedimentes, cannot but confesse that there appereth Gods prouidence herein, and oportunitie and occasion geuen to vnitie of both the realmes: yet may hereafter say, and heretofore haue sayde, that the fault herein is, that we seeke not equalitie nor the mariage, but a conquest, we would not be friends but be Lordes. Although our proclamations at the last warres doth enough declare the contrary, yet here we protest and declare vnto you and al Christian people to be the kinges maiesties minde our Maisters by our aduise and counsayle not to conquere, but to haue in amitie, not to wyn by force but to conciliate by loue, not to spoyle and kill, but to saue and kepe, not to disseuer and deuorce, but to ioyne in maryage from high to lowe both the realmes, to make of one Isle one realme in loue, amitie, concorde, peace and charitie. Which if you refuse and driue vs to conquere, who is giltie of the bloudshed? who is the occasion of the warre? who maketh the battayles, the brenning of houses, and the deuastation which shall folow? Can it be denyed but that we haue the great seale of Scotland graunted by the parliament of Scotland for the mariage which should be made with assuraunces and pledges vntill the performances. And this in the time that the late king of most famous mamory our souereigne Lorde king Henry the eyght did reigne, and in the time of the same your Gouernor, who now is the Erle of Arreigne, who then beyng a chiefe doer and laborer therein for the high and inestimable benefite of that realme. So sone as he was by the late Cardinal of saint Andrewes and others, with certayne vaine feares and hopes and greedinesse of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from hys first agreement, and put all the realme to the losse of such holdes and fortresses as are now taken from you, and to the losse of a foughten fielde, for the which we are sory if otherwise peace might haue bene concluded, for his owne priuate lucre and rechelesnesse of that noble realme. And what ende can you looke for of these maner of procedinges, but such successe as heretofore hath bene experimented and assayed? we offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we ouercome in warre and offer peace, we winne holdes and offer no conquest, we get in your land, and offer England. What can be more offered and more profered, then entrecourse of marchandises, and enterchaunge of mariages, the abholishing of al such

The Scots by the consent of a parliamẽt graũted their great Seale for the confirmation of mariage to be had betweene Mary the heire of Scotland and Prince Edward heir of England.

our

our lawes as prohibiteth the same, or might be impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onely to leaue the auctboritie, name, tytle, right, or chaleage, of Conquerour, but to receyue that which is the shame of men ouer commed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glory of any victorie (if any we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent olde name of Briteynes againe, because nothing should be left on our part vnoffered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable, And all the worlde might testifie, all other meanes not beyng able to do any thing, after many other wayes and remedyes attempted, battaile of vs to be taken as an extreeme refuge, to attaine right and reason amongest Christian men. If any man may rightfully make battaile for his espouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great Seale of Scotland promised to the sonne and heyre of England? If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace: This is to make an ende of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, which to confirme we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discerne who hath the better part? God and the sword hath alreadie and shall hereafter if there be no remedie trie it. Who so willeth ỹ mariage to go forward: Who so mindeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the realmes: who willeth no conquest to be had, but amitie and loue to go forwarde, we refuse no man: Let him bring his name, and his pledge of good seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onely be receyued to the amitie, but shall haue sufficient defence agaynst the aduersaries, and recompence of his liuyng if he sustain any losse. We neither do nor entend to put any man from his landes, tackes, or offices: Onlesse he will needes resist, and so compell vs therevnto. What face hath this of conquest? we entend not to disenherite your Queene, but to make her heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can you seeke vnto your Queene then the mariage offered? what more meeter mariage then this with the kinges highnesse of England? What more sure defence in the noneage of your Queene for the realme of Scotland, then to haue England your patrone and Guarrison? we seeke not to take from you your lawes, nor customes: but we seeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuers ye doe sustaine. In the realme of England diuers lawes and customes be according to the auncient vsage thereof. And likewise Fraunce, Normandie, and Gascoygne hath sundrie kinde of orders. Hath all the realmes and dominions that the Emperor now hath one custome, and one sort of lawes? These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of chaungyng the lawes, of makyng a conquest, be driuen into your heades, of those who in dede had rather you were all conquered, spoyled, and slaine, then they would lose any poynt of their will, of their desyre of rule, of their estimation, which they knowe in quietnesse would be seene what it were, as it were in a calme water. Nowe in this tumult of discorde, when the realme is tossed vp and downe with waues and sourges of battaile, famine, and other mischiefes which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espyed. But looke on them you that haue witte and prudence, & consider the state of your Queene, and realme. You will not keepe her sole and vnmaryed, the which were to you great dishonour. If you marry her within the realme, that cannot extinguishe the title which we haue to the Crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuy, grudge, and malice that shall brede among you is easie to perceyue. You will marry her out of the realme, our title remayneth, you be subiectes to a forreyn Prince of another Countrie, and of another language: And vs ye haue your enemies euen at your elbowe, your succours farre of from you. And be we not in the bowelles nowe of the realme? haue we not a great part therof either in subiection or in amitie and loue? who shall come into your realme but he shall be met with, and fought with, if neede be euen of your awne nation, who be faythfull and true to the realme of England in the way of this most Godly vnion by maryage. And if any forreyn power, Prince, or Potentate, or whosoeuer be your ayder to nourishe still discorde, sende you an armie also: How shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your groundes, spende and consume your vittaile, holde you in subiection, and regarde you as slaues which without

Britain was the first name of England and Scotlande.

them

them coulde not liue, and will take your Queene to bestowe as they lust, and specially if their ruler or king (as perchaunce he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupyed, to be a pray to vs, and a true conquest. Then it shall be to late to say, we will haue a maryage, and no conquest: we wishe peace and amitie: we are wery of battaile and miserie. The stubburne ouercommed must suffer the victors pleasure, and partinacite will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue geuen the cause. If they send money and Capitaynes, but no souldiers: First if they be Capitaines, who ruleth, and who doth obey? who shall haue the honour of the enterprice and if it be well atchieued: But whether it be well atchieued or no, which number is that which shall bee slaine? whose bloud shall be shed? their money peraduenture shall be consumed, and their commaundementes obeyed: But whose bodies shall smart for it? whose landes shall bee wasted? whose houses burned? what realme made desolate? Remember what it is to haue a forrein power within you? a strong power of your enemyes vpon you, you as it were the Campe and plaine betwixt them to fight on, and to be troden vpon both of the victor and the ouercommed. And imagine you see before your eyes your wyues, and daughters in daunger of the wantonnesse and insolencie of the Souldiours: The prowde lookes of the Capitaynes, and Souldiors whome you call to helpe you: the contempt you shall bring your nation in: And then take heede least in deede that folowe which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered: that ye shall be by them put from your holdes, landes, tackes, and offices: That your lawes by them shall be altered: that your nation shall by them be destroyed. Consider in this realme: did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out? Where be ỹ Pictes, once a great nation betwixt you & vs? how did the nation of Fraunce put out the Gallcs out of all Fraunce? how got the Turke first all Grecia, & now a late all Hungary, but beyng called in for to ayd and helpe. And did not the Gothes by like meanes get all Italy, and the Lombards one part thereof now called Lombardie? what loke you for more? Nedie souldiors, & hauyng their weapons in their handes, and knowyng that you cannot liue without them, what will they not commaund you to do? what will they not encroche vpon you? what will they not thinke they may do? and what wil they thinke that you dare do? This forreyn helpe is your confusion, that succor is your detriment, the victorie so had is your seruitude. What is then to be thought of losse taken with them? the straungers & forrein souldiors shal oppresse you within: our power and strength without: and of your owne nation, so many as loue quietnesse, godlinesse, & the welth of your realme, shall help also to skourge & afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquite all this calamitie & trouble by mariage: To end al sorowes and battailes by such and so honorable a peace? Hath the Emperor Spain & Burgondie not by title of mariage? How holdeth the French king Britein now lately annexed to that crowne, but by title of mariage? How hath all the great princes of the world happily & with quiet made of two kingdomes one, of diuers Lordshippes one: Of nations alwayes at warre with themselues, or else in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that most Godly, most quiet, & most amiable composition of mariage? Two meanes there is of makyng one rule whereto title is pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two nations: Eyther by force and superioritie, which is conquest, or by equality and loue, which is by parentage and maryage. Ye hate the one, that is conquest: and by refusing the other, you enforce vpon you hatred & malice. You wil not haue peace: you will not haue alliaunce: you wyll not haue concorde, and conquest commeth vpon you, whether ye will or no. And yet if all things were considered, we feare it wyll appeare, that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, then succoured of straungers, lesse losse to your goodes, lesse hurt to your landes, lesse dishonour to your realme. This nation which is one in tongue, one in Countrey and birth, hauyng so litle diuersitie to occupie the whole, then other powers to come into you, neyther like in language, ne yet like in behauiour, who should rule ouer you, and take you to bee but their slaues. But we eftsones and finally declare and protest vnto you, that although for the better furtheraunce of this Godly purpose of vnityng the

realmes, and for the sure defence of them which fauoureth the maryage, we are compelled for the tyme to keepe holdes and to make fortifications in your realme: yet the kings Maiesties minde and determinate pleasure is with our aduise and counsaile to be as before is declared, that where fauor may be shewed, not to vse rigor, if by condicions you will receyue this amitie offered, not to folowe conquest, for we desyre loue, vnitie, concorde, peace, and equality. Let neither your Gouernor, nor your Kirkemen, nor those who so often hath falsifyed their fayth and promise: and by treachery and falshode be accustomed to proroge the tyme, feede you forth with fayre wordes and bring you into the snare, from whence they cannot deliuer you. They wil peraduenture prouide for themselues with pencions in some other realme, & set souldiors straungers in your holdes to kepe you in subiection, vnder the pretence to defend them against vs. But who prouideth pencions for you? Howe are you defended when they bee fledde awaye? Who conquereth you when the straunge Capitaynes hath your Holdes? when your lande is wasted, and the Realme destroyed, and the more parte kept from you? Who will set by the maryage of the Queene to buye a tytle with the warre of Englande, to mary the name, another mightie king holding the land? If we two beyng made one by amitie, be most hable to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garison, and God for defence should make so noble and well agreeing Monarchye, that neyther in peace we may be ashamed, nor in warre afrayed of any worldly or forreine power why should not you be as desirous of the same, and haue asmuch cause to reioyce at it as we? If this honor of so noble a Monarchy do not moue you to take and accept amitie? Let the griefe and the daunger of the aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing which shall displease God, encrease warre, daunger your realme, destroy your land, vndoe your children, waste your groundes, desolate your countryes, and bring all Scotland eyther to famine and misery, or to subiection and seruitude of another nation. We require but your promised Queene, your offered agreement of vnitie, the ioyning of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemency and tender loue that he hath declared to beare to both the nations hath offered vnto vs both, and in maner called vs both vnto it, whose calling and prouocation we haue and will follow to the best of our powers, and in his name and with his ayd, admonition, exhortation, requestes and Ambassades not beyng hable to do it and to finde stablenesse in promises, we shall not willing, but constrained pursue the battayle, chastice the wicked and malicious by the angry Angels of God, the fier and sworde. Wherefore we requyre and exhorte all you who hath loue to your countrie, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your Queene and maistres, regard of your honors and promises made by the great seale of Scotland, and who fauoreth the peace, loue, vnitie and concord, and that most profitable mariage to enter, and to come to vs, and declaring your true and godly heartes therevnto, to ayde vs in this most godly purpose and enterprise: Be witnesse of our doynges, we refuse no man, temporall, nor spyrituall, Lorde ne Lard, Gentleman ne other who will ayde this our purpose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and destruction: To whome we shall kepe the promises heretofore declared, & further se reward and recompence made according to the desert. And for a more sure proofe and playner token of the good mind and will which we beare vnto you. That which neuer yet before was graunted to Scotlande in any league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scotland, because ye shall haue profe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the realmes. The kinges highnesse considering the multitude of them which is come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be well willers and ayders of this godly enterprice, hath by oure aduice and counsayle graunted and by these presentes do graunt, that from hence forth all maner of Marchauntes and other Scottishmen, who will enter their names with one of the Wardeines of the marches and there professe to take part wyth vs in this before named godly purpose to his owne commoditie, and to serue all such as be of the same agreement: may lawfully and without any trouble and vexation enter into any porte, creeke, or hauen of England, and there vse their traffique of marchan-

dise, bye and sell, bring in the commodities of Scotlande, and take and carye foorth the commodities of England as liberally & as frely, and with the same and none other custome or paymentes therefore, than Englishmen and the kinges subiectes doth at these presentes: Mynding further vpon the successe hereof, to gratefie so the furtherers of this most godlye enterprise and vnion, that all the worlde may be witnesse of the great zeale and loue which his highnesse doth beare towardes you and your nation. And all this the kinges highnesse by our aduise & counsaile hath willed to be declared vnto you, and geuen in commaundement vnto vs and all his Lieutenauntes, Wardeines, Rulers, and other hedde Officers, Ministers and subiectes to se executed and done according to the true purporte, effect and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

A proclamation for Enclosures.

Sone after this, the kinges Maiestie by the aduice of the Lorde Protector, and the rest of his counsayle, that is to saye, about the beginning of Iune, set forth a proclamation against Enclosures, for that a great number of poore men had complayned of Gentlemen and other, that they had taken from them, Common of Pasture and Common Fieldes, and had enclosed them into Parkes and pasture, and other such like for their owne commoditie and pleasure, to the vtter vndoyng of the poore men. This proclamation tending to the helpe and relieie of the poore, commaunded that such as had so enclosed the commons, should vpon a peine by a day assigned lay them out againe: But I thinke there were but few that obayed the proclamation, which thing the poore men perceyuing, and seyng none amendement follow vpon the proclamation, rashly without order tooke vpon themselues to redresse, and so gathering themselues together made them Capitaines and brake downe those inclosurs, and cast downe ditches, and in the ende plaide the very part of Rebelles and Traytors.

Insurrection in Cornwall. Humfrey Arondell, Winslade,

But because the first stirre and commotion was made in the West partes of this realme, namely in Cornewall hauing to their Capitaines, Humfrey Arondell, Wynslade, Holmes, and Bery, it shall be verye meete first to entreate of them. These Rebels I say demaunded not onely the enlarging of Commons and disparking of Parkes as is aboue sayd: But they were chiefely offended with the alteration of religion, and desired agayne to haue the Masse, and to haue the statute of six articles restored vnto them. And although the kinges maiestie sent vnto them most gentle letters to cause them to be quyet, and also sent sondry Messenges vnto them, with very good admonitions, yet their rage was such, that nothing could stay them: But that they put themselues in array, and purposed to haue come thorow the realme to the king, but they were stayed at the Citie of Excester, which Citye they besieged almost by the space of syx weekes, and the Citezens therof manfully and politiquely to their great prayse withstoode them and gaue them the repulse.

And first for the pacefiyng of these rebelles the kinges maiestie sent by his commission the right honorable the Lorde Russell, Lorde Pryuie Seale as his Lieutenaunt, and the Lorde Graye of Wilton, with a number of valiaunt souldiers, among whome was three thousande of the Launce knightes that came out of Germany. And first the sayde Lorde Russell when he came thether sent vnto them the kinges Maiesties proclamation, the effect wherof was.

That all such persons as were there vnlawfully assembled, and did not within three dayes next after the proclayming thereof, yelde and submitte themselues to the Lord Priuie Seale (the kinges Lieutenaunt) they should from thence foorth be deemed accepted and taken for Rebels and Traitors against his most royall person, and his imperiall crowne and dignity, & farther the kings maiesty for a more terror to the rebels, and the encoragement of such of his good subiectes as shoulde helpe and ayde to apprehende and take any of the sayde Rebelles: he by his sayd proclamation did graunt and geue all the Offices, Fees, goodes and possessions, that the same Rebelles had at and before their apprehencion.

This proclamation notwithstanding, the sayd rebels, continued in their obstinacie and Trayterous purpose. Wherefore yet once againe the kinges maiesty for auoiding of the sheding of Christian bloud, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing,

to haue reduced them agayne to their obedience, but it would not be. The message was as followeth.

Although knowlege hath bene geuen to vs and our derest Vncle Edward Duke of Somerset, Gouernor of our person and Protector of all our realmes dominions and subiectes, and to the rest of our priuie Counsayle of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing Subiectes, against all order of lawe, and otherwise then euer any louing or kinde subiects hath attempted against their naturall and liege souereigne Lorde: Yet we haue thought it meete at this very first time, not to condempne and reiect you as we might iustly do, but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the Deuil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural borne Englishmen, so sodainly to become enemies to our owne natiue countrie: Or of our subiectes to make you Traytors: or vnder pretence to releue your selues to destroy your selues, your wyfes, children, landes, possessions and all other commodities of this your life. This we say, that we trust that although you be ignorantly seduced, ye will not be vpon knowlege obstinate: And though some amongst you (as euer there is some Cockyll amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their Prince, esteme not the state of the realme, but as careless desperat men delight in sedicion, tumult & warres: yet neuerthelesse the great part of you will heere the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wisedome and counsayle be warned and ceasse your euilles in the beginning, whose endes will be, euen by God almighties order, your owne destruction. Wherfore as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced we speake, and be content to vse our princely auctboritie, like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults not to punish them, to put you in remembrance of your dueties, not to auenge your forgetfulnesse. The kinges message to the Rebelles of Cornewall & Deuonshire.

First your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues agaynst other oure louing subiectes, to arraye your selues to the warre: who amongst you all can aunswere for the same to almightie God, charging you to obey vs in all things? Or howe can any good Englishe heart aunswere vs, our lawes, and the rest of our very good louing and faythfull subiects, who in deede by their obedience make our honor, estate and degree? Disorder in Subiectes.

Ye vse our name in your wrytinges, and abuse the same agaynst our selfe: what iniurie herein do you vs to call those which loue vs to your euill purposes, by the auctboritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordynaunce and prouydence, by our bloud and inheritaunce, by lawfull succession and our coronation. But not to this ende, as you vse our name, we are your most naturall souereigne Lord & king Edward the sixt, to rule you, to preserue you, to saue you from all your outward enemies, to see our lawes well ministred, euery man to haue his awne, to suppresse disordered people, to correct Traytors, Theeues, Pirates, Robbers and such lyke: yea to keepe our realmes from other Princes, from the malice of Scottes, of French, of the Byshop of Rome. Thus good subiectes our name is written, thus it is honored and obeyed, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mannes: So that of this your offence we cannot write to much, and yet doubt not but thys is ynough from a prince to al reasonable people, from a royall king to all kind hearted and louing subiects, from the puyssaunt king of Englande to euery naturall Englishe man. Abusing of the kinges name.

Your pretence, which you saye moueth you to doe thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is eyther all false, or so vaine that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstande the truth therof, ye will all with one voyce knowledge your selues ignorauntly led, and by error seduced: And if there be any one that wil not, then assure you the same be ranke Traytors, enimies of our crowne, sedicious people, heretikes, papistes, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection so they may doe it, nor in deede can waxe so riche with their awne labors and with peace, as they can doe with spoyles, with warres, with robberies, and such lyke, ye with the spoyle of your awne goodes, with the lyuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodyes, the foode of your awne housholdes wiues and children: Such they be, as for False causes.

a time vse pleasant perswasions to you, and in the ende will cut your throates for your awne goodes.

Baptisme. You be borne in hande that your children, though necessitie chaunce, shall not be christened but vpon the holye dayes, howe false this is learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set foorth by the free consent of oure whole parliament in the Englishe tongue teacheth you the contrary, euen in the first leafe, yea the first side of the first leafe of that part which entreateth of Baptisme. Good subiectes (for to other we speake not) looke and be not deceaued: They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they * meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiectes. Be this knowne vnto you, our honor is so much that we may not be founde faultie of one iot or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes ye maye not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie euery daye or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended, but seyng you maye doe it how can ye beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What think you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience against vs your king and souereigne, vpon these so false tales and perswasions in so euydent a matter? Therefore you all which wyll knowledge vs your souereigne Lorde, and which will here the voyce of vs your king, may easily perceiue how you be deceyued, and howe subtilly Traytors and Papistes, with their falshood seeke to atchieue and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe: Euery Traytor will bee glad to dissemble his treason and feede it secretly, euery Papist his popery and nourishe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our subiectes partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a common weale and holynesse.

Sacrament of ye body. &c. And howe are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, the blessed Sacramente of Christes bodye, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations and statutes be all to the contrarie, why shall any priuate man perswade you against them? we doe oure selfe in our awne heart, our counsayle in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our good subiectes in all our doyngs most highly esteeme that Sacrament, and vse the communion therof to our most comfort. We make so much difference therof from other commō bread, that we thinke no profite of other bread, but to maintayne our bodyes: But this blessed bread we take to be the very foode of our soules to euerlasting life. Howe thinke you good subiectes, shall not we beyng your Prince, your Lorde, your king by Gods appoyntment with truth more preuayle, then certayne euill persons with open falshood? Shall any sedicious person perswade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our counsayle and by all oure good subiectes, esteemed, vsed, participated and daylie receyued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceyued, if euer Traytors were beleeued, if euer Papistes poysoned good subiectes it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reuerence of the Sacrament, not the helth of your soules that they shoote at good subiectes: It is sedition: It is highe treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftely, how pitteously, how cunningly soeuer they doe it, with one rule, iudge yee the ende which of force must come of your purposes.

Disobedience to a king is disobedience to almightie God. Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlastyng dampnation, disobedience to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we shoulde be slowe? would God erre? If youre offence be towardes God? thinke you it pardoned without repentaunce? Is Goddes iudgement mutable? Your paine is dampnation, your Iudge is incorruptyble, your fault is most euidēt.

Likewyse are ye euill informed in diuers other articles, as for confyrmation of your children, for the Masse, for the maner of your seruice of Matyns and Euensong: Whatsoeuer is therein ordered hath bene long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learnyng in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late tyme, nothing so fully ended.

Seruice in the English tongue. As for the seruice in the Englishe tongue hath manifest reasons for it, and yet perchaunce seemeth

seemeth to you a new seruice, and in deede is none other but the olde. The selfesame wordes in Englishe which were in Latine, sauyng a fewe thinges taken out, so fonde that it had bene a shame to haue heard them in Englishe, as all they can iudge which lust to report the truth. The difference is that we ment Godly, that you our subiectes should vnderstand in Englishe, beyng your naturall Countrey tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin, then seruyng onely them which vnderstood Latine, and nowe for all you which be borne Englishe. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shoulde vnderstand what any other sayth, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the Church were good in Latine, it remayneth good in Englishe, for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowlege, that before was spoken with ignoraunce, and to let you vnderstand what is sayde for you, to the entent ye may further it wyth your awne deuotion an alteration to the better, except knowlege be worse then ignoraunce: So that whosoeuer hath moued you to mislyke thys order, can geue you no reason nor answere yours if ye vnderstood it. Wherfore you our subiectes remember we speake to you beyng ordeyned your Prince and king by almightie God, if any wise we coulde aduaunce Goddes honour more then we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiectes to Goddes ordinaunce. Obey vs your Prince, and learne of them which haue auctoritie to teache you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our Iustice if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruites be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, and destruction of the realme.

Knowlege is better then ignoraunce.

For the Masse, we assure you, no small studie nor trauaile hath bene spent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to aduoyde all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the very vse as Christ left it, as the Apostles vsed it, as holy fathers deliuered it: in dede somewhat altred from that ỹ Popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you may here the contrary of some Popishe and euill men, yet our Maiestie which for our honour may not be blemished nor stayned, assureth you that they deceyue you, abuse you, and blowe these opinions into your heades, for to furnishe theyr awne purposes.

The Masse.

And so likewyse iudge you of confirmation of Children, and let them answere you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is dampned because he dyeth before Bisshopyng. Marke good subiectes what inconuenience hereof commeth? Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learnyng and theirs vpon shamelesse errors. To conclude, besyde our gentle maner of information to you, whatsoeuer is conteyned in our booke, eyther for Baptisme, Sacrament, Masse, Confirmation, and seruice in the Church is by Parliament established, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Bisshops of the realme deuised, and further by Gods worde confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you geue eare without trembling to any singuler person to disalowe a Parliament? A subiect to perswade against our Maiestie, or any man of his single arrogancie agaynst the determination of the Bishoppes, and all the Clergie, any inuented argument, agaynst the worde of God.

Confirmatiõ of children.

But now you our subiectes, we resort to a greater matter of your vnkindenesse, a great vnnaturalnesse, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not beene begon of ignoraunce, and continued by perswasion of certain traitors amongest you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doynges busie, we could not be perswaded but to vse our sworde and do iustice. And as we be ordeyned of God for to redresse your errors by auengement: But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iust anger, but howe long that will be God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is, and rather for your awne causes beyng our christened subiectes, we would ye were perswaded then vanquished, taught, then ouerthrowen, quietly pacifyed, then rigorously persecuted.

Ye require to haue the statute of six articles reuiued, and knowe you what ye require? Or knowe ye what ease you haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quickly repented, to bloudie they were to bee borne of our people: and yet at the first

Six articles.

in

in deede made of some necessitie. Oh subiectes how are ye trapped by euill persons. We of pitie because they were bloudie toke them away, and you nowe of ignorannce will aske them againe. You knowe full well that they helped vs to extende rygor, and gaue vs cause to drawe our swordе very often. And since our mercy moued vs to write our lawes with mylke and equitie, howe be ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauyng this maner of reasonyng, and resortyng to the truth of our auctoritie, we let you wit, the same hath bene adnulled by Parliament with great reioyse of our subiectes, and not now to be called in question. And dareth any of you with the name of a subiect stand agaynst an act of Parliament, a lawe of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected, or what is your suretie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most surely, that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we doe of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, and this cause of God to be throughly maynteyned, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares bredth, nor geue place to any creature liuyng: But therin will spende our awne royall person, oure Crowne, Treasure, Realme, and all oure state, whereof we assure you of our high honour: For herein resteth our honour: herein do all kinges knowlege vs a king: And shall any one of you dare, breath, or thinke agaynst our Kingdome and Crowne?

The auctoritie of a parliament

In the ende of this your request (as we be geuen to vnderstande) ye would haue them stande in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke that if ye knew what you spake, ye would not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer geuen breath to such a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of lesse auctority for our age? Be we not your king now as we shal be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doyngs in doubt vntil our full age: ye must first knowe, as a king we haue no difference of yeres, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his sufferance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege Lord, the souereigne Prince of Englande, not by our age, but by Gods ordynaunce, not onely when we shall be. xxj. yeres of age, but when we were of ten yeres. We possesse our crowne not by yeres, but by the bloud and dissent from our father king Henry the eyght. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst vtter themselues would denie our kingdome. But our good subiectes knowe their prince, and will encrease, not diminishe his honor, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not differ it to certaine yeres. All is one to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto. xxj. yeres. Be we not your crowned, annoynted and established king? wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse auctoritie or lesse state then our progenitors kings of this realme? Except your vnkindnesse, your vnnaturalnesse will diminishe our estimation? We haue hetherto since the death of our father by the good aduise and counsayle of our dere & entirely beloued Vncle the Duke of Sommerset, our Gouernour and Protector kept oure estate, maintayned oure realme, preserued our honor, defended our people from all enemies. We haue hetherto bene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of Princes, kings and nations. Yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitors, which grace we knowlege to be geuen vs from God, and howe else, but by good obedience, good counsaile of our magistrates, by the auctoritie of our kingdome of Englande, hetherto hath gained honour during our reigne: It hath wonne of the enemy & not lost. It hath bene merueyled that we of so yong yeres haue reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth that you our louyng subiectes of that our country of Cornewall, and Deuonshire, will geue first occasion to slaunder this our realme of England, to geue courage to the enemie to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a pray to our olde enemyes, to diminish our honour which God hath geuen, our father left, our good Vncle and Counsaile preserued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, then euen nowe when our forreyn enemye in Scotland, and vpon the sea seeketh to inuade vs, to do our realme dishonour then to arise in this maner agaynst our lawe, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeaunce, and

to

to geue vs an occasion to spende that force vpon you, which we meant to bestowe vpon our enemyes, to begin to sley you wyth that sworde that we drewe forth agaynst Scottes and other enemyes? To make a conquest of our awne people, which otherwise shold haue beene of the whole realme of Scotlande? Thus farre we haue discended from our high maiestie for loue, to consider you in your simple ignoraunce, and haue beene content to sende you an instruction lyke a father, who of iustice might haue sent you your destructions like a king to rebelles. And nowe we let you knowe, that as you see our mercie abundauntly, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by the liuyng God, ye shall feele the power of the same God in our sworde, which howe mightie it is, no subiect knoweth, how puissaunt it is, no priuate man can iudge, howe mortall it is, no Englishe man dare thinke. But surely, surely, as your Lorde and Prince, your onely king and maister, we say to you, repent your selues, and take our mercye without delay, or else we will forthwith extende our princely power, and execute our sharpe sworde agaynst you, as agaynst Infidelles and Turkes, and rather aduenture our awne royall person, state, and power, then the same shall not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certain which lately did aryse, pretending some griefes, & yet acknowleging their offences, haue not onely receyued most humbly their pardon: but feele also by our order, to whome all publique order onely appertayneth, present redresse of theyr griefes.

In the ende we admonishe you of your duties to God, whome ye shall aunswere in the day of the Lorde, and of your duetyes towardes vs, whome ye shall aunswere by our order, and take our mercy whilest God so enclineth vs, least when ye shall be constrayned to aske, we shall be to much hardened in heart, to graunt it you. And where ye shall heere nowe of mercy, mercy, and life: ye shall then heere of iustice, iustice, and death. Written the. viij. of Iuly, in the thirde yere of our reigne. A godly and Princely admonition.

Although they receyued from the kinges Maiestie this louyng Message, and most Princely and gentle admonicion, yet was their froward and indurate heartes such, that they stoode still at the swordes poynt. Wherfore the right valiant Lorde Russell, and the Lord Gray, with their whole power set vpon them, and they to their powers withstoode them very stoutlye, and at the first were many of the straungers slaine and hurt: But at the length the rebels were distressed, taken, and executed, and their foure chiefe Capitaynes first named in this discourse, that is to say, Homffrey Arondell, Wynslade, Holmes, and Bury, were taken and sent to London and there accordyng to their desertes had iudgement as traytors, and were drawen, hanged and quartered at Tiborne. And many of the people of that Countrey that were doers or mainteiners of this rebellion, were executed among them selues, and many put to great fynes, and losse of offices and liuyngs, as they had right well deserued. Obstinacie in rebels. Execution of rebelles.

And among other the offendors in this rebellion I thought it well to note twaine for the maner of their execution semed straunge. The first was one Bowyer who was Maior of a towne in Cornewall called Bodmyn. This Maior had bene busie among the rebelles, but some that loued hym sayd that he was forced therevnto, and that if he had not consented to them, they would haue destroyed him and his house. But howsoeuer it was, this was his ende. On a certaine day Sir Anthony Kingstone beyng Prouostmarshall in the field wrote his letter vnto the sayde Maior declaring that he and certayne other with him would come and dine with him such a day. The Maior seemed to be very ioyous thereof and made for him very good preparation. And at the time appoynted, Sir Anthony Kingstone with his company came and were right hartely welcomed to the Maior. And before they sate downe to dinner, sir Anthony calling the Maior a syde shewed him that their must be execution done in that towne, and therefore willed him with speede to cause a payre of Gallowes to be made, that the same might be redy by the ende of dinner. The Maior went dilligently about it, and caused the same to be done. When dinner was The Maior of Bodmyn in Cornewall hanged.

ended

ended Sir Anthony called the Maior vnto him and asked him if that were redy that he spake to him of, and he aunswered it was redy. Then he tooke the Maior by the hand and prayed him to bring him to the place where the same was, and he so did. And when sir Anthony saw them, he sayde vnto the Maior, thinke you they be strong enough? yea Sir sayd he, that they are. Well then sayd sir Anthony get you euen vp to them for they are prouided for you, the Maior cryed I trust you meane no such thing to me, Sir sayth he there is no remedy you haue bene a busie Rebell, and therefore this is appoynted for your rewarde, so that without longer respite or tariyng, there was the Maior hanged.

At the same time also and nere vnto the place, there was a Myller who had bene a very busy Verlet in that rebellion, whome also Syr Anthonye Kingston sought for: But the Myller had warning, and he hauing a good tall felow to his seruaunt called him vnto him and sayd, I must go foorth, if their come any to aske for me, say that thou art the owner of the Myll, and that thou hast kept the same this foure yeres, and in no wise name not me. The seruaunt promised his Maister so to do. Afterward came syr Anthony Kingston to the Myllers house and called for the Miller, the seruaunt aunswered that he was the Miller. Then sayd Maister Kinston how long hast thou kept this Mill, and he aunswered three yeres. Well then sayde he come on thou must go with me, and caused his seruauntes to lay handes on hym, and brought him to the next tree, saiyng you haue bene a rebellious Knaue, and therfore here shall you hang. Then cryed he & sayd that he was not the Miller, but the Millers seruaunt, well then sayd he you are a false knaue to be in two tales, therefore hange him vp sayd he, and so he was hanged. After he was hanged, one beyng by, sayd to syr Anthony Kingstone, surely this was but the Millers man, what then sayd he? could he euer haue done his Maister better seruice than to hang for him.

Common rebellion. Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Middlesex, Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke. Robert Kett William Ket.

In this meane tyme the whole realme in a maner in euery shire were gathered together in vnlawfull assemblies, as Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Middlesex, Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke, whose Capitaynes were, Robert Kette a Tanner, and William Kette his brother, against whome was sent by the kinges maiestie the Lorde Marques of Northhampton, beyng slenderly prouided of all thinges necessary for such an enterprise. Which beyng perceyued of the Rebelles, they tooke corage thereby the more stoutely to withstand them. Neuerthelesse he entred the Citie of Norwich, and liyng there one night, he was sore assaulted by the rebelles, which in number were three times as many as came wyth him. By reason whereof he was forced to retire, with the losse of diuerse of his company, namely of the gentle Lord Sheffelde, who by the sayd rebelles was cruelly murdered, to the great discomfort of the sayd Lorde Marques, and other Gentlemen that at that time attended vpon him. And after the said rebels beyng puffed vp with vain glorye, did vse towardes the Gentlemen of that countrye great crueltie, in fetching them out of their houses and brought them to their camp, and compelled some of them to be their counsaylors, whether they woulde or not, as Sergeaunt Gaudy, Sergeaunt Catlyn, and many other: But yet they trusted them not so well, but they clapped a payre of Fetters vpon their heeles, to keepe them safe when they had them from steppyng away. And the place where the common meetyng and counsaile was kept, was at a certaine tree, which they called the tree of Reformation.

Sir Iohn Dudley Erle of Warwick.

After that the Lorde Marques hauyng the repulse as aforesayde, was returned. Then the kinges Maiestie sent that valiaunt and warlike knight syr Iohn Dudley Erle of Warwick agaynst them wyth a greater number, & better furnished: Who also had with him two thousand of ỹ Launceknights that we spake of before, which were retayned to go into Scotlande: which Launceknightes at that iournay did great and good seruice, and fought valiauntly and manfully, although many of them were slaine. Nowe when the Erle of Warwicke, who was not onely a valiaut and hardie Gentleman, but also wise and pollitique, was come nere to the rebelles, he marched forwarde in so good order, that the re-

belles began to feare. But yet as men desperate they gathered themselues together, and stoutly set forth and aduentured the battaile with the sayde Erle, who beyng a very politique Capitaine, assaulted them first with the sayde straungers, beyng footemen on the front, whilest he and his horsemen gaue the charge on the flanke of their battaile, whereby the battaile of the sayde rebelles began to breake, and in conclusion was vtterly scattered, and a great number of them slaine, and Kette theyr chiefe Capitaine put to flight. Neuerthelesse the residue, as desperate men reinforced the battaile, meanyng to make triall of a newe field. But the Erle loth to procede to the destruction of the whole number, consideryng that they were our awne Nation and people, did very mercifully send an Herault vnto them, saiyng, that if they woulde deliuer vnto him such as were their Capitaynes and chiefe heades, the rest should receyue the kinges most gracious pardon, and haue fre libertie to depart euery man to his house and Country. The which pardon they would not at the first seeme to receyue, vntill they sawe the sayde Erles maine battaile to approche, and the horsemen with the straungers readie to geue a newe onset, whereof they standyng in feare, yelded themselues vnto the kinges mercie and pardon, who accordyng to the Erles promise made by his Herault, were all pardoned, sauyng certaine to the number of. xxiiij. chiefe sturrers in this rebellion, who were presently executed. And after Robert Kett, and William Kett his brother, which before were fled, were taken, and brought first to the Erle, and then sent vp to the king to Westminster, and from thence they were sent againe into Norffolke, and there executed accordyng to their merits. Thus was this rebellion of Norffolke by the singuler prouidence and manhoode of this noble Erle pacifyed by the punishment of a fewe, without any losse of life, landes, or goodes, to any other of the Countrie.

Robert Ket and William Kette taken and executed.

Duryng the tyme of these commotions and sturres in Englande, the Frenche king vnderstandyng of the same, did not onely staye his power for goyng into Scotlande, but beyng in great desyre to haue agayne Bolleyne, he thought now was the time, or else neuer, wherefore with all speede possible he directed his letters to all his nobles, knightes and Capitaynes that they should vpon the sight of the sayd letters, put themselues in a redynesse, and attend vpon him with suche power and furniture as they were hable to make in the countie of Bollonoys, the first day of September next folowing. At which time the king came to Monstrell, where he founde the Constable of Fraunce and Mounsire de Aumale putting their armie in a readinesse. And the next day folowyng, the Frenche king beyng accompanyed with the sayde Lordes and their power, set forwarde towarde Bolleyn, and after came and besieged sundry pyles and fortes which the English men had there buylded and wonne them, and namely one Castell, which the English men called hable Neufe or newe Hauen, wherein as sayth the writer of the Annales of Fraunce, were foure Ensignes of Englishe men, which beyng sore beaton with the Canon, yelded to the French king. And likewise Boleyne Barke and Blacknesse, the which fortes when the French king had recouered, and had furnished them with men and munition for defence, he then returned into Fraunce with great triumph.

The French king practiseth the getting of Bulleyne.

In this meane time, while the Frenche king was thus occupied about Bolleyn in Fraunce, the kings maiestie was still occupied in quyeting and pacefiyng of his rebellious people in Englande, and finally to pacefie them and to set them all at rest, the king published his graces most generall and free pardon to all rebels, so that they would foorthwith vpon the publication of the sayde pardon, euerye man to returne to his house and countrey, which they gladly did, and so thys sedicious and most daungerous rebellion seased.

Also in this busie time, Mary Stuart Queene of Scots was conueyed by Sea out of Scotland into Fraunce, and there the. xix. day of Aprill. 1548. was maryed in our Lady Church in Paris with great triumph and solempnitie vnto Fraunces the Dolphyn, eldest sonne vnto king Henry the seconde of that name French king.

Mary Stuart Queene of Scottes conueied into Fraunce.

After these hurly burlyes were pacefied and quieted, many of the Lords of the realme, as well counsaylors as other mislyking the gouernement of the Protector, began to withdrawe

The counsail withdrawe themselues into priuate conferences.

drawe themselues from the Courte, and resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redresse of things, but namely for the displacing of the sayde Lorde Protector, and sodainely of what occasion many maruayled and fewe knewe, euery Lorde and Counsaylor went thorowe the Citie weaponed, and had their seruauntes likewise weaponed attendyng vpon them in newe lyuerings to the wondering of many. And at the last, a great assemble of the sayde Counsaylors was made at the Erle of Warwikes lodging which was then at Ely place in Holborne, whether all the Confederates in this matter came priuily armed, and finally concluded to possesse the Tower of London, which by the pollecie of Sir Wylliam Paulet Lorde Treasorer of Englande was peaceably obteyned for them, who by order of the sayde Confederates, immediatly remoued Sir Iohn Markam then Lieutenant of the Tower, and placed in that rome syr Leonard Chamberleyne. And after that the sayde counsayle was broken vp at Ely place, the Erle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the Citie of London, and laye in the house of one Iohn Yorke Citezen of London, who was then chiefe mayster of the Mynt in Southwarke in Suffolke place, which Yorke was shortly after by the ayde of the sayde Erle of Warwike made by the king knight, by the name of syr Iohn Yorke.

The Protector remoueth in haste with the king to Windsore.

The Lorde Protector hearing of the maner of the assembly of this counsaile, & of the taking of the Tower which seemed to him verie straunge and doubtfull, did presently the saide night remoue from Hampton Court, taking the king with him vnto the Castell of Wyndsore, and there began to fortefie the same.

The Lordes of the Counsayle beyng then in London as aforesaide conferred with the Maior of London and his brethren, first wylling them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good warde by daye to be kept for the safegarde of the Citie, and the portes and gates thereof, which was consented vnto: and the Companyes of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

Then the sayd Lords and counsaylors demaunded of the Lord Maior and his brethren fiue hundred men to ayde them to fetch the Lorde Protector out of Wyndsore from the king. But thervnto the Maior aunswered that he could graunt no ayde without the assent of the common counsayle of the Citie. Wherevpon the next daye, a common counsayle was sommoned to the Guyldhall in London.

But in this meane time, the sayde Lordes of the counsayle assembled themselues at the Lorde Maiors house of London, who then was syr Iohn Amcotes Fishemonger, and William Locke Mercer, and syr Iohn Aileph Shiriefes of the sayde Citie. And there the sayde Counsaile agreed and published a proclamation forthwith agaynst the Lorde Protector, the effect of which proclamation was as foloweth.

A proclamation published agaynst the Lord Protector.

First, that the Lord Protector by his malicious and euill gouernement was the occasion of al the sedition that of late had happened win the realme.

The losse of the kings peeces in Fraunce.

That he was Ambicious and sought his awne glory, as appered by his building of most sumpteous and costly houses, and specially in the time of the kings warres, and the kings souldiours vnpayde.

That he esteemed nothing the graue counsayle of the Counsaylors.

That he sowed sedicion betwene the nobles, the gentlemen & common.

That the nobles assembled themselues together at London for none other purpose, but to haue caused the Protector to haue liued within lymits, and to haue put suche order for the kings maiestie as apperteyned, whatsoeuer the Protectors doings were, which, (as they sayde) were vnnaturall, ingrate and Trayterous.

That the Protector slaundered the counsayle to the king, and did that in him laye to cause variaunce betwene the king and his nobles.

That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lordes desired the Citie and the commons to ayde them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testimonie of the

contents

contentes of the sayde proclamation, the Lordes subscribed their names and tytles, beyng sixtene in number.

After the aforesayd proclamation was proclaymed, the Lordes or the most part of them continuing and liyng in London, came the next day to the Guyldhall during the time that the Lord Maior & his brethren, sate in their court or inner chamber, and entred and commoned a long while with them, and at the last, the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the cõmon counsayle, where was read the kinges letter sent vnto the Maior and Citezens, commaunding them to ayd him with fiue hundred men, and to send the same to his Castell at Windsore: and to the same letter was adioyned the kinges hand and the Lorde Protectors. On the othersyde by the mouth of the Recorder, it was requested that the Citezens would graunt theyr ayde rather vnto the Lordes, for that the Protector had abused both the kinges maiestie and the whole Realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to vnderstand his folly, this realme was in great hasard, and therfore required ỳ the Citezens would willingly assent to ayd the Lordes with fiue hundred men, herevnto was none other answere made but scilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was a worthy gentleman called Maister Brooke) still cryed vppon them for aunswer. At the last stepped vp a wise and good Citezen and sayd, in this case it is good for vs to thinke of thinges past to auoide the daunger of thinges to come. I remember, sayth he, in a story written in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betweene the king and his Barons, which was in the time of king Henry the third, and the same time the Barons as our Lordes do now demaunded ayde of the Maior and Citie of London, & that in a rightfull cause for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuers good lawes, whervnto the king before had geuen his cõsent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the Citie did ayde the Lords, & it came to an open battayl, wherin the Lordes preuayled and toke the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certayne condycions, the Lordes restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other condicions, this was one that the king should not only graunt his pardon to the Lords, but also to the Citezens of London, which was graunted, yea and the same was ratefied by act of parliament. But what followed of it? was it forgotten? no surely, nor forgeuen during the kinges life, the lyberties of the Citie were taken away, Straungers appoynted to be our Heades and Gouernors, the Citezens geuen away bodye and goodes, and from one persecution to another, were most miserably afflicted, suche it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon sayth, the wrath & indignation of a Prince is death. Wherefore forasmuch as this ayde is requyred of the kinges maiestie, whose voyce we ought to hearken vnto, for he is our high shepherd, rather then vnto ỳ Lords: and yet I would not wish the Lords to be clerely shakē off, but that they with vs, and we with them may ioyne in sute and make our most humble peticion to the kinges maiestie, that it woulde please his highnesse to heere such complaynt against the gouernement of the Lorde Protector as maye be iustly alleged and proued. And I doubt not, but this matter will be so pacefied, that neither shall the king, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to secke for further ayde, neyther we to offend any of them both. After this tale, the commons staied, and the lord Maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterwarde commoned with the Lordes.

The kinges letter read to the Citezens.

A Citizens tale tolde in the common counsaile of London.

The Lordes sate the next daye in counsayle in the Starre Chamber and from thence they sent Sir Phillipe Hobby, with their letter of credence to the kinges maiestie, beseching his highnesse to geue credite to that which the sayd Sir Phillip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: and the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gentely heard all that he had to saye. And truely he did so wisely declare his message, and so grauely tolde his tale in the name of the Lordes, but therewithall so vehemently and so grieuously against the Protector, who was also there present by ỳ king, that in the ende, the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kinges presence and shortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Castel of Windsore called Beauchampes Tower. And sone after were

Sir Phillip Hobby sent to the king by the Lordes.

The Lorde Protector committed to prison in Windsore Castell.

were staied Sir Thomas Smith, Maister Whalley, Maister Fisshey, and many other Gentlemen that attended vpon the Lorde Protector. And the same daye, the Lordes of the Counsayle came to Wyndsore to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector and the other that were there stayed, and conueied them through the Citie of London with as much wonderment as might be vnto the Tower, where they remayned prisoners.

The Lorde Protector committed to the Tower.

Shortly after the Lordes resorted vnto the Tower, and there charged the Protector with sundry articles, which for tediousnesse I omyt.

A parliamẽt.

Shortly after this, the kings maiestie called his high Court of parliament, and helde the same at Westminster, the xxiiij. day of Nouember, in the thirde yere of his reigne, and there contynued the same vntyll the first daye of February next folowyng, which was in the fourth yere of his graces reigne. And among other thinges there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebelles and vnlawfull assemblies, the which lawe was made by occasion of the late rebellion that had happened in maner thoroweout the realme the yere passed, and was not thought nor ment to haue touched any Noble man, and specially none such as the Duke of Sommerset was, which after as it shall appere it did, and by that statute he was condemned within two yeres next after.

An acte for vnlawfull assemblies.

1549

After the ende of this parliament, the Erle of Warwick hauing then highest aucthoritie, and the rest of the Lordes of the counsayle, calling to remembraunce howe the last yere in the time of rebellion, the French king had entred into Bullonoys, and wonne dyuers of the Englishe forts there, beyng of great importaunce for the defence of the towne and Countrey, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernement of the Lorde Protector. And forsomuch as they well vnderstood that the Frenche king vpon further practise, had placed a Capitayne called the Rhynegraue with dyuers regiments of Almayne, Launceknightes and certayne ensignes of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thousande at the towne of Marguyson, beyng the midway betwene Bolleyn and Calice, to the great perill and daunger as well of the Countie of Bullonoys as also of Calice, Guysnes and all the lowe countrey. The king therfore for the defence of the sayde Frontiers, caused all the straungers, which had serued that yere against the rebels, beyng to the number of two thousande, to be transported ouer the Sea to the Marches of Calice. And at Christmas next folowyng by order of the sayde Erle and of the Counsaylors aforesayde, Fraunces Erle of Huntyngdon with syr Edwarde Hastynges his brother, Sir Iames Croft, Sir Leonard Chamberleyn, and dyuers other Capytaines and souldyours to the number of three thousand were sent ouer to the Marches of Calice to ioyne with the sayde straungers, minding with as conuenient speede as they might to remoue the Campe, and otherwise to annoy the French. And about the seauenth day of Febrnarie certayne commissioners appoynted for this treatie, that is to wyt, the Erle of Bedford, the Lorde Paget, Sir William Peter the kinges chiefe Secretary, and syr Iohn Mason arryued at Calice: By reason of whose comming, the Erle of Huntyngdon and the armie sent ouer before for the defence of the Frontires were countermaunded from anye further attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voyage, sauing certaine skirmishes at dyuers times, not much materiall to be written of.

A power sent ouer to resist the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

These commissioners beyng thus arryued, passed from Calice to Bolleyne, there to meete with the commissioners appointed by the French king where as a certayne house was newly erected for the sayd treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Boleyn hauen next to Fraunce, where after diuers meetings and conferences of the commissioners of eyther partie, a finall peace was at the last concluded betwene both the realmes. But chiefly among other thinges, for the restitution of Bolleyn and Bollonoys vnto the French, which was vpon certayne conditions followyng.

A peace concluded with Fraunce.

First that the French king should yeelde and paye to the king of Englande a certayne somme of money, and the same to be payde at two payments, as it was then agreed, and for the same somme, the king of Englande should render the towne of Bolleyne, and all the

the Fortes thereto adioyning, whiche he then enioyed, with all suche artillarie and municion as was there founde at the taking of the same vnto the french king. And for the sure payment of the sayde sommes, the french king sent into Englande for hostages and pledges, the Countie of Angwyn, Lewys the Lorde of Vendosme hys brother, the Vidame of Charters, and Duke de Aumale and other. And on saint Markes daye next folowyng, beyng the .xxv. daye of Aprill about eyght of the clock in the morning, the Englishe men did delyuer to the french men the possession of Bolleyn, and the Castels and Fortes in the Countie of Bollonoys according to the agrements and articles of the peace afore mencioned. And the fiftene day next folowyng, the French king entred into the sayde towne of Bolleyn, with Trumpets blowen, and with all the royall tryumph that might be, where he offered one great Image of Siluer of our Ladye in the Church there, which was called oure Ladye Church. The which Image he had caused specially to be made in the honor of the sayde Ladie, and caused the same to be set vp in the place where the lyke Image before did stande, the which before was taken awaye by the Englishe men at the wynning of the towne.

Bolcyn geuen vp to the frenche king.

The enterăce of the frenche king into Bulleyne.

Soone after this agreement, the Duke of Sommerset late Protector, was deliuered out of the Tower, and because of suspition of displeasure and hatred that was thought to be betwene the Erle of Warwike, and the Duke of Sommerset, a meane was found that their friendship shoulde be renued through alliaunce, and a mariage was concluded betwene the Erle of Warwickes eldest sonne, and the Duke of Sommersets eldest daughter, the which maryage was solempnised at Shene, the king beyng then present.

The Duke of Sõmerset deliuered out of y^ Tower.

A mariage made betwene the Duke of Somersets daughter and the Duke of Northumberlandes sonne.

After the solemnitie of this mariage, there appered outwardly to the worlde great loue and friendship betwene the Duke and the Erle, but by reason of Caritales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit many did very earnestly wishe loue and amitie to continue betwene them.

About this tyme there was at Feuersham in Kent a Gentleman named Arden most cruelly murdered and slaine by the procurement of his awne wyfe. And she for the same fact was burned at Cauntorbury, and certaine other that were the doers therof were hanged in diuers places of the realme.

1550

Arden murthered.

At this tyme also the kinges Maiestie called his highe Court of Parliament, and helde the same at Westminster the. xxiij. day of Ianuary, in the fift yere of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the. xv. day of Aprill in the sixt yere of his reigne.

A parliament.

In this Parliament the booke of common prayer, which in some part had bene corrected and amended, was newly confirmed and established. And in the ende of this Parliament there chaunced a great and contagious sicknesse to happen in ỹ realme, which was called the sweatyng sicknesse, wherof a great number of people dyed in a small tyme, namely in the Citie of Lõdon. And it seemed that God had appoynted the sayde sicknesse onely for the plague of Englishmen, for the most that died thereof were men and not women nor children. And it so folowed the Englishmen, that such Marchants of England as were in Flaunders and Spaine, and other Countries beyond the sea were visited therewithall, and none other nation infected therewith. And it began first in Aprill in the North partes, and so came through the realme, and continued vntill September next folowyng. The disease was sodaine and grieuous, so that some beyng in perfite health in one houre, were gone and dead within foure houres next folowyng. And the same being whote and terrible inforced the people greatly to call vpon God, and to doe many deedes of Charitie. But as the disease ceassed, so the deuocion quickly decayed.

The sweting sickenesse.

At this tyme also, the kinges Maiestie with the aduice of his priuye Counsaile, and hauyng also great conference with Marchauntes and other, perceiuyng that by such coynes and copper moneys as had bene coyned in the tyme of the king his father, and nowe were commonly currant in the realme, and in dede a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were curraunt at, to the great dishonor of the kinges Maiestie and the realme, and to the deceyte and no little hinderaunce of all the kinges Maiesties good subiectes,

The embasing of the Coyne.

iectes, did now purpose not onely the abacyng of the sayd copper moneys, but also ment wholy to reduce them into Bollion, to the entent to deliuer fine & good moneis for them. And therfore in the Moneth of Iuly by his graces Proclamation, he abaced the peece of xij. pence cõmonly called a Teston vnto. ix. pence, & the peece of foure pence vnto three pence. And in August next folowyng, the peece of. ix. pence was abaced to six pence, and the peece of three pence vnto two pence, and the penny to an halfepenny.

The Duke of Sõmerset againe aprehended and committed to the Tower.

The. xj. day of October, there was a great creation of Dukes & Erles, as the Lord Marques Dorset was created Duke of Suffolke, the Erle of Warwicke made Duke of Northumberland, & the Erle of Wiltshire made Marques of Winchester, & syr Wylliam Herbert maister of the horse, was made Erle of Pembrooke, and dyuers Gentlemen were made knightes.

The. xvj. day of the said month being Fryday, the Duke of Sommerset was againe apprehended, and his wife also, and committed to the Tower, and with him also were cõmitted sir Mighell Stanhop, sir Thomas Arondell, sir Raufe Auane, sir Miles Partridge, and other, for suspition of treason and felony, whereof, they all were shortly after indicted, and so standyng indicted, the seconde day of December next folowyng, the sayde Duke was brought out of the Tower of London with the Axe of the Tower borne before him, with a great number of Billes, Gleues, Holbardes, and Polaxes, attendyng vpon him, and so came into Westminster Hall, where was made in the middle of the Hall a new Scaffold, where all the Lordes of the kings Counsaile sate as his Iudges, and there was he arreigned and charged with many articles both of treason and felony. And when after much milde speche he had aunswered not giltie, he in all humble maner put himselfe to be tryed by his Peeres, who after long consultation among themselues, gaue their verdict that he was not giltie of the treason, but of the felony. The people there present which was a great number, heeryng the Lordes say not giltie, which was to the treason, thinkyng most certainly that he was clerely acquited, and chiefly for that, immediately vpon the pronouncyng of those wordes, he that caryed the Axe of the Tower, departed with the Axe, they made such an outcrie and ioy, as the lyke hath not bene heard, which was an euident declaration of their good willes borne towardes him: But neuerthelesse, he was condempned to the death, whereof shortlye after he tasted. The felonie that he was condempned of, was vpon the statute made the last yere agaynst rebelles and vnlawfull assemblyes, wherein among other thinges is one braunch, that whosoeuer shall procure the death of any Counsaylor, that euery such attempt or procurement shall be felonye. And by force of that statute the Duke of Sommerset beyng accompanyed with certaine other, was charged that he purposed and attempted the death of the Duke of Northumberlande, the Lorde Marques, the Lorde of Pembroke, and others of the priuie Counsaile, the which by statute was felony.

The Duke of Sõmerset condempned returneth to the Tower.

After the Duke was thus condempned, he was againe returned to the Tower, and landed at the Crane of the Vintrye, and so passed through London, where were both exclamations, the one cryed for ioye, that he was acquyted, the other cryed out that he was condempned. But howsoeuer they cryed, he was conueied to the Tower of London, where he remayned vntill the. xxij. daye of Ianuary next following.

The Duke beyng condempned as is aforesayd, the people spake diuersly and murmored against the Duke of Northumberlande, and against some other of the Lordes for the condempnation of the sayd Duke, and also as the common fame went, the kinges maiestie tooke it not in good part: wherfore aswell to remoeue fond talke out of mennes mouthes, as also to recreate and refreshe the troubled spirites of the yong king, it was deuised that the feast of Christes Natiuitie, commonly called Christmas then at hand, should be solemply kept at Greenewiche with open houshold, and franke resorte to the Court, (which is called keping of the Hall,) what time of olde ordinarye course, there is alwayes one appoynted to make sporte in the Courte, called commonly Lorde of Misrule, whose office is not vnknowne to such as haue bene brought vp in Noblemens houses, and among great

great house keepers, which vse liberall feasting in that season. There was therefore by order of the counsaile a Gentleman both wise and learned, whose name was George Ferrers appoynted to that office for this yere: who beyng of better calling then commonly his predecessors had bene before, receyued all his commissions and warrauntes by the name of the Maister of the kinges pastimes. Which Gentleman so well supplyed his office, both in shew of sundry sightes and deuises of rare inuention, and in act of diuers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons, as not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsayle and other of skill in the like pastimes: But best of al by the yong king himselfe, as appered by his princely liberalitie in rewarding that seruice.

George Ferrers maister of the kings pastymes.

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, wherewith the mindes and eares of murmorers were meetely well appeased, according to a former determination as the sequele shewed, it was thought now good to proceede to the execution of the iudgement geuen against the Duke of Somerset touching his conuiction and attaynder of the felony afore mencioned. Wherevpon the xxij. daye of Ianuary then next following beyng Fryday, he was brought out of the Tower, and according to the manner deliuered to the Shrifes of London, and so with a great company of the Gard and other wyth weapones, was brought vnto the Skaffolde, where he shoulde suffer. And there nothing changyng voyce nor countenaunce, but in a maner with the same gesture that he partely vsed at home kneling downe vpon both his knees, and lifting vp his handes erected himselfe vnto God. And after that he had ended a few shorte prayers, standing vp againe and turning him selfe towardes the East syde of the Skaffolde, he vttered to the people these wordes in effect.

The execution of the Duke of Somerset.

Derely beloued Maisters and friendes, I am brought hether to suffer, albeit that I neuer offended against the king, neyther by worde nor deede, and haue bene alwayes as faythfull and as true vnto the realme as any man hath beene. But forsomuch as I am by a law condempned to dye, I do acknowlege my selfe as well as other to be subiect therevnto. Wherefore to expresse and testefie my obedience, which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hether to suffer death, whervnto I willingly offer my selfe, geuing most hartie thanks vnto the deuine goodnesse, as if I had receyued a most ample and great rewarde: For this it is thought good in the sight of the most mercifull father now to graunt me this time of repentance, & to acknowlege my self, who might through sodaine death haue stopped my breath, that I should neyther acknowlege him nor my selfe, in which behalfe I worthely with my whole hart render thankes vnto him. And moreoner gentle friends, there is yet some what that I must put you in mynde of, verely as touching religion, which so long as I was in authority I did alwayes dilligently set forth vnto you, neither do I repent me of my doings, but rather therof take most abundaunt and true occasion of reioysing, now that the state of Christian religion seemeth to drawe most nere vnto the forme of an order of the Primatiue Church. Of which thing I do not onely reioyce, but also interpret it as a great benefite geuen of God both vnto you and me, most hartely exhorting you all that this which is most purely set foorth vnto you, you will with like thankfulnesse accept & embrace and set out the same in your liuinges, which thing if you do not, great mischiefe and perill will follow.

The Duke of Sommersets saiyng to the people.

And when he had spoken the aforesayd wordes, sodaynely a terror and feare possessed all mennes hartes, and surely the people present were so dismayde, that they ranne together vpon heapes, and fled as though they had seene some armed men to make resistaunce and cryed out, Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which taried still in their places knew not where they were. The diuerse and sundrye noyses of those which cryed oute, made the sodaine tumulte muche more confused then it woulde haue beene, albeit of it selfe it was trouble inough, for as euery man thought himselfe to be in daunger, so he cryed out, so many and sundrye noyses were heard, this waye and that way they come.

A sodaine feare amongst the people.

In the meane time whilst these things were thus in doyng, the people by chaunce es-

pyed one syr Anthony Browne knight, ridyng toward the Scaffolde, which was the occasion of a new noyse: For when they saw him comming, euen at that tyme, they suspected that which was not true, & yet notwithstanding, it was that which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger, had sent his Vncle pardon, and therefore with great reioysing they cryed out pardon, pardon is come, God saue the king.

The truth of this hurly burlye grewe hereof, as it was after well knowne. The maner and custome is that when such executions are done out of the Tower, the inhabitaunts of certayne Hamlets round about London, as Hoggsdon, Newyngton, Shordiche and other are commaunded to geue their attendaunce with weapons vpon the Lieutenaunt. And at this tyme, the Duke being vpon the Scaffolde by eyght of the clocke in the morning, the people of one of the Hamlets came late, and comming thorough the posterne gate espiyng the Duke on the Scaffolde, made haste and beganne to runne, and cryed to their felowes that were behind come away, come away. The people sodainely beholding them to come running with weapons, and knewe not the cause cried away, away, by reason whereof the people ranne euery way, not knowing whether nor wherfore.

The Duke in the meane time standing still both in the same place and minde where he was before with his Cap which he shooke with his hande made a signe vnto the people, that they should kepe themselues quiet, which thing being done and scilence obteyned, he spake to them the seconde time in this maner.

The second spech of the Duke of Somerset to the people.

Dearely beloued friendes, there is no suche matter here in hande as you vainely hope or beleue, it seemeth thus good vnto almightie God, whose ordinaunce it is meete and necessary that we all be obedient vnto, wherfore I pray you all to be quyet and without tumult, for I am euen nowe quyet, and let vs ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde for the preseruation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wishe contynuall health with all felicitie and abundaunce and all maner of prosperous successe, wherevnto the people cryed out Amen. Moreouer sayth the Duke, I wishe vnto all his counsaylors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they maye rule all thinges vprightly with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lorde to shewe your selues obedient, the which is also verye necessarie for you vnder the paine of condempnation, and also most profitable for the preseruation and sauegarde of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore, I haue had often times affaires with diuers men, and that it is heard to please euerye man, therefore if there be any man that hath bene offended or iniured by me, I most humbly require and aske him forgeuenesse. But especially almightie God, whome thorowout all my life I haue most greeuously offended. And vnto all other whatsoeuer they be that haue offended mee, I doe with my whole heart forgeue them. And once agayne derely beloued in the Lord I require you that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorowe your tumult you might cause mee to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profite me, neyther be any pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirite be wylling and readie, the fleshe is frayle and wauering, and through your quietnesse, I shall be much more the quieter: But if that you fall to tumult it will be great trouble and no gayne at all vnto you. Moreouer I desire you to beare me witnesse that I die here in the fayth of Iesu Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your prayers, that I maye perseuer constant in the same vnto my liues ende. Then he turning himselfe about kneeled downe vpon hys knees, vnto whome Doctor Coxe which was there present to counsayle and aduertise him, delyuered a certaine scroll into his hande, wherein was conteyned a briefe confession vnto God, which beyng read he stood vp agayne on his feete, without any trouble of minde as it appered, and first bade the Shriefes farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and certayne other that were on the Scaffolde, taking them all by the handes. Then he gaue the executioner certayne money, which done, he put of his Gowne, and kneeling downe agayne in the strawe, vntyed hys shyrt strings, and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe hys coller rounde about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his awne handkerchiefe, lifting vp hys

eyes

eyes vnto heauen, where his onely hope remayned, layde himselfe downe along and there suffered the heauie stroke of the axe, which disseuered the head from his bodye, to the lamentable sight and griefe of thousands that heartily praysed God for him, and entirely loued him. The death of the Duke of Somerset.

This Duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henry the eyght, of whome he receyued sundry high and great preferments, by reason that the sayde king had maryed the Lady Iane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the sixt. He was not onely curteous, wise and gentle, beyng daylie attendaunt at the Court, but forwarde and fortunate in seruice abroade, as maye well appere in his sundry voyages both in Fraunce and Scotlande, he was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so muche as by the death of the Admiral his natural brother, which could not haue bene without his consent.

The. xxvj. day of February next folowyng, for the lyke felony that the Duke of Somerset was condempned, were also executed and hanged on a gallowes nere vnto the scaffolde on Tower hill, sir Raufe Auane, and sir Miles Partridge knightes. And the same day was for the same cause and matter sir Mighell Stanhop, and sir Thomas Arondell behedded on the Scaffolde. 1551. 6 Sir Raufe Auane, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Mighel Stanhop, Sir Thomas Arondell.

Not long after the death of the sayd Duke and his complices, it chaunced the reuerend father in God Maister Doctor Ridley then Bishop of London to preach before the kinges Maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and Godly exhortation to the riche, to be merciful vnto the poore, and also moued such as were in auctoritie to trauaile by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieue them. Wherevpon the kinges Maiestie beyng a Prince of such towardnesse and vertue for hys yeres, as Englande before neuer brought forth, and the same also beyng so well treyned and brought vp in al Godly knowlege, aswell by his dere Vncle the late Protector, as also by his verteous and learned Scholemaisters, was so carefull of the good gouernment of the realme, and chiefly to do and preferre such thinges as most specially touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderstandyng that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did sodainly and of himselfe send to the sayd Bishop assoone as his Sermon was ended, willyng him not to depart vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I nowe write was the verye report of the sayde Bishop Ridley) and accordyng to the kinges commaundement, he gaue hys attendaunce. And so soone as the kinges Maiestie was at leysure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him into a great Galery at Westminster wherein to his knowlege, and the king also tolde him so, there was present no mo persons then they two, and therfore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which as it seemed were before the cōming of the Bishop there purposely set, and caused the Bishop mauger his teeth to be couered, and then entred communication with him in this sort, first geuing him most heartie thankes for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehersed such speciall thinges as he had noted, and that so many that the Bishop sayde, truly, truly, for that was commonly his othe, I could neuer haue thought ỹ excellency to haue bene in his grace, that I behelde & saw in him. At the last the kings Maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poore, but my Lorde sayth he, ye willed such as are in auctoritie to be carefull thereof, and to deuise some good order for theyr reliefe, wherein I thinke you meant me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make aunswere vnto God for my negligence if I shoulde not be carefull therein, knowyng it to be the expresse commaundement of almightie god, to haue compassion of his poore and nedie members for whom we must make an accompt vnto him. And truely my Lorde I am before all things most willyng to trauayle that way, and I doubt nothing of your long and approued wisedome and learnyng, who hauyng such good zeale as wissheth helpe vnto them, but that A most noble and verteous saiyng of a Prince.

also that you haue had some conference with others what wayes are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand, and therefore I pray you say your minde.

The Bishop thinkyng least of that matter, and beyng amased to here the wisedome and earnest zeale of the king, was, as he sayd himselfe so astonied, that he could not well tell what to say. But after some pawse, sayd, that as he thought at this presence for some entraunce to be had, it were good to practise with the Citie of London, because a nuber of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and also wise. And he doubted not but they were also both pitifull and mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren, and other the worshipfull of the sayd Citie, and that if it would please the kinges Maiestie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willyng hym to call vnto him such assistaunce as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should folow therof. And he himselfe promised the king to be one that would earnestly trauaile therein. The king forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Bishop tary vntill the same was written, and his hand and signet set therevnto, and commaunded the Bishop not onely to deliuer the same letter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the Maior that it was the kings speciall request and expresse commaundement, that the Maior should therein trauaile, and assoone as he might conueniently geue knowlege vnto him how farre he had proceded therein. The Bishop was so ioyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occasion to trauaile in that good matter, wherein he was meruelous zelous, that nothing could more haue pleased and delighted him: Wherefore the same night he came to the Maior of London, who then was sir Richard Dobbes knight, & deliuered the kinges letter, and shewed his message with effect. The Maior not onely ioyously receyued this letter, but with all speede agreed to set forward this matter, for he also fauoured it very much. And the next day beyng Monday, he desired the Bishop of London to dine with him, and agaynst that tyme the Maior promised that he would sende for such men, as he thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did. And sent first for two Aldermen, and six Commoners, and afterward were appoynted more to the number of xxiij. And in the ende after sundrie metynges, (for by the meane of the good diligence of the Bishop, it was well folowed) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of. ix. speciall kindes or sortes of poore people, and those they brought into these three degrees.

Degrees of poore.

	The poore by impotencie.	Three degrees of poore
	Poore by casualtie.	
	Thriftlesse poore.	
1	The poore by impotencie are also deuided into thre kyndes, that is to say.	1 The fatherlesse or poore mans childe.
		2 The aged, blinde, and lame.
		3 The diseased persō, by lepry, dropsy. &c.
2	The poore by casualtie are also three kyndes, that is to say.	4 The wounded Souldior.
		5 The decayed householder.
		6 The visited with grieuous disease.
3	The thriftlesse poore are three kyndes, that is to say.	7 The rioter that consumeth all.
		8 The vagabond that will abide in no place.
		9 The ydle person, as the Strumpet & other.

Christes Hospitall.

For these sortes of poore were prouided three seuerall houses, first for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the Beggers childe, and is in deede the seede & breeder of beggery, they prouided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall, where the poore children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrow of beggery.

Saint Thomas hospital.

For the seconde degree, is prouided the Hospitall of Saint Thomas in Southwarke, and

and Saint Bartholomewe in West Smithfielde, where are continually at the least two hundred diseased persones which are not only there lodged and cured, but also fed and norished.

For the thirde degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the Vagabond and ydle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious life of ydlenesse. Bridewell.

They prouided also for the honest decayed housholder, that he should be releeued at home at hys house, and in the parishe where he dwelled by a weekely reliefe and pencion. And in like maner they prouided for the Lazer to keepe him out of the Citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of belles, to the great trouble of the Citezens, and also to the daungerous infection of many, that they also should bee releeued at home at their houses wyth seuerall pencions.

Nowe after this good order taken, and the Citezens by suche meanes as was deuised, willing to further the same. Then report thereof was made vnto the kings Maiestie: And his grace for the aduauncement therof, was not onely wylling to graunt such as should be the ouerseers and gouernors of the sayde houses a corporation and auctboritie for the gouernement thereof: But also required that he might be accompted as the chiefe Founder and Patrone thereof: And for the furtheraunce of the sayde worke and contynual maintenance of the same, he of his meere mercie and goodnesse graunted, that where before certaine landes were geuen to the maintenaunce of the house of the Sauoy, founded by king Henry the seuenth, for the lodging of pilgrimes and straungers, and that the same was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, vagabondes and strumpets that lay all day in the fieldes, and at night were harbored there, the which was rather the maintenaunce of beggery, then the reliefe of the poore, gaue the same landes beyng first surrendered into his handes by the maister and felowes there, which landes were of the yerely value of sixe hundred pounde, vnto the Citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation aforesayde. And for a further reliefe, a petition beyng made to the kinges Maiestie for a licence to take in mortmayne, or otherwise without licence landes to a certayne yerely value, and a space left in the patent for his grace to put in what somme it should please him: he looking on the voyde place called for pen and ynke, and with hys awne hand wrote this summe, in these maner of wordes *(foure thousand markes by yere)* and then sayde in the heering of his counsaile, Lord God I yeelde thee most harty thanks ỹ thou hast geuen me life thus long, to finish this worke to ỹ glorie of thy name: After which foũdation established, he liued not aboue two daies. King Edward the sixt founder of the hospitals in London. A blessed king.

By example of which act of thys vertuous yong king, sir William Chester knight and Alderman of London, & Iohn Calthrop Citizen and Draper of the sayd City, at their owne proper costs & charges made the Brickwalles & way on the backside, that leadeth from the said new Hospitall vnto the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes: and also couered & vawted the towne ditch from Aldersgate to Newgate, which before was very noysome & cõtagious vnto ỹ said Hospital. Sir William Chester knight. Iohn Calthrop Draper.

This Hospitall beyng thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richarde Castell *Alias* Castelter Shoomaker dwelling in Westminster, a man of great trauaile and labour in his faculty with his awne hands, and such a one as was named the Cock of Westminster, for that both Winter & Sommer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus truely & painefully laboring for his liuing, God blessed and encreased his labors so abundantly, that he purchased lands and tenements in Westminster, to the yerely value of. xliiii. pounde. And hauing no childe, with the consent of his wife (who also yet liueth and is a vertuous and good woman) gaue the same landes wholy to Christes Hospital aforesayd to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherlesse childrē, and for the succour of the miserable sore and sicke herbored in the other Hospitalles about London, whose example God graunt many to follow. Richarde Castell Shomaker.

About this time there were three noble ships set forth and furnished for the great aduenture of the vnknowne voyage into the East, by the North seas. The great doer & 1552

Sebastian Gaboto.

encourager of which voyage was Sebastian Gaboto an Englishe man, borne at Bristow, but was the sonne of a Genoway. These ships at the last arriued in the country of Muscouia, not without great losse & daũger, and namely of their capitain, who was a worthy & aduenterous gentlemã called sir Hugh Willoughby knight, who beyng tossed & driuen by tempest, hee was at the last found in his ship frosen to death and all his people. But now the said voyage and trade is greatly aduaunced, & the Marchants aduenturing that way are newly by act of parliamẽt encoporated & endued with sundry priuileges and liberties.

Three notable mariages. The first mariage.

About the beginning of the Moneth of May next following there were thre notable mariages concluded, & shortly after solempnized at Durham place. The first was betwene the Lorde Guilford Dudley, the fourth sonne of the Duke of Northumberland, & the Lady Iane eldest daughter of Henry Duke of Suffolk and the Ladie Fraunces his wife, who was the daughter of Mary second sister to king Henrie the eight, first maried to Lewys ỹ French king, & after to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke. The second mariage was betwene the Lorde Harbert sonne and heire of William Erle of Penbroke, and the Ladie Katherin second daughter of the said Lady Fraunces by the said Henry Duke of Suffolk. And the third was betwene Henry Lord Hastings, sonne and heire of Fraunces Erle of Huntingdon, and Katherin yongest daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, which thre mariages were compassed and concluded chiefly vpon purpose to chaunge and alter the order of succession to the crowne, made in the time of king Henry the eight, from the said kings daughters, Mary, & Elizabeth, and to conuey the same immediatly after the death of king Edwarde to the house of Suffolk in ỹ right of the said Lady Fraunces: wherin the said yong king was an earnest trauailer in the time of his sicknesse, & all for feare that if his sister Marye beyng next heyre to the crowne should succede, that she would subuert all his lawes and statutes made concerning religion, wherof he was most careful: For the continuance wherof he sought to establish a meete order of succession by the allyaunce of great houses by waye of mariage, which neuerthelesse were of no force to serue his purpose. For ẽding to the disherison of the rightful heires they proued nothing prosperous to ỹ parties, for two of them were sone after made frustrate, the one by death, the other by deuorce.

The second mariage.

The third mariage.

In the meane while the king became euery day sicker then other of a cõsumption in his lunges, so as there was no hope of his recouery, whervpõ those that then bare chiefe auctiority in counsail, w other Prelats & nobles of the realme, calling to them diuers notable persons learned, aswel in diuinitie as in ỹ lawes of the land, namely, Bishops, Iudges, & other, fel to cõsultation vpõ this weightie case, and lastly concluded according to the deuice of king Edwards will, to declare the said Lady Iane eldest neece to king Henry the eight, and wife to ỹ said Lord Guilford to be rightfull heyre in succession to the crowne of England without respect had to the statute made in the. xxxv. yere of king Henry ỹ eight: The true meaning of which statute, they did impugne & ouerthrowe by diuers subtile and sinister cõstructions of the same, to disenherite the said kings sisters to whom the succession of the crowne of England of right appertained, aswel by the common lawes of this realme, as also by the sayd statute made in the said. xxxv. yere of the king, as aforesaide. To which newe order of succession all the said kinges counsail, with many Bishops, Lords, Doctors & Iudges of ỹ realm, subscribed their names wout refusal of any, except sir Iames Hales knight, one of the Iustices of ỹ cõmon place, who being called to this counsail would in no wise geue his assent either by word or writing, as ye shal here more in ỹ history of Quene Mary. Now when these matters were thus cõcluded, & after confirmed by a nũber of hands as aforesaid, then ỹ noble prince king Edward ỹ sixt by long lingring sicknesse & a cõsumption of his lungs as aforesaid, approched to his death, & departed out of this life the sixt day of Iuly in the. vij. yere of his reigne, after he had raigned & nobly gouerned this realme. vj. yeres. v. moneths &. viij. daies. And a little before his departing lifting vp his eies to God, he praied as foloweth.

The death of King Edwarde the sixt.

Lord

Lord God deliuer me out of this miserable and wretched life, & take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. Oh Lord thou knowest how happie it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake, if it be thy will send me life & health that I may truly serue thee. Oh my Lord blesse thy people and saue thine inheritaunce. O Lorde God, saue thy chosen people of Englande. O my Lorde God defende this realme from Papistrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may prayse thy holy name. And therewithall he sayde I am faint, Lorde haue mercy vppon me and take my spirite, and so he yeelded vp to God his Ghost the sixt day of Iuly. The prayer of King Edward the sixt at his death.

Immediatly after the death of king Edward, the aforesaid Lady Iane was proclaymed Queene of this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to say, the. ix. day of Iuly, at which Proclamation were present the Lords of the Counsail, the Maior of London with other. The Lady Iane proclaymed Queene.

The Ladie Mary a little before liyng at Honesdon in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of the king her brother, and of the secret practise against her, by the aduice of her friendes with all speede tooke her iourney towarde her house of Keninghall in Norffolke, entending there to remaine vntill she coulde make her selfe more strong of her friendes and allies: neuerthelesse vnderstanding by them that she could not lie there in surety, being a place open and easy to be approched, remoued from thence vnto her Castell of Fremingham standing in a wood Countrie, and not so easie to be inuaded by her enimies. The Lady Mary flieth into Suffolke.

So soone as the Counsaile heard of her sodaine departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed. They caused spedily a power of men to be gathered together. And first they agreed that ỹ Duke of Suffolke, father to the newe made Queene, should haue the conduction and leading of that army. But afterwards vpon further considerations it was deuised, that the Duke of Northumberland should haue the charge of this great enterprice, which Duke hauing commission from the whole counsayle, without mistrust of that which after fortuned, toke in hand that vnhappy voiage to his awne destruction as in the history of Queene Mary shall appere. So that setting apart the feare of all perils (which in other lesse cases he neuer vsed) when all things were in a redinesse he being accompanied with no small number of Lordes and Gentlemen, set forward on his iourney, passing to Cambridge, & from thence to S. Edmondsbury.

The Lady Mary being then at Fremingham, heering of thys preparation against her, gathered together such power of the noble men & other her friends in that coūtry as she could get. And first of al ỹ noble men ỹ came vnto her aide, were the Erles of Sussex, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornewallis, sir Henry Iernyngham, sir William Walgraue, with diuers other gentlemen & cōmons of the Coūties of Norffolk, & Suffolk. In this meane season the Lord Windsore, sir Edmond Peckham, sir Robert Drury, & sir Edward Hastings, raised the commons of the shire of Buckingham, to whom resorted sir Iohn Williams, which afterward was Lord Williams of Tame, & sir Leonard Chamberleyne with ỹ chiefe power of Oxfordshire. And out of Northamptonshire came sir Thomas Tressham & a great number of Gentlemen out of diuers parts, whose names were to long to reherse. These capitaines w̄ their cōpanies being thus assembled in warlike maner, marched forward towards Norffolk to the aid of ỹ Lady Mary, & the further they went, ỹ more their power encreased.

The Lords of the counsaile being in this meane while at London, after they vnderstood how the better part of the realme were enclined, and heering euery day newes of great assemblies, began to suspect the sequel of this enterprice: so that prouiding for their awne suretie without respect of the Duke (who was now at Bury) they fell to a new counsaile, & lastly, by assent made proclamation at London in the name of the Lady Mary, by the name of Marye Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland defender of the fayth, and of the Churches of England and Ireland supreme head. Of which proclamation after

the

the Duke of Northumberland being then at Bury, was aduertised by letters from the counsaile, he incontinent according to ỹ new order receiued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge, and forthwith vpon his comming thether proclaymed the sayd Lady Marye Queene: which proclamation made a sodaine chaunge of mindes in his army, for they that late before seemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to flie from him, and so euerye man shifting for himselfe, he that late before was furnished of such multitude of Souldiors, was sodainely forsaken of all sauing of a fewe, whose perilles were ioyned with his.

QUEENE MARY.

MAry eldest daughter of king Henry the eight by the Lady Katherin of Spain, his first wife, and sister vnto king Edward the sixt by the father side, began her reigne the sixt day of Iuly, which day the king her brother died, and she was proclaymed at London (as is before remembred in the ende of the history of king Edward the sixt) the. xx. day of Iuly. 1553. And the. xxiiij. day of ỹ said moneth next folowing, was also proclaimed in Cãbridge by Iohn Duke of Northumberland, as is afore mencioned, which proclamation made by the said Duke at Cambridge notwithstãding, for that he was appointed generall of the army in the quarel of the Lady Iane of Suffolk, he was by the Maior of Cambridge, and one Sergeant at armes arrested of treason. And the. xxviij. day of the said Moneth he with Iohn Earle of Warwike his eldest sonne and two other of his sonnes, and diuers other Lords & Gentlemen, namely William Marquesse of Northampton, Fraunces Earle of Huntingdon sir Iohn Gates Capitaine of the garde to King Edward the sixt, Sir Thomas Palmer & other mo, brought prisoners from Cambridge aforesaid by the Erle of Arondell, and so conueighed to the tower of London. And the. xvj. day of August next following, the sayd Duke, and the other before named (the Erle of Huntingdon except) were brought into Westminster hall, and there arreigned of high treason before Thomas Duke of Norffolke high Steward of England. And being brought to the barre he vsed great reuerence to his Iudges, & protesting his fayth and allegeance to the Queenes Maiesty, whom he confessed to haue grieuously offended, he said that he ment not to speake any thing in defence of his fact, but would first vnderstand the opinion of the Court in two poyntes.

1553
x

The Duke of Northũberland apprehended at Cambridge.

The Duke of Northumberland arraigned.

1 First, whether a man doing any acte or thing by aucthoritie of the Princes counsaile, and by warrant of the great Seale of England, and nothing doing without the same, maye be charged with Treason for doing any thing by such warrant?

2 Second, whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime & those by whose letters & cõmaũdements he was directed in all his doings, might be his iudges or passe vpon his trial as his peres?

Whervnto was aunswered: as to the first, that ỹ great Seale (which he layd for his warrant) was not the seale of ỹ lawfull Queene of the realme, nor passed by her aucthority, but ỹ seale of an vsurper, & therfore could be no warrãt to him.

And to the second, that if any were as depely to be touched in that case as himselfe,

yet so long as no attaindor were of recorde against them, they were neuerthelesse persons able in law to passe vpō any trial, & not to be chalenged therfore, but at ỹ princes pleasure. After which answere the Duke vsing a few words declaring his earnest repentance in the case, & mouing the duke of Norffolk to be his meane to ỹ Queene for mercy, without further answere confessed the inditemēt, by whose example the other lords arreyned with him did in the like maner, & thervpon had iudgement: so that the xxii. day of the said moneth of August the sayd Duke, sir Iohn Gates, & sir Thomas Palmer, at the tower hill were executed, & all the rest shortly after were pardoned by the Queene, who (as it was reported) could also haue bene content to haue spared the said Dukes life as well as the rest, for the speciall fauor that before time she did alwaies beare vnto him.

After that Queene Marye was thus with full consent of the Nobles, and Commons of the realme proclaymed Queene, she being then in Norffolke at her Castell of Framingham, repayred with all speede toward the Citie of London, & the third day of the said moneth of August she came to the said Citie, and so to the Tower. Where the Lady Iane of Suffolk (late afore proclaimed Queene) with her husband the Lord Guilford a little before her comming, were committed to warde, and there remayned after almost fiue Monethes. And by the waye as the Queene thus passed, she was ioyfully saluted of all the people without any mislikyng, sauyng that it was much feared of many, that she would alter the religion set forth in the time of king Edward her brother, wherof then were geuen iust occasions, because (notwithstandyng diuers lawes made to the contrary) shee had daylie Masse and Latine seruice sayde before her in the Tower.

The Lady Iane and the Lord Guilforde imprisoned.

At her entrie into the Tower, there were presented to her certaine Prisoners, namely Thomas Duke of Norffolke, who in the last yere of King Henry the eyght (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attainted of treason: But in the Parliament holden in this first yere of Queene Marye, the saide supposed attayndor was by the auctoritie and act of parliament for good and apparaunt causes alleaged in the sayde acte, declared to be vtterly frustrate and voyde. Also Edward Courtney sonne and heire of Henrie Marques of Excester Cosyn Germaine to king Henry the eyght, and Cutbert Tonstall Byshop of Durham with other persons of great calling: But specially Stephen Gardyner Byshop of Wynchester, whome shee not onely released of imprisonment, but also immediatly aduaunced and preferred to be Lorde Chauncelor of Englande, restoring him also to his former estate and Byshoprick, and remoued from the same one Doctor Poynet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edwarde the sixt. And touching Edwarde Courtney, she not onely aduaunced him to the Erledome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possession as there remayned in her handes, whereby it was then thought of many, that she bare affection to him by way of mariage, but it came not so to passe (for what cause I cannot geue any reason) but surely the subiectes of Englande were most desirous thereof.

Prisoners pardoned & released.

Stephyn Gardyner made Chancelour of England.

Edwarde Courtney made Erle of Deuonshire.

Vpon the receauing of this newe Queene, all the Byshops which had bene depriued in the time of king Edwarde the sixt her brother for the cause of religion, were nowe againe restored to their Bishoprickes. And such other as were placed in king Edwards time remoued from their Seas, and other of contrarie religion placed. Amongst whom Edmond Bonner Doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the Sea of London and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwardes counsayle, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and Bishoprick, and Nicholas Ridley Doctor in Diuinitie late before aduaunced to the saide Sea by the sayd king was hastily displaced and committed prisoner to the Tower of London. The cause why such exstremitie was vsed towarde the sayde Bishop Ridley more then to the rest, was for that in the time of the Ladie Iane he preached a Sermon at Paules crosse by the commaundement of king Edwardes Counsayle, wherein he disswaded the people for sundrye causes from receyuing the Lady Marie as Queene.

Bishops deposed and Byshops restored.

Edmonde Bonner Byshop of London.

Nicholas Ridley Byshop of London.

Sone

Borne Bishop of Bath.

Soue after the restitution of Doctor Bonner to hys Bishoprick he appoynted one late a Chaplein of his called Doctor Borne to preach at Paules Crosse, who was then promoted to the Queenes seruice, and not long afterward made Bishop of Bathe. The sayde Doctor taking occasion of the Gospell of that day, spake somewhat largely in the iustefiyng of Bishop Bonner beyng present at the Sermond, which Bishop (as the sayde Preacher then openly sayde) for a Sermon made vpon the same text and in the sayd place the same day foure yeres afore passed, was most vniustly cast into the vile Dongeon of the Marshalsea among Theeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwardes reigne. This matter beyng set foorth with great vehemency, so much offended ỹ eares of part of the audience, that they brake scilence, and began to murmoure and thronge together, in such sorte as the Maior and Aldermen with other of the wiser sorte then present, feared much an vprore. During which muttering one more feruent then his fellowes, threwe a Dagger at the Preacher, but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the Preacher withdrew himselfe from the Pulpet, and one Maister Bradford at the request of the Preachers brother and others, standing there, toke the place and spake so mildely to the people, that with few wordes he appeased their fury. And after the sayd Maister Bradforde and Maister Rogers although men of a contrarie religion conueied the sayde Preacher into Poules Schoole, and there left him in safetie.

A Dagger throwen at the preacher.

The Garde appoynted for the defence of the Preacher.

The next Sondaye following for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the Queenes Garde should be present in the place to defend the Preacher with weapon, wherevpon the wiser men perceyuing such a number of weapons, and that great peryll was not vnlike to ensue by such apparaunce of late not accustomed, woulde not be present at the Sermon: By reason whereof, there was left a small auditory. Wherefore afterward there was a commaundement geuen by the Lord Maior, that the auncients of the companyes should be present at the next Sermon in theire lineries, and so they did, wherby all became quyet.

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop committed to the Tower.

Sone after this, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cantorburye, and late before of king Edwardes priuie counsayle, was committed to the Tower of London, beyng charged wyth Treason, not onely for geuing aduice to the disinheriting of Queene Marye, but also for ayding the Duke of Northumberland with certayne horsse and men against the Queene in the quarell of the Lady Iane of Suffolke.

The coronation of Queene Marie.

The last day of September next following, the Queene passed from the Tower through the Citie of London vnto Westminster. And the next day beyng the first of October, shee was crowned at Westminster by Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester (for the Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke were then prisoners in the Tower) as before ye haue heard. At the time of whose coronation, there was published a generall pardon in her name beyng enterlaced with so many exceptions, as they that neded the same most, tooke smallest benefite thereby. In which pardon were excepted by name no small number, not onely of Bishoppes and other of the clergie, namely the Archebishops of Cauntorbury and Yorke, the Bishop of London, but also many Lordes, Knightes and Gentlemen of the layetie, beside the two chiefe Iustices of England, called Sir Roger Cholmeley, and Sir Edward Mountagew, and some other learned men in the law, for counsayling, or at the least consenting to the deprination of Queene Mary, and ayding of the aforesayde Duke of Northumberlande in the pretensed right of the aforenamed Lady Iane, the names of which persons so beyng excepted I haue omytted for shortnesse sake.

A lewde general pardon.

Commissioners at the Deane of Paules house.

Assone as this pardon was published, and the solempnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certaine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon & others to cõpound with the Queene for their seuerall offences, which commissioners sate at the Deane of Paules house at the west ende of Paules Church, and there called before them the sayde persons apart, and from some they tooke their Fees and offices graunted before by king Edward the sixt, and yet neuerthelesse putting them to their fines, and some they committed to warde, depriuing them of

their

their states and lyuings, so that for the time to those that tasted therof, it seemed verie grieuous, God delyuer vs from incurring any suche daunger of law againe.

The fift day of October next folowing the Queene held her high court of parliament at Westminster which continued vntill the. xxj. day of the sayd Moneth. In the first Session of which parliament there passed no mo acts but one, and that was to declare Queene Marie lawfull heyre in discent to the crowne of Englande by the common lawes next after her brother king Edwarde, and to repeale certayne causes of treason, felonye and Premunire conteyned in diuers former statutes, the which act of repeale was for that Cardinall Poole was speciallye looked for (as after yee shall heare) for the reducing of the Churche of Englande to the Popes obedience, and to the ende that the sayde Cardinall, nowe called into Englande from Rome might holde his Courtes Legantine without the daunger of the statute of the premunire made in that case, wherevnto Cardinall Wolsey (when he was Legate) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the Clergie of Englande for exercising the lyke power. The which act beyng once passed, foorthwith the Queene repayred to the parliament house, & gaue therevnto her royall assent, and then proroged the parliament vnto the. xxiiij. daye of the sayde Moneth, in which second Session were confirmed and made dyuers and sundry estatutes concerning religion, whereof some were restored and other repealed.

A parliam.

Treason, Felonye, Premunire.

At this tyme many were in trouble for religion, and among other sir Iames Hales knight one of the Iustices of the common place, which Iustice beyng called among other by the Counsaile of king Edwarde to subscribe to a deuice made for the disenherityng of Queene Mary, and the Lady Elizabeth her sister, would in no wise assent to ỹ same, though most of the other did. Yet that notwithstandyng, for that he at a quarter Sessions holden in Kent gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henry the. viij. and king Edward the sixt in derogation of the primacie of the Church of Rome abholished by king Henry the eight, was first committed prisoner to the kinges Bench, then to the Counter, and last to the Fleete, where, whether it were through extreeme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the Wardeyn of the Fleete vsed vnto him of more trouble like to ensue, if he persisted in hys opinion (or for what other cause God knoweth) he was so inwardly troubled and vexed, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleete, by woundyng himselfe with a Penknife, well nere to the death. Neuerthelesse afterward beyng recouered of that hurt, he semed to be very conformable to all the Queenes procedynges, & was therupon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the Queenes presence, who gaue him wordes of great comfort. Neuerthelesse his minde was not quiet (as after well appered) for in the ende he drowned himselfe in a riuer, not halfe a myle from his dwellyng house in Kent, the riuer beyng so shalow that he was faine to lye grouelyng before he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For besyde that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gate him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

Sir Iames Hale troubled for religion.

Sir Iames Hale drowned himselfe.

Duryng the aforesayde Parliament, about the. xviij. day of October, there was kept at Paules Church in London a publike disputation appointed by the Queenes commaundement, about the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Aulter, which disputation continued sixe dayes, Doctor Weston then beyng Prolocutor of the conuocation, who vsed many vnsemely checkes and tauntes agaynst the one part, to the preiudice of their cause. By reason wherof the disputers neuer resolued vpon the articles proponed, but grew daily more and more into contention, without any fruit of their long conference, and so ended this disputation with these wordes spoken by Doctor Weston Prolocutor, it is not the Queenes pleasure that we should spend herein any longer time, and ye are wel ynough, for you haue the word, and we haue the sworde. But of this matter ye may read more in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church.

A disputatiō in Paules Church.

At this time was Cardinall Poole sent for to Rome by the Queene who was very desi-

Cardinall Poole sent for to Rome.

rous of his comming, aswel for the causes before declared as also for the great affection that she had to him being her nere kinsman and consentyng with her in religion. This message was most thankefully receyued at Rome, and order taken to sende the sayd Cardinall hether with great expedicion. But before his commyng, Queene Mary had maryed Philip Prince of Spaine, as after shall appere.

The Counsayle deuised for the receauing of the Cardinall.

But here to touche somewhat of the commyng of the sayde Cardinall, when he was arriued at Calice, there was a conference had amongest the Counsalors of the Queene for ỹ maner of his receiuing. Some would haue had him very honorably met and enterteyned, as he was in all places where he had before passed, not only for that he was a Cardinall and a Legate from the Pope, but also for that he was the Queenes nere kinsman of the house of Clarence. Neuerthelesse, after much debatyng, it was thought meetest, first for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stoode attainted by Parliament: And also for that it was doubtfull howe he beyng sent from Rome should be accepted of the people, who in. xxv. yeres before had not bene much acquainted with the Pope or his Cardinalles: that therfore vntill all thinges might be put in order for that purpose, he should come without any great solempnitie vnto Lambith, where in the Archebishoppes house his lodgyng was prepared.

Thomas Cranmer. The Lady Iane of Suffolke. The Lorde Guylford.

In Nouember next folowyng, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Cantorbury, notwithstandyng that he had once plainly refused to subscribe to king Edwardes will in the disinheritynge of hys sister Mary (allegyng many reasons and argumentes for the legittimation of both the kinges sisters) was in the Guyldhall in London arreigned and attainted of treason, namely for aidyng the Duke of Northumberlande with horse and men agaynst the Queene as aforesayde. And the same tyme also the Ladie Iane of Suffolke (who for a while was called Quene Iane) and the Lord Guyldford her husband were in like maner arreigned and attainted, and then againe returned to the Towet, from whence they neuer came but to the Scaffold.

An Ambassade sent from the Emperour.

In the beginnyng of Ianuary next folowing, Charles the fift Emperor, sent into England an honorable Ambassade, among whom was Countye Aygnemont, and many other noble men, with full commission to conclude a maryage betweene Philip the prince of Spaine his sonne and heyre, and Queene Mary as you haue heard: which Ambassade tooke such place that shortly after all thinges were finished accordyngly. But this mariage was not well thought of by the Commons, nor much better liked of many of the Nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to rayse war rather then to see such chaunge of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were many confederats, yet the first that shewed force therin, was one sir Thomas Wyat a knight in Kent, who by open Proclamations published there that the Queene and her Counsaile woulde by this forreyne maryage bring this realme into most miserable seruitude and bondage of straungers.

Rebellion in Kent.

Sir Thomas Wyat knight.

The. xxv. day of Ianuary next folowyng newes were brought to the Court of this sturre begon by the sayde Sir Thomas Wyat. And foorthwith after this it was knowne that Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the Ladie Iane (which Ladie Iane was yet aliue) was sodainely departed from the Court with his two brethren into Warwikeshire, and Leycestershire, there to rayse and gather a power of those Countries to ioyne with Sir Thomas Wyat. The Queene hearing of these tumults did first by her proclamation declare the saide Duke of Suffolke, and Sir Thomas Wyat with other Traitors. And forthwith shee sent into the Citie of London for sixe hundred men, which because they ware whye Coates, or their armors were called the White Coates of London. These white Coates with certaine vntrustie Capitaines were sent into Kent vnder the conduction of Thomas Duke of Norffolke, for whose better suretie the Queene had assigned certaine of her Garde to attende, which in great haste set forwarde, and hauing marched almost to Rochester, Wyat with all his companye beyng in the towne, the sayde Capitaines with the white Coates sodaynlye reuolted from the saide Duke, and went straight to the aide of

The Duke of Suffolke and sir Thomas Wyat proclaymed traytors.

Thomas Duke of Norffolke sent agaynst sir Thomas Wyat.

Wyat, wherby the saide noble Duke beyng thus forsaken by his vnfaithfull felowship, was forced to retourne againe to London, and so to the Courte wythout any effect of his iourney: Which repulse vnto him being then an aged man, and fortunate before in all Warres, impressed such dolour of minde, that he lyued but short while after.

In this meane time as before you haue hearde, the Duke of Suffolke beyng come from London into Leycestershire, and Warwikeshire with a very small company (as the saiyng was) tooke vpon him there to publishe a Proclamation in his daughters name, purposing thereby to haue perswaded the subiectes, that Queene Marie entended to tourne the succession, of the Crowne of Englande vnto straungers, namely vnto Spanyardes, which Proclamation notwithstanding, the people kept themselues quiet. Queene Mary vnderstanding of this, sent Fraunces Erle of Huntyngdon to rayse power in those partes to withstande the sayde Duke, the which Erle sped his time so well that he preuented the sayde Duke from entring the Citie of Couentrie, where he had great hope of ayde among the common sort: By reason whereof, hee being nowe disappointed of his enterprise, with his two brethren, the Lorde Thomas and Lorde John Graye fledde from thence to a Manor of his called Astley sixe miles from Couentry, and committed himselfe to a man of his being keeper of his parke, called Nicholas Laurence, the which keeper bestowed the Duke his Maister in a hollow Oke within the saide parke, where he remained two or three dayes vndiscouered, vntill the sayde keeper (as it is saide) disclosed his case to the sayde Erle, who immediatly apprehended the saide Duke, and brought him prisoner to the Tower of London. Henry Duke of Suffolke apprehended.

After that syr Thomas Wyat had preuailed against the Duke of Norffolke, as is aforesaide, and had encreased his number with the sixe hundred white coates with their Capitaines and other of the Queenes Gard, being well encouraged, aduaunced forward with his people the first of Februarie towards the Citie of London, where he trusted to haue founde great aide and succour, which came not so to passe.

The Emperors Ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, heering of Wyattes hasty approching to London sped themselues away by water, and that with all hast. The Queene then liyng at her Palace of white Hall beside Westminster, and heering of her enemies so nere, was counsayled for her safegarde to take the Tower of London, wherevnto she would by no meanes be perswaded: Neuerthelesse to make herselfe more stronger of friendes in the Citie, so sone as the sayd Ambassadors were departed (which was the first day of Februarye) shee came to Guyldhall in London, against which time, order was taken by the Lorde Maior that the chiefe Citezens in their Liueries should be there present. After the Queene had taken her place in the sayde Hall and silence made, she with very good countenaunce vttered in effect vnto them this Oration following. The Ambassadors flie for feare of Wyat.

I am (quod she) come vnto you in mine owne persone to tell you that which alredy you do see and knowe, that is how trayterously and sediciously a number of Kentishe rebelles haue assembled themselues against both vs and you: Their pretence (as they sayed at the first) was onely to resist a maryage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine. To the which pretensed quarell and to all the rest of their euill contryued articles ye haue bene made priuie. Sithence which time, we haue caused dyuers of our priuy counsayle to resorte eftsones to the sayde rebelles, and to demaunde the cause of this their continuaunce in their sedicious enterprise: By whose answeres made again to our said counsail, it appered that the mariage is founden to be the least of their quarell, for they now swaruing from their former Articles, haue bewrayed the inward treason of their heartes, as most arrogantly demaunding the possession of our person: the keping of our Tower: And not onely the plasing and displasing of our counsaylors, but also to vse them and vs at their pleasures. Now louing Subiectes, what I am ye right well know, I am your Queene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme and to the lawes of the same (the spowsall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter shall be left of) ye promised your allegeaunce and obedience vnto mee, and Queene Maries oration.

that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of Englande, I not onely take all Christendome to witnesse, but also your actes of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye all knowe) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right dissended vnto me. And to him alwayes ye shewed your selues most faythfull and louing subiectes, and him obeyed and serued as your liege Lorde and king, and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter, which if ye do, then may you not suffer any Rebell to vsurpe the gouernaunce of our person, or to occupie our estate, especially beyng so presumpteous a Traytor as this Wyat hath shewed himselfe to be, who most certainly as he hath abused mine ignoraunt Subiectes to be adherentes to his trayterous quarell, so doth he intende by colour of the same to subdue the lawes to his will, and to geue skope to all raskall and forlorne persones to make generall hauock and spoyle of your goodes. And this farther I saye vnto you in the worde of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loueth her childe, for I was neuer the mother of any. But certainely if a Prince and gouernor maye as naturally and as earnestly loue subiectes as the mother doth the childe, then assure your selues, that I being your souereigne Lady and Queene do as ernestly and as tenderly loue & fauour you. And I thus louing you cannot but thinke that ye as heartily and faithfully loue me againe: And so ioyning together in this knot of loue and concorde, I doubt not but we together shall be well hable to geue these rebellions a short and speedy ouerthrow. And as concerning the case of my entended mariage, against which they pretende their quarell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduice, of all our Priuie Counsayle, yea and by assent of those, to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so consydered and weyed the great cōmodities that might ensue therof, that they not onely thought it very honorable, but also expedient both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all you our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neyther so precise or wedded to my wyll, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chose where I lust, or else so amorous as needes I must haue one, for God I thanke him (to whome be the prayse thereof) I haue hetherto lined a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Godes grace shall as well be hable so to liue styll. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruite of my bodie behinde me to be your Gouernor, I trust you would not onely reioyce therat, but also I know it would be to your great comforte. And certainly, if I eyther did know or thinke that this mariage should either turne to the daunger or losse of any of you my louing subiectes, or to the detriment or empayring of any parte or parcell of the royall state of this realme of Englande, I would neuer consent therevnto, neyther would I euer marry while I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene I promise and assure you, that if it shal not probably appere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parliament that this mariage shalbe for the singuler benifite and commodity of all the whole realme, that then I wyll abstaine not onely from this mariage, but also from any other whereof perill may ensue to this noble realme. Wherfore now as good and faythfull subiectes plucke vp your heartes, and like true men stande fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles, both our enemies and youres, and feare them not, for I assure you, that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my Lorde Hawarde and my Lorde Treasorer to be assistentes with my Lorde Maior for the defence and safegarde of the Citie from spoyle and saccage, which is the onely skope of this rebellious company.

After this oration ended, and the Citezens seeming well satisfied therewith, the Queene with the Lordes of the counsaile returned to Whitehall from whence she came. And foorthwith the Lorde Wylliam Haward was assosciate with the Lord Maior of London, whose name was Sir Thomas White, for the protection and defence of the Citie. And for more suretie, as well of her awne person, as also of her Counsaylors and good subiects, the sayde Queene prepared a great armie to meete with the sayde rebels in the fielde,

of

of which armie Wylliam Erle of Pembrooke was made generall: which Erle with all speede requisite in suche a case, prepared all thinges necessarie to such a seruice belonging. William Erle of Pembrooke.

At thys time also the Queene published a proclamation which conteyned a generall pardon to all them that would forsake Wyat and his adherentes and returne to her. And also in the same was promised an hundred pound lande a yere to him or them and to their heyres that could take Wyat prisoner and bring his body quick or dead to the Queene or her counsayle. A generall pardon.

During this great preparation of defence, as well within the Citie of London by the Maior and hys brethren, as also without by the Erle of Pembrooke appoynted Capitayne generall for the Queene, Wyat with his rebelles drewe nere to the Citie and entred into Southwarke the thirde day of February, what time the Lorde Maior in great haste and no lesse good pollecy (whose soeuer the deuise was) caused the drawe bridge of London to be hewen downe and throwne into the Thames, for feare that some light hedded Citezens and other raskall people euer apt to rebellion should haue issued and ioyned in ayde of the sayde rebels. Wyat with his people placed them selues in Southwark.

After that Wyat with his complices had lyen two dayes in Southwarke, and sawe no possibility of entring into the Citye, he then altred his iournay, on the Tuesday next being Shrouetewesday, earely in the morning, he tooke his way to Kyngston vpon Thames, where he found a great part of the bridge broken, which neuerthelesse he caused to be made agayne with such expedition as was maruaylous, so that he and all his companye with cariages and artillarie were passed ouer in safetie or any newes therof came to the Court. And with no lesse celeritie and speede marched forwardes the same night towardes London, which with such ayde as he hoped for there, he thought to haue surprysed vpon the sodayne. Neuerthelesse before he came within sixe myles of the Citie, staiyng vpon a peece of his great artillary which was dismounted by the way: his comming was discouered before daye, whereby the Erle of Pembrooke beyng generall of the Queenes armie (as is aforesayde) was with hys men in good order of battayle in saint Iames field beside Westminster two or three houres before Wyat could reache thether: The Erle hauing vnderstanding by hys espialles what way Wyat would march, placed his armie in this order. First in a field on the West side of Saint Iames were all his men of armes and Demy Launces: ouer agaynst whome in the Lane next to the Parke were placed all the light horsemen. All which bandes of horsemen were vnder the charge of the Lorde Clynton beyng Marshall of the fielde. The great Artillarye was planted in the middest and highest place of the Cawsey, leadyng from the Parke Corner towarde Charyng Crosse. The maine battaile where the Erle was with the Queenes standard in the field on the Northsyde of the sayde Cawsey. And the vauntgarde on the Southsyde of the Cawsey, next to the house of Saint Iames with certaine fielde peeces, liyng on the flankes of eche battaile. After that both the armyes were in sight, and that the great artillary began to thunder from either syde, without harme (as it happened to any of both) Wiat perceiuing that he could not come the fore right way without great disaduauntage, when he was come to the Parke corner, he leauyng the Cawsey, swarued and tooke the nether way toward Saint Iames, which beyng perceyued by the Queenes horsemen who lay on either syde of him, they gaue a sodaine charge, and deuided his battaile asunder hard behinde Wyats ensignes, whereby so many as were not passed before with Wyat, were forced to flye backe towardes Brainford, and certaine of his companie which escaped the charge passed by the backesyde of saint Iames towardes Westminster, and from thence to the Court, and findyng the Gates shut agaynst them stayed there a whyle, and shot of many Arrowes into the Windowes, and ouer into the Gardeyn, neuerthelesse without any hurt there that was knowne: Whervpon the sayd Rebelles ouer whome one Knyuet was Capitaine perceiuyng themselues to be to fewe to do any great feate there, departed from thence to followe Wyat who was gone before towardes London. And beyng on theyr way at Charyng Crosse, were there encountered by sir Henry Iernyngham Capitaine of the Queenes Gard, Sir Edward Bray Maister of the Wyat taketh his iourney to Kingston. William erle of Pembroke Generall of the Fieldes. Sir Thomas Wyatte eskapeth the fielde. A skirmish at Charing Crosse.

the ordinance, and sir Philip Parys knightes, which were sent by the order of the Erle of Pembroke with a bande of Archers, and certaine fielde peeces for the reskue of the Court, who encountered the sayde rebelles at Charyng Crosse aforesayde. After they had discharged the fielde peeces vpon them, ioyned with those rebelles halfe armed and halfe vnarmed at the push of the Pyke, and very soone dispersed their power, whereof some fled into the Lane towarde Saint Giles, and some on the other syde by a Brewhouse towardes the Thamys. In this conflict which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there was not found slaine to the number of xx. of those rebelles, which happened by reason that vpon their ioynyng with the Queenes Souldiors, the one part could not be discerned from the other, but onely by the myre & durt taken by the way, which stack vpon their garments cōmyng in the night, wherfore the cry on the Queenes part that day was, downe with the Daggle tayles.

But nowe to returne to Wyat, of whome ye heard before, howe beyng come to the Parke corner, and perceiuyng the perill apparaunt if he should haue marched streight vpon the Erles battayles which were raunged on eyther side of the Cawsey, did therefore polliticquely turne from the great Cawsey, marching along the wall of the house of saint Iames towards London, which could not haue bene without his no little losse of many of his traine; if those that had the charge on that side the field had bene as forward in seruice as the Erle with his battaile and the horsemen afore shewed themselues to be. Neuerthe-les Wyat folowing his purposed enterprice, which was to haue entred into Londō, where he hoped of great aide, marched forwarde with the small company that was left him as farre as a common Inne called the Bell Sauage, nere to Ludgate, beleuing to haue found some readie there to haue receyued him, wherein his hope was much deceyued, findyng the sayd gate fast shut, and strongly garded with a number aswell of most honest Citizens, as also of other bandes of the Queenes assured friendes: Wherevpon Wyat who comming towards the Citie made himselfe sure of his enterprice, nowe desperate of the same, was faine to turne hys face, retyring backe againe to Temple barre, where he with the rest of his traine determined (as it seemed) to trie their last fortune.

The Erle of Pembroke who all this while kept his force together in the field, heryng of Wyats approch to Londō, sent to him an Herault called Clarenseaux, with great commination to desyst from hys rebellious enterprice: which Herault did his Message accordyngly. Albeit that some sayde he promised the sayde Wyat his pardon, which should not seeme to be true, aswell for that the Herault had no such commission, as also that it was not lyke that the sayde Wyat beyng then disarmed of all his forces woulde haue refused mercy in such a case. For true it is, that he with a very few of his forlorne felowship, not many aboue the number of one hundred persons, stoode still as men amased in ỹ gate of Temple barre, till such tyme as sir Maurice Barkley knight, by chaunce ridyng towardes London vpon his horse with footecloth, without any armour, findyng the sayd Wyat there, perswaded him to repayre to the Court, and to yelde himselfe vnto the Queene, whose aduice he folowed, and incontinent mounted vp on the sayde sir Maurice horse behinde him, and so roade to the Court voluntarily, and not forced by any to yelde himselfe prisoner. This commyng of Wyat to the Court beyng so little looked for, was great cause of reioyce to such as late before stood in great feare of him.

Sir Thomas Wyat submitteth himselfe to the Queene.

But more then maruaile it was to see that day the inuincible heart and constancie of the Queene her selfe, who beyng by nature a woman, and therefore commonly more feareful then men be, shewed her selfe in that case more stoute then is credible. For she notwithstandyng all the fearefull newes that were brought to her that day, neuer abashed, insomuch that when one or two noble men beyng her Capitaynes, came with all hast to tell her (though vntruely) that her battayles were yelded to Wyat: she nothing moued therewith sayde, it was your fond opinion that durst not come nere to see the tryal: saiyng farther, that she her selfe would enter the field to trye the truth of her quarell, and to die with them that would serue her, rather then to yelde one iote vnto such a traytor as Wyat,

The great stomack and courage of Queene Mary.

Wyat, and prepared her selfe accordingly. But by the apprehension of Wyat, that voyage tooke none effect, for after his comnyng to the Court, he was immediately committed to the Tower.

The armie that lay in saint Iames fielde discharged.

Assone as the taking of Wyat was knowne, the armie whereof mencion is made before that lay in saint Iames field were discharged, and euerie man lycenced to depart to his home. And foorthwith proclamation was made, as wel in the Citie of London as in the suburbs of the same, that none vpon paine of death should keepe in his or their houses any of Wyats faction, but should bring them foorth immediatly before the Lord Maior and other the Queenes Iustices. By reason of which proclamation, a great multitude of the sayde poore Caytifes were brought foorth, beyng so many in number, that all the prisons in Lōdon sufficed not to receiue them, so that for lacke of place they were faine to bestowe them in dyuers Churches of the sayde Citie. And shortly after were set vp in London for a terror to the common sort, because the white coates beyng sent out of the Citie (as before ye haue heard) reuoked from the Queenes part to the ayde of Wyat, twentie payre of gallowes, on the which were executed in seueral places to the number of fiftie persons, which Galowesses remayned standing there a great part of the Sommer next folowyng, to the great griefe of good citezens, and for example to the commocioners.

The execution of the Ladie Iane of Suffolke, and the Lord Guylford her husband.

The. xij. day of February next folowyng the Lady Iane of Suffolke and the Lorde Guylforde her husband who before (as you haue heard) were attaynted of Treason, the one for the vsurpation of the estate royall as Queene, the other as a principall adherent to her in that case, according to the iudgement geuen agaynst them suffered execution of death, that is to wyt, he at the Tower hill vpon the Scaffolde, and shee within the Tower, whose deaths were ỹ rather hastened, for that the Duke of Suffolk father to this Ladie, had of late (as ye haue heard) reysed a newe sturre and commotion in his Countrie, making proclamation in the name of his daughter as Queene, which was the shortening of her life, who else was lyke ynough to haue bene pardoned. This gentle yong Ladie endued with singuler gifts both of learning and knowledge as pacyent and mylde as any Lambe came to the place of her execution. And a little before her death beyng vpon the Scaffolde vttered these wordes.

The wordes of the Ladie Iane at her death.

Good people I am come hether to die, and by a law I am condempned to the same. My offence agaynst the Queenes highnesse was onely in consent to the deuise of other, which now is deemed Treason, but it was neuer of my seeking, but by counsayle of those who should seeme to haue further vnderstanding of thinges then I, which knewe little of the lawe, and much lesse of titles to the crowne: But touching the procurement and desire therof by me or on my behalfe, I doe washe my handes in innocency therof before God, and the face of all you (good christian people) this day, and therewith she wrong her handes, wherein she had her booke. Then sayde shee I pray you all good christian people, to beare me wytnesse, that I die a true christian woman, & that I looke to be saued by none other meanes, but only by the mercie of God in the bloud of his onely sonne Iesus Christ. And I confesse that when I did knowe the worde of God, I neglected the same, and loued my selfe and the worlde, and therfore this plague and punishment is iustly and worthily happened vnto mee for my sinnes. And yet I thanke God of his goodnesse that he hath geuen mee a tyme and respite to repent. And nowe good people while I am a liue, I praye you assist me with your prayers. And then kneeling downe she said the Psalme of *(Miserere mei deus)* in English, and then stood vp and gaue her mayden (called mystresse Elyn) her Glones and Handkerchefe, and her booke shee gaue to mayster Bruges then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and so vntyed her Gowne, and the executioner pressed to helpe her of with it, but she desired him to let her alone, and turned her towardes her two Gentlewomen, who helped her of therwith, & with her other attyres, and they gaue her a fayre Handkerchefe to put about her eyes. Then the executioner kneeled downe and asked her forgeuenesse: whome she forgaue most willingly. Then he wylled her to stande vpon the strawe, which done shee sawe the block, and

then

then she sayde I praye you dispatche me quickly. Then she kneeled downe saiyng, will you take it of before I laye me downe? wherevnto the executioner aunswered, no Madame, then tyed she the Handkerchefe about her eyes, and feeling for the block she sayd, where is it, where is it? One of the standers by guyded her therevnto, and shee layde downe her head vpon the block, and then stretched foorth her bodie, and sayde. Lorde into thy hands I commend my spirite, and so finished her life in the yere of our Lorde. 1553. the. xij. day of Februarie.

The same daye a litle before this young Ladyes execution, the Lorde Guilforde her housbande who was a very comely tall Gentlemen, was executed on the Skaffolde at the Tower hill, as aforesayd, whose dead Carkas liyng in a Carre in strawe, was againe brought into the Tower, at the same instant that the Ladie Iane his wife went to her death within the Tower, which miserable sight was to her a double sorow & griefe. Thus these two simple yong soules suffered ignorantly for that, which their parentes & other had vnhappily brought about to the vtter subuersiō of them & their famelies.

Henry Duke of Suffolke arreigned and executed.

The. xvij. day of February next folowyng, Henry Duke of Suffolke father to the aforesayde Lady Iane was arreigned at Westminster and condempned of high treason, and the. xxj. day of the same Moneth, was behedded at the Tower hill. At the tyme of whose condempnation, were also for the same conspiracie condempned many Gentlemen and Yomen, whereof some were executed at London, & some in diuers other places of the realme. And among other, the Lorde Thomas Gray brother to the Duke beyng taken in Northwales was brought to London and there executed.

The Lorde Thomas Grey executed.

The. xxiij. day of the same Moneth, there were brought out of the Tower, Marshalsea, kinges Benche, and other prisones of the Kentishe rebels, and such as were of Wyats faction to the number of foure hundred prisoners, with halters about their neckes to Westminster, where the Queenes pardon was declared vnto them, which they ioyfully receiued, & yelded most humble thankes to God and the Queene, and so were discharged.

The Kentish Rebelles pardoned.

Lady Elizabeth.

The. xv. day of March next folowing, the Lady Elizabeth the Queenes sister and next heire to the Crowne, was apprehēded at her Manor of Ashridge for suspicion of Wyattes conspiracie, and from thence being that tyme very sicke, was with great rygor brought prisoner to London, & shortly after committed to the Tower, where also the Lord Courtnay Erle of Deuonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

And not long after Queene Marye partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Wyattes conspiracie, and partly perceiuyng the more part of them nothing well inclyned towardes her proceedynges in religion, which turned many of them to losse, sommoned a Parliament to bee holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that Citie, which with the Vniuersitie, towne, and Countrie, had shewed themselues very forward in her seruice, but specially in restoryng of the religion called Catholique. For which appoynted Parliament there to be holden, great prouision was made, aswell by the Queenes Officers, as by the townes men, & inhabitaunts of the coūtrey round about. But the Queenes mynde in short space chaunged, and the same Parliament was holden at Westminster in Aprill next folowyng, wherein the Queene proponed two speciall matters; the one for the maryage to be had betweene her & prince Philip of Spaine; the other for the restoryng agayne of the Popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touchyng her maryage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon, but the other request could not be so easily obteyned.

A parliamēt sommoned to be kept at Oxford.

A parliamēt holden at Westminster.

Thomas Cranmer Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, sent as prisoners to Oxford.

The. x. day of Aprill folowyng, Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cauntorbury, Nicholas Ridley late Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once Bishop of Worcester, whe had bene long prisoners in the Tower, were nowe conueyed from thence, and caryed to Windsore, and afterward to the Vniuersitie of Oxforde, there to dispute with the Deuines and learned men of the contrary opinion. Two dayes after their commyng vnto Oxford, which was the. xij. day of the sayde Moneth, diuers learned men of both the

Vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which durying this Parliament was kept in Paules Churche in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in Commission were these folowyng. A conuocatiō.

Oxford	Doctor Weston Prolocutor, Cole, Chedsey, Pye, Harpesfield, Smith,	Cambridge	Young, Seton, Watson, Atkynson, Thecknam, Sedgeswike,

The. xiij. day of Aprill, these disputerrs assembled themselues in saint Maryes Church to conuent the three persons aboue named, vpon certaine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were seuerally one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye may reade in the booke of Monumentes of the Church more at large, and there finde the whole proceedyng in that matter.

Sir Thomas Wyatte of whome mencion is made before, was aboute this time brought from the Tower vnto Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: The Erle of Sussex, Sir Edwarde Hastinges and Sir Thomas Cornewallys with other beyng his Iudges. The effect of whose Indictment among other thinges specially was, that he the. xiiij. day of February last before, with force of armed multitude and Ensignes displayed, had at Brainford raised open war against our souereigne Lady the Queene traiterously pretending and practising to depriue her of her crowne and dignitie. And the question was demaunded of him, whether he was gyltie or no? whereat he stayed, and besought the Iudges that he might first aske a question before he aunswered directly to the poynte. And he was licensed so to do. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe gilty whether the same should not be preiudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession shoulde be barred from vttering of such thinges as he had more to say. Wherevnto it was aunswered by the Courte, Maister Wyatte (sayde they) ye shall haue both leaue and leysure to say what you can. Then my Lordes (quoth he) I must cōfesse my selfe giltie, as in the end the truth of my case must enforce me, I must acknowlege this to be a iust plague for my synnes, which most grieuously I therfore haue cōmitted against God, who suffred me thus brutely & beastly to fall into this horrible offence of the law. Wherfore all you Lords & Gentlemen with other here present, note well my words. Lo here & se in me the same end which all other cōmonly had, which haue attempted like enterprice from the begynning. For peruse the Cronicles through, and you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subiectes against their prince and countrye from the begynning did euer prosper or had better successe, except the case of king Henry the fourth, who although he became a Prynce: yet in his act was but a Rebell, for so must I call him. And though he preuayled for a time, yet was it not long, but that his heires were depriued and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vsurpation so sharpely reuenged afterward in his blood, as it well appered that the long delaye of Gods vengeaunce was supplyed with more grieuous plague in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you Gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past as also by this my present infelicity and most wretched case. Oh most miserable mischieuous, brutishe and beastly furyous imaginations of mine. I was perswaded that by the maryage of the Prince of Spaine, the seconde person of this realme, and next heyre to the crowne should haue bene in daunger, and that I beyng a free borne man, should with my Country haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of Aliens and Straungers: which brutishe beastly opinion then seemed to me reason, & wrought in me such effectes, that it led me hedlong into the practise of this detestable crime of treason. But now beyng better perswaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie and honor which the realme should receaue by this mariage, I stand firme and fast in this opi- Sir Thomas Wyat arreigned.

nion, that if it shoulde please the Queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiecte in this lande that shoulde more truely and faythfully serue her highnesse then I shall, nor no sooner dye at her graces feete in defence of her quarell. I serued her highnesse against the Duke of Northumberlande, as my Lorde of Arondell can witnesse. My Graundfather most truely serued her Maiesties Graundfather, and for his sake was vpon the racke in the Tower. My father likewise serued king Henry the eyght, to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his sonne. And in witnesse of my blood spent in his seruice I cary a mayme. I allege not all this to set foorth my seruice by way of meryte, which I confesse but dutie: But to declare to the whole worlde, that by abusing my wyttes in pursuyng my misaduised opinion, I haue not onely ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doyngs of me and my auncestors (if euer there were any) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death & destruction. Neither do I allege this to iustefie my selfe in any poynt, neither for an excuse of my offence, but most humbly submit my selfe vnto the Queenes maiesties mercy & pitie, desyring you my Lorde of Sussex and you Maister Hastinges withall the rest of this honorable benche to be meanes to the Queenes highnesse for her mercye, which is the greatest treasure that maye be geuen to anye Prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriate to hym selfe, which if her highnesse vouchesafe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truely, and not refuse to dye in her quarell: For I protest before the Iudge of all Iudges I neuer ment hurt against her highnes person.

The quenes Attourney which was Maister Griffin.

Then sayde the Queenes attorney, maister Wyat ye haue great cause to be sory and repentaunt for your fault, wherby you haue not onely vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other Gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued their prince and Countrie; yet if you had gone no farther, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But beyng not so contented to staye your selfe, you haue so procured the Duke of Suffolke (a man soone trayned to your purpose) and his two brethren also, by meane whereof without the Queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that Noble house. And yet not so stayed, your attempt hath reached as much as in you laye to the second person of the realme, in whome next to the Queenes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, whereby her honor is brought in question, and what daunger will folow, and to what ende it will come, God knoweth: Of all this you are the aucthor.

Wyattes aunswere.

Wyat aunswered as I will not in any thing iustify my selfe, so I beseech you I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, or to make mee seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touche any person by name, but that I haue written, I haue written.

The Iudge.

Then sayde the Iudge, maister Wyat, maister Attorney hath well moued you to repent your offences, and we for our partes wish you the same.

Sir Edwarde Hastynges.

Then sayde syr Edward Hastings maister of the Queenes horse, maister Wyat, doe ye remember, when I and mayster Cornewallys were sent vnto you from the Queenes highnesse to demaunde the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? were not these your demaundes, that the Queenes grace should go to the Tower and there remaine, and you to haue the rule of the Tower, & her person with the treasure in keeping. And such of her counsayle as you would require to be delyuered into your hands, saiyng that you would be trusted, and not trust? which wordes when Wyat had confessed. Then

This was maister Cordall nowe maister of the Rolles.

sayde the Queenes Solliciter, maister Wyat your presumption was ouer great, and your attempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall infamy, and shall be called Wyats rebellion, as Watte Tylers was called Watte Tylers rebellion. Then sayd the Attorney maister Wyat, were you not priuie to a deuise wherby the Queene should haue bene murdered in a place, where she should walcke, I doe not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I must saye on your behalfe, that you misliked that deuise? That (sayde Wyat)

William Thomas.

was the deuise of Wylliam Thomas, whom euer after I abhorred for that cause. Then was a letter shewed, which Wyat being in Southwarke had written to the Duke of Suffolke, that he should meete him at Kingston bridge, and from thence to accompanie him

to

to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wyat at the first did not seme to remember any such letter, but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hande. Then was it demaunded of him among other things why he refused the Queenes pardon when it was offered him. My Lordes quoth he: I confesse my fault and offence to be most vile & heynous, for the which, first I aske God mercie, and next vnto him my souereigne liege Ladie and Quene, whome I haue most greeuously offended, appealing wholy to her mercie, without the which I cannot chalenge any thing, such is my offence alreadie committed. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me with no mo questions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto her grace in wryting. And finally here I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherein I haue serued, this was the most desperate and painfull iournay euer I made. And where you asked why I did not receaue the Queenes pardon when it was offered vnto me, Oh vnhappie man what shall I saye? when I was once entered into this Deuilishe desperate aduenture, there was no waye, but to wade through with that I had taken in hande, for I had thought that other had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I found farre otherwise: So that being bent to kepe promise with al my confederates, none kept promise with me: For I lyke a Moyle went through thick and thinne with this determination, that if I should come to any treaty, I should seeme to bewray all my friendes. But whereto should I spende anye moe wordes? I yeelde my selfe wholy vnto the Queenes mercie, knowing well that it is onely in her power to make me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the world with Watte Tyler, or else to make me perticipant of that pittie which shee hath extended in as great crymes as mine, most humbly beseeching you all to be meanes for me to her highnesse for mercie, which is my last and only refuge. The will of God be done on mee. Vpon this confession without further triall he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of Treason, which was to be hanged drawen and quartered. And the. xj. day of Aprill next folowing he was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing and hanging, but had his head striken of, & his body cut in foure quarters & set vp in diuers places about the City, & his hed was set vpon the Galowes at Hay hill beside Hide parke. But here by the way is to be noted, that hee being on the Scaffold redie to suffer, he declared that the Ladie Elizabeth and syr Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire whome he had accused before (as it seemed) were neuer priuie to his doings so farre as he knewe, or was able to charge them. And when Doctor Weston beyng then his confessor tolde him that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsayle: he aunswered thus, that I sayd then I sayd: But that which I say now, is true. This was the ende of Wyat and his conspiracie.

The confession of Wyat.

The execution of Sir Thomas Wyat.

The. xvij. daye of Aprill next folowing, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton knight was brought from the Tower to the Guildhall in London, and there arreigned of high treason as adherent and principall counsaylor to the sayd Wyat and the Duke of Suffolke and the rest, in the afore remembred conspiracie agaynst the Queene. But he so stoutly, and therwithall so cunningly aunswered for himselfe, as well in cleering of his cause, as also in defending & aduoyding such poyntes of the lawes of the realme as were then alleged agaynst him, that the quest which passed vpon his life and death found him not guiltie, with which verdite the Iudges and counsayle there present were so much offended, that they bounde the Iury to appere at a daye in the starre Chamber before the Lordes: By whose awarde, some of them were committed to the Tower, and some other to the Fleete, where they lay vnto the. xiiij. day of Nouember next folowing, and could not be set at libertie vntill they had paide such fines as were taxed vpon them, which you may be sure were not small.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton.

William Thomas of whome mencion is made before in the history of Sir Thomas Wyatte with certain other, were arreigned and condempned for the conspiring of the murder and killing of the Queene vpon the sodaine. And for that offence the sayd William was the. xviij. day of Maye drawne hanged and quartered at Tiborne.

William Thomas arreigned and condempned.

The. xix. day of Maye next following the Ladye Elizabeth Sister to Queene Mary was

The Ladie Elizabeth deliuered out of the Tower and sent as prisoner to Woodstock.

Sir Henrye Benyngfield knight.

delyuered out of the Tower and committed to the custodie of Sir Iohn Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Tame, by whome her grace was more curteously entreated, then some woulde: wherefore shortely after she was committed to the Maner of Woodstocke vnder the custodye of sir Henry Benyngfielde of Oxenborough in the countie of Norffolke knight, at whose hands she found not the like curtesy: Who (as it was well knowne) vsed his office more like a Gaylor, then a Gentleman and with such rigor as was not meete to be shewed to such an estate. But here is to be noted not so much the vnciuile nature of the man, as the singuler lenitie and gracious clemency of that gentle and verteous Princes, who afterward (as shall appere) comming to the possession of the crowne as her rightfull inheritaunce, was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries receyued, that where as diuerse princes haue requyted much lesse offences with losse of life, she neuer touched him, eyther with the daunger of life, eyther losse of landes or goodes, nor neuer proceeded further then to discharge him of the Courte, which many thought, was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from her presence, shee vsed onely these wordes or the like in sence, God forgeue you that is past and we doe, and if we haue any prisoner, whome we would haue hardly handled and straightly kept, then we will send for you.

1554

2

The arriuall of Philippe Prince of Spayn at Southhaton.

Tho. xix. day of Iulye next followyng, Phillipe Prince of Spaine, sonne and heire vnto Charles the fift of that name Emperour of Rome, passing out of Spayne arriued at Southhampton. And the fourth daye after he tooke his iourney to Winchester, and came thether in the euening, where goyng to the church he was honorablye receaued of the Bishoppe and a great number of the Nobles of the Realme. The next day he came to the sight of Queene Mary, with whome he had long and familier talke, and the xxv. of the sayde Moneth being the day of Saint Iames (whome the Spaniards call their patrone) the mariage betwene them was in the sayd Citie of Winchester in most honorable maner solempnised. At which time the Emperors Ambassadour beyng present, openly pronounced that in consideration of that mariage the Emperour had graunted and geuen to the sayd Prince his sonne the kingdome of Naples. &c. Hierusalem with diuers other states and seigniories. The solempnitie of that mariage ended, the king of Heraults called Garter openly in the Church in the presence of the king, the Queene, the Lordes as well of Englande as Spaine, and all the people beyng present, solempnly proclaimed the tytle & style of these two princes as foloweth.

Philippe Prince of Spaine and Queene Marye maried.

The title of king Philip and Queene Mary.

Philyp and Mary by the grace of God king and Queene of England Fraunce, Naples, Icrusalem and Ireland, defendours of the fayth, Princes of Spaine and Sicile, Archedukes of Austriche, Dukes of Milleyn, Burgondy and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flaundyrs and Tiroll.

The proclamation beyng ended, the Trumpets blew and the king and the Queene came foorth of the Church hande in hande, and two swordes borne before them, and so returned to their Palace. And assoone as the feastyng and solempnitie of the sayd mariage was ended, the king and Queene departed from Winchester, and taking Hampton Court in their waye, came from thence by water into Southwarke, and so ouer Lōdon bridge through the Citie of London vnto Westminster. At which time the Citie was bewtefied with sumpteous pagiaunts and hanged with riche and costly Silkes and cloth of golde and siluer.

A parliamēt.

Cardinall Poole.

The xij. day of Nouember next folowyng began a Parliament at Westminster, to the which the King and the Queene rode in their Parliament robes. Duryng the tyme of this Parliament Cardinall Poole (of whome mencion is made before) arryued in England about the xxiiij. day of the said Moneth, who beyng receyued with much honour in all other Countries that he had passed, was here in England receyued with no great shewe, for the causes afore declared. And shortly after he was restored by a speciall act of Parliament to his former estate and dignitie (whereof he was depriued by king Henry the eyght.) After which acte passed, this Cardinall came into the Parliament house, beyng

at that present kept in the great Chamber of the Court of Whitehall, for that the Queene by reason of sicknesse was not able to go abroade (where the king and Queene sittyng vnder the cloth of estate, and the Cardinall sittyng on the right hande, with all the other estates of the realme being present) and the knightes and Burgesses of the common house beyng also called thether, the Bishop of Winchester beyng Lorde Chauncelor spake in this maner.

The wordes of the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chauncelor.

My Lordes of the vpper house, and you my Maysters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God, my Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate a latery, come from the Apostolique sea of Rome, as Ambassador to the King and Queenes Maiesties, vpon one of the waightiest causes that euer happened in this realme, and which perteyneth to the glory of God and your vniuersall benefite. The which Ambassade their Maiesties pleasure is to be signifyed vnto you all by his awne mouth, trustyng that you will receyue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wise, as their highnesses haue done, and that you will geue attentiue and inclinable eares vnto his grace, who is nowe readie to declare the same.

So soone as the Lorde Chauncelor had ended his tale, the Cardinall began and made a long and solempne oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected into these fewe articles.

The effect of the Cardinals Oration.

First, he yelded most heartie thankes to the King and Queene, and next vnto the whole Parliament, that of a man exiled and banished from this common weale, they had restored him againe to bee a member of the same, and to the honor of his house and family. And of a man hauyng no place, neyther here nor else where within the realme, to haue admitted him into place where to speake, and to be heard.

Secondly, that his speciall commyng was for the restitution of thys Realme to the auncient estate, and to declare that the Sea Apostolique hath a speciall care of this realme aboue all other, and chiefly for that this Islande first of all other prouinces of Europe, receyued the light of Christes religion from the Sea of Rome.

Thirdly, he exhorted that though the realme had swarued from the Catholike vnitie, that yet beyng better informed we ought to returne into the bosome of the Church most open to receiue all penitentes. For the perswasion whereof, he brought a number of olde examples, what perill and hurte hath happened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the Church of Rome, namely Greece and Germany, &c.

Fourthly, how much we are bounde to God for the King and Queenes Maiesties, and how miraculously God had saued and defended our Queene from her enemyes in most daungerous tymes: And also that he hath prouided to ioyne with her in mariage, such a noble prince as king Philip was, and one of her awne religion.

Fiftly, he exhorted them all to the obedience of these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to be had betwene them, addyng that king Philips father the Emperour had among other princes trauayled most, for the restitution of the peace and vnitie of the Church: But as almighty God sayd vnto Dauid, though he had a minde and will to builde his Temple, yet because he had shed bloud, he should not build it, but his sonne Salomon should build it. And so because the Emperour hath had so many warres, and shed so much bloud, therefore he could not attaine to bring perfect peace to the Church. But truely (sayde he) this gracious prince king Philip his sonne (as I conceyue) is appoynted of God to it, considerynge now the callyng of him to bee ioyned with so Catholique a princes, as is the Queene of this realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God for the restoryng of the sayde realme to the vnitie of the Church, from whence it hath erred and gone astray, as it doth and may manifestly appere.

Sixtly he protested that his Commission was not to preiudice any person, for he came not to destroy, but to buylde: he came to reconcile, and not to condempne: he came not to compell, but to call againe: he came not to call any thing in question all readie done: But his commission was of grace and clemencie to all such as would receyue it.

For

For touchyng all matters past and done, they should be cast into the Sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to be thought vpon.

Finally (sayde he) the meane whereby to receyue this high benefite, is first to reuoke and repeale all such lawes as are impedimentes, blockes, and barres to this most gracious reconciliation. For lyke as he himselfe had no place to speake there, before such lawes were abrogated and remoued as stoode in his way, euen so they could not receyue the grace offered from the Sea Apostolike, vntill those like impedimentes of lawes made agaynst the Sea of Rome were clerely abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion aduertised them, first for the glory of God, and next for the conseruation and suretie of the welth and quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should earnestly trauaile therein, and that then he would make them participant of the benefite of his commission.

A supplication exhibited to Cardinall Poole by the Parliament house.

The next day, the whole Court of Parliament drewe out the forme of a supplication, and the next day folowyng that, the King and Queene, and the Cardinall with al the Nobles and Commons beyng assembled againe in the great Chamber of the white Hall aforesayd. The Bishop of Winchester there declared what the Parliament had determined concernyng the Cardinalles request, and then offered to the king and Queene the sayde supplication, the copie whereof foloweth.

WE the Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, representyng the whole bodie of the realme of England, and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues perticulerly, and also of the sayd bodie vniuersally, offer this our most humble supplication to your Maiesties, to this ende and effect, that the same by your graces intercession and meane, may be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God, the Lord Cardinall Poole Legate, sent specially hether from our most holy father Pope Iulio the thirde, and the sea Apostolique of Rome, wherein we do declare our selues very sory and repentant of the long Schisme and disobedience happening in this realme and the dominions of the same, against the sayd Sea Apostolique, eyther by making, agreeing, or executing of any lawes, ordinaunces or commaundements agaynst the primacy of the same Sea, or otherwise doyng or speaking that might impugne or preiudice the same. Offering our selues and promising by this our supplication, that for a token & knowlege of our sayd repentance, we be and shall be euer readie vnder and with the auctborities of your Maiesties, to the vttermost of our power, to do that shall lye in vs for the abrogation and repealyng of all the sayd lawes and ordinaunces made or enacted to the preiudice of the Sea Apostolique, aswell for our selues, as for the whole bodie whom we represent. Wherevpon most humbly we beseech your Maiesties, as personages vndefiled in offence of his bodie towardes the sayd See, which neuerthelesse God by his prouidence hath made subiect to you, so to set foorth this our humble suyte, as we the rather by your intercession maye obteyne from the See Apostolique by the sayde most reuerende father, aswell perticulerly as generally, *Absolution*, *Release*, and *Discharge* from all daungers of such Censures and sentences, as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may as children repentaunt, be receyued into the bosome and vnitie of Christes Church, so as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, may in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the See Apostolique, and Popes for the tyme beyng, serue God and your Maiesties to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

This supplication being first openly read, the same was by the Chauncelour delyuered to the king and Queene with peticion to them to exhibite the same to the Lorde Cardinall. And the king and Queene rysing out of their seates and doyng reuerence to the Cardinall did delyuer the same vnto him. The Cardinall perceyuing the effect thereof to auuswere to his expectation, did receiue it most gladly at their maiesties handes. And then after that he had in fewe wordes geuen thankes vnto God, & declared what great cause he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into Englande had taken suche most happie successe, then he caused his commission to be read (whereby it

might appere that he had auᵗthoritie of the Pope to absolue them) which commission was verie long and large. And that beyng done and all the parliament on their knees, this Cardinall by the Popes authoritie gaue them Absolution in maner folowyng.

Our Lord Iesus Christ which with his most precious bloud hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sinnes & iniquities that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whome the father hath appointed head ouer all his Church. He by his mercy absolue you: And we by the Apostolique auᵗthoritie geuen vnto vs by the most holy Lord Pope Iulius the thirde (his Vicegerent in earth) doe absolue and delyuer you and euery of you with the whole realme and the dominions therof, from all heresie and Schisme, and from all and euery iudgements, censures and paynes for that cause incurred. And also we doe restore you agayne to the vnitie of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters of commission more plainely shall appere. In the name of the father, the sonne, and holye ghost. Amen. An absolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to the parliament house.

After this generall absolution receyued, the king and the Queene and all the Lordes with the rest went into the kings Chapell, and there sang *Te deum* with great ioy and gladnesse for this newe reconciliation.

The report of this with great speede flewe to Rome, as well by the French kinges letters, as also by the Cardinalles, whereupon the Pope caused solempne Processions to be made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himselfe with all his Cardinalles were present, passyng with as great solempnitie & pompe as might be, geuyng thankes to God with great ioy, for the cōuersion of England to his Church. At what time also he not a little cōmended the diligence of Cardinall Poole, and the deuocion of the King and Queene. And on Christmasse euen next folowyng, he set forth by his Bulles, a generall pardon to all such as did reioyce in the same reconciliation.

The. xxviij. of Nouember next folowyng, it was commonly reported, that the Queene was quickewith childe, and therefore commaundement was geuen by Edmond Bonner Bishop of London (and as it was sayd) not without the commaundement of the Counsaile, that there should be made in most solempne maner one generall Procession in Lōdon, wherin the Maior and all the companyes of the Citie were in their Lyueries. At whose returne to the Churche of Paules, there was song verye solempnly *Te Deum* for ioy thereof.

The second day of December beyng Sonday, Cardinall Poole came to Paules Church in London with great pompe, hauyng borne before him a Crosse, two Pillers, and two Pollaxes of siluer, and was there solempnlye receiued by the Bishop of Wynchester Chauncelor of England, who met him with Procession. And shortly after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, beyng accompanyed with a great number of his Nobles. And the same day the Bishop of Winchester preached at Paules Crosse, in the which Sermon he declared that the King & Queene had restored the Pope to his right of Primacie, and that the three estates assembled in Parliament, representyng the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselues to his holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also he greatly praysed the Cardinall, and set foorth the passyng high auᵗthoritie that he had from the Sea of Rome, with much other glorious matter in the commendation of the Church of Rome which he called the Sea Apostolique. The Sermon beyng ended, the king and the Cardinall ridyng together, returned to the Court at Whitehall: And the king had his sworde borne before him, and the Cardinall had onely his Crosse, and no more.

The. xxvij. of the sayde Moneth the Duke of Sauoye called prince of Pyamount came into Englande, accompanied with diuers other Lordes and gentlemen straungers, who were receaued at Grauesende by the Erle of Bedford Lorde priuie Seale, and conueyed by water through London bridge to whyte hall where the king and Queene then lay, and the. ix. of Ianuary next followyng the prince of Orenge was in lyke maner receyued at Grauesend, and from thence conueyed to the Court, being at whyte hall.

The.

The. xxij. of the same Moneth, the parliament (which began the. xxij. of Nouember before) was dissolued, wherein among other actes passed there, the statute *ex officio* and other lawes made for punishment of heretiques were reuyued. But chiefly the Popes most liberall Bull of dispensation of Abbey lande was there confirmed much to the contentation of many, who not without cause suspected by this newe vnion to leese some peece of their late purchase.

In February next folowyng, Docter Thirlby Byshop of Ely, and Anthony Lorde Mountagew with a very honorable trayne of Gentlemen and other roade foorth of the Citie of London towardes Rome, as Ambassadours sent from the king and Queene to confirme thys newe reconciliation to the Pope.

William Fetherston a boy nameth himselfe king Edward the sixt.

About thys time a yong strypling, whose name was Wylliam Fetherstone a Myllers sonne, about the age of. xviij. yeres, named and bruted himselfe to be king Edwarde the sixt, whereof when the Queene and the Counsaile heard, they caused with all diligence, inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwarke, and brought before the counsayle at Hampton Court, and there examined. And it was demaunded of hym, why he so named himselfe, to the which, he counterfeytyng a maner of simplicitie or rather frensie would make no direct aunswere, but prayed pardon, for he wist not what he sayde, affirming farther that he was counsayled so to saye and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certayne persons, but his talke was not founde true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalsea as a Lunatike foole. And the. xxviij. daye of Maye next folowyng, the aforesaide counterfeyte Prince was brought in a Cart from the Marshalsea, through the Citie of London with a paper on his head, wherein was written that he named himselfe king Edwarde. And from thence was conueyed to Westminster, beyng lead rounde about the hall and shewed to all the people there and afterwarde taken oute of the Cart and strypped, and then whypped rounde aboute the Palace at the same Cartes tayle, and without more punishment was discharged and set at libertie. But the yere next folowyng, for that he had spreade abroade that king Edwarde was alyue, and that he had spoken with him, he was agayne apprehended and arreigned of high treason, whereof beyng condempned, he shortly after was drawne to Tyborne and there hanged and quartered the. xiij. of Marche.

The Lorde Courtney set at libertie.

About this time Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonshire of whome before ye haue heard, was delyuered out of the Tower, and was licenced to depart into Italy, where shortly after he ended his life, beyng sick and dead in lesse then. xiiij. dayes, & was honorably buried at Padway. This Courtney was the onely sonne and heyre of Henry Marques of Excester, Cosyn Germayne to king Henry the eyght as is sayde before, for the sayde king and he were dissended of two sisters Elizabeth and Katheryn, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithstanding, the sayd Marques for poynts of treason layde agaynst him suffred at the Tower hill the. xxx. yere of the reigne of king Henry the eyght, to the great dolour of the most of the subiectes of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour. After whose death thys yong gentleman his sonne beyng yet a child was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this Queene Mary as before you haue heard. This gentleman as it appered was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeres of age vnto. xxx. he had scarse two yeres liberty, within the which time he dyed, and obteyned quiet, which in his lyfe he coulde neuer haue.

Ambassadors sent to intreate a peace betweene the French king and the Emperour.

In the Moneth of Maye next followyng, Cardinall Poole who had bene a great laborer for peace betweene the French king and the Emperor, beyng accompanied with Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chauncelor of England, the Erle of Arondell high Stuard of England, and the Lorde Paget, were sent by the king and Queene ouer the sea to Calice, and from thence went to the towne of Marke, where they met with the Ambassadors of the Emperor and the French king. From the Emperor were sent the Bishop of Arras with other. From the French king was sent the Cardinall of Loreine

and

and the Constable of Fraunce. In this treatie Cardinall Poole sate as President and Vmpiere in the name of the Queene of Englande. This peace was greatly labored, where at the first there was much hope, but in the ende nothing was concluded: Wherefore the. xvij. day of Iune, this assembly was dissolued, and the English Ambassadors returned againe into England.

In the beginning of September. 1555. king Philip went ouer into Flaunders to the Emperor his father. And in the moneth of October next following, fell so great a rayne, that the aboundaunce thereof caused the Thames to swel so high, that for the space of foure or fiue dayes, the Boates and Barges rowed ouer all Saint Georges fielde, and the water roase so high at Westminster, that likewise a Boate might haue bene rowed from the one ende of the Hall to the other. 1555 3 A great flood encreased by rayne.

About this time the Bishops of Lincolne, Glocester, and Bristow were sent in commission to Oxford by the Popes aucthoritie, to examine Ridley & Latimer vpon certain articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the Popes doctrine, then had they power to proceede to sentence against them as Heretiques, and to commit them ouer to the seculer power. Those two Doctors neuerthelesse, stood constantly to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke, for which cause they were sone condempned, and after burned in the towne Diche at Oxforde the sixtene day of October. In the time of whose examination, because the Bishops aforesayde declared themselues to be the Popes Commissioners, neyther Ridley nor Latimer would do them any reuerence, but kept their Cappes on their heddes, wherefore they were sharpely rebuked by the Bishop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commaunded to take of their Cappes. Of these men and the maner of their death, ye may reade at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Churche. Commissioners sent to Oxenford.

The. xxj. of October a parliament was holden at Westminster in the which among other thinges, the Queene beyng perswaded by the Cardinal (and other of her Clergy) that she could not prosper so long as she kept in her hands any possessions of the Church, did franckly and freely resigne and render vnto them all those reuenewes ecclesiasticall which by the aucthoritie of parliament in the time of king Henry had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruites and tenthes of all Bishoprickes, benefices and ecclesiasticall promotions: The resignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. A parliamẽt. Quene Marie refuseth the first fruits and tenthes.

During the time of this parliament, Stephyn Gardiner Bishoppe of Winchester and Chauncelor of England dyed at his house called Winchester place beside Saint Mary Oueryes in Southwarke the ninthe daye of Nouember, whose Corps was shortely after very solempnely from thence conueyed to his church of Winchester, and there buried. After whose death, Nicholas Heath Archebishop of Yorke was preferred by the Queene to the office of Chauncelor. The death of Stephen Gardyner Byshop of Winchester. The Archebyshop of Yorke.

In the moneth of Marche next following, there was in maner none other talke but of the great preparation that was made for the Queenes liyng in Childbed, who had already taken vp her chamber, and sundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about her in euery Office of the Courte. In somuche that all the Courte was full of Midwifes, Norsses and Rockers, and this talke continued almost halfe a yere, & was affirmed true by some of her Phisitians, & other persons about her, which seemed both graue & credible. Insomuch that diuers were punished for saiyng the contrary. And moreouer commaundement geuen in all Churches for Procession with supplications and prayers to be made to almighty God, for her safe deliuery, yea and diuerse prayers were specially made for that purpose. And the sayde rumor continued so long, that at the last reporte was made that she was deliuered of a Prince, and for ioy thereof, Belles were rong, and Bonefiers made, not onely in the Citie of London, but also in sundry places of the realme. But in the ende all proued cleane contrary, and the ioye and expectation of the people vtterly frustrate: For shortely it was fully certefied (all most to all men) that the Queene was A rumor that Queene Mary was deliuered of a Prince.

as then, neyther deliuered of childe, nor after was in hope to haue any. Of this the people spake diuersly: Some sayde that the rumor of the Queenes conception was spred for a pollecy. Some affirmed that she was with childe, but it miscaried: Some other sayde that she was deceaued by a Timpanye or other like disease, whereby she thought she was with child and was not: But what the truth was I referre the report therof to other that knoweth more.

About this tyme Brookes Bishop of Gloucester, was by the Cardinall sent downe as Commissioner from the Pope to Oxford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cauntorbury, in suche things as should be layd to hys charge by Iohn Story, and Thomas Martyn Doctors in the lawes, sent specially in commission from the Queene. At which time, the sayd Archebishop, makyng lowe obedience to them that sate in the Queenes name, shewed no tokens of reuerence to the Bishop that was the Popes Commissioner, who neuerthelesse proceeded agaynst him as Iudge, and conuicted him of herisie. Accordyng to the which sentence the. xxi. day of Marche folowyng, he was disgraded by Edmonde Bonner, and Thomas Thirlby Bishops of London and Elye, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Ridley and Latimer before had suffered. Before his death, by the perswasion of a Spanishe Frier named Frier Iohn a reader of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and by the Counsaile of certaine other that put him in hope of life and pardon: he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholy to the Church of Rome, and continued in the same mynd to outward appearaunce, vntill he was brought out of prison to go to the fire. Afore whose execution, a Sermon was made by Doctor Cole Deane of Paules in saint Maries Church in Oxford, who in the end of his sermō the said doctor Cole praied the people to encline their eares to such thinges as the sayde Cranmer would declare vnto them by his awne mouth, for (saith he) he is a man very repentant, & will here before you all reuoke his errors. Neuertheles, he did clene cōtrary, & with many teares protested, that he had subscribed to the sayde recantation agaynst his conscience, onely for feare of death and hope of lyfe (which seemed to be true) for when he came to the stake, and the fyre kindeled, he put his right hande into the fyre, and helde it there a good space, saiyng that the same hand should first burne, because it helde the penne to subscribe agaynst his Lorde God.

Thomas Cranmer Archebishop of Cauntorbury condempned.

Cranmer put to death.

Immediately after the death of the sayde Bishop Cranmer, Cardinall Poole was made Archebishop of Cauntorbury, who duryng the lyfe of the other, would neuer be consecrate Archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, may see the same at large in the booke of the Monumentes of the Church, where you shall also finde that about this tyme many were in trouble for religion.

Cardinall Poole made Archebishop of Cantorburie.

Persecution for religion.

The. xxviij. day of the aforesayd Moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers Mayde of the Gaole of Newgate in London, who left a Candle where a great deale of strawe was, the same was set on fyre and brent all the tymber worke on the Northsyde of the sayde Gate.

Newgate set on fier.

The Sommer next folowyng was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was to haue raysed warre in the realme agaynst the Queene, for maintenaunce whereof their first enterprice was to haue robbed the treasorye of the Queenes Exchequer at Westminster, as it fell oute afterwardes in proofe. The vtterer of which conspiracie was one Whyte, who at the beginnyng was made priuie to the same, wherevpon diuers of the conspirators, namely, Henry Peckham, Daniell Dethicke, Vdall, Throgmarton, and Capitain Stanton with diuers other were apprehended and executed. Moreouer Sir Anthony Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and dyed in the way commyng to London.

A conspiracy.

Sir Anthony Kingston knight.

This yere the hote burnyng Feuers and other straunge diseases which began the yere before, consumed much people in all partes of Englande, but namely of most auncient and graue men. So that in London betweene the. xx. of October, and the last of December,

1556

4

cember, there dyed seuen Aldermen, whose names were, Henry Heardson, sir Richard Dabbes late Maior, Sir William Laxston late Maior, Sir Henry Hobblethorne late Maior, Sir Iohn Champneys late Maior, Sir Iohn Aileph late Shriefe, and Sir Iohn Gressam late Maior.

About this tyme came to London an Ambassador to the Queene from the Emperor of Cathay, Moscouia, and Russeland, who was honorably receyued by the Marchauntes of London hauyng trade in those Countreys, who bare all his costes and charges from the tyme of hys entrie into England out of Scotland (for thether by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to lande.) And after his message and Ambassade done to the Queene, he departed againe with three fayre ships from Grauesende into his Countrey, when he had remayned here by the space of two Monethes and more. An Ambassadour out of Muscouia.

Also about this time the Lord Sturton for a verie shamefull and wretched murther committed by him vpō two gentlemen the father & the sonne, of the Surnames of Hargill beyng his neere neighbours, was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London. And although the Queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholique religion, yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deede, she abhorred him, and commaunded that he shoulde be vsed according to iustice. Wherefore shortly after he was brought to Westminster and there arreigned and found guiltie and had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged, and for the same fact were likewise condempned foure of his seruaunts. And the second day of Marche next folowyng, the sayde Lorde with his saide seruauntes were conueyed by the Queenes Garde from the Tower of London through the Citie, he hauing his armes pinyoned at his back, and his legges bound vnder the horse belly, and so caryed to Salisburie, where the sixt daye of Marche next he was hanged in the market place of the same towne, and his foure seruauntes were hanged in the Countrie neere vnto the place, where the murder was committed. The Lorde Sturton apprehended for a murther & condempned and hanged at Salisburye.

This yere for the more parte there was in Englande a great dearth, namely of corne, for Wheat and Rie were commonly solde for fiue shyllings and sixe shyllings a Bushell, and in some places at higher prices. But in the later ende of the yere towarde harnest, the price fell so muche, and specially after new corne was come into the Barne, that within lesse space then eyght weekes, from sixe shillings it fell to sixtene pence a Bushell and lesse. A great dearth, and after great plentie.

This present month of March, king Philip who a long season had bene in Flaundyrs to take possession and gouernement of the lowe Countries as is aforesayde, did now returne into England, and passed thorough London, beyng accompanied with the Queene, and dyuers nobles of the realme: But because a great warre was towarde betweene him and the Frenche king, he taryed not long here, but in the middest of Sommer passyng the Seas agayne into Flaundyrs made great prouision for the same. At thys time the common people began to mutter and saye that king Philip sought occasions to be absent from the Queene. At which tyme report was made that the French king was verie loth to haue warre with England, albeit the Queene tangling her selfe in her husbandes quarrell, sent a defiaunce to the French king, by Clarenseaux her Herault, and not long after transported an armie of one thousande horsemen, foure thousande footemen, and two thousand pyoners to ayde the king her husbande. Of the which armie Wylliam Erle of Penbrooke was made generall, vnder whome many noble men and gentlemen (although dyuers suspected to be protestants) were by the Queenes commaundement appoynted to serue. The returne of king Philip into Englande. Queene Mary proclaymeth open warre wyth the french king.

The. xv. day of Iuly dyed the Lady Anne of Cleue at Chelsey, and was honorably buried at Westminster. 1557

The Queenes armie being thus sent ouer, ioyned with the armie of king Philip and besieged the towne of saint Quintyne in Fraunce. For the rescue of which towne, shortly after, that is to saye the tenth of August beyng the daye of saint Laurence, the French king sent a great army vnder the conduyt of Duke Mountmorency Conestable of Fraūce to Saint Quintine besieged.

to remoue ỹ siege of the said towne, and to geue king Philip battaile, if occasion so serued. The Frenche men pressing neere the towne to put in succours of mo souldiours, came within the daunger of king Philips horsemen, which beyng led by the Counteys of Aygmond, Horne, Mansfelt & the Dukes of Brunswike to the number of fiue thousand men of armes beside the Swart Rutters and light horsemen gaue suche a furious and cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen that they not able to resist the same were altogether defeated, and their battayles as well horsemen as footemen put to flight, whereof king Philip hauyng knowledge pursued them with all his forces, in which pursuyte were slayne of the frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that folow. Iohn of Burbone Duke of Anghien. The Viscount of Turayn. The eldest sonne of Roche du Mayn. The Lord of Chandenyer, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field, and there were taken prisoners these following.

The Duke of Mountmorencie Conestable of Fraunce and one of his sonnes called Mounsire de Meru.

The Duke of Mountpencieur.
The Duke of Longueuyle.
The Marshall of saint Androw.
The Rynegraue Coronall of the Almaynes.
Roche du Mayn.
The Countie Rochefoucault.
The Vicount of Tourayn.
The Baron of Curton.
The prince of Mantua.

Besides many other Gentlemen and Capitaynes. And the. xviij. day of the sayde Month, by the speciall ayde and helpe of the Englishe men, the towne of saint Quintine was taken, for when the other souldiours after dyuers assaultes were repulsed and gaue ouer, the Englishe men of a stoute courage gaue a newe onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in rewarde of their well doyng, king Philip graunted them the saccage of the sayde towne: But the swart Rutters which keepe no rule where they be strongest, set vpon the English men in takyng of the spoyle and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, and men thought that if the English men, beyng much fewer in number had not bene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both partes. At this siege the Lord Henry Dudley yongest sonne to the Duke of Northumberlande was slayne with the shot of agreat peece, as he stowped on the wall and steyed to rip his hose on the knee thereby to haue bene the more apt to the assault. After the wynning of thys towne, newes in post were brought into England to the Queene, who caused generall processions to be made and *Te deum* to be song, geuing all laude and prayse vnto almightie God for this great victorie. And in the streetes of euery Citie and towne of the realme were made Bonefires with great reioysing: Which sodayne short gladnesse turned very shortly after to a greater long sorrow. For if ought were wonne by the hauing of saint Quintines, England gate nothing at all, for the gayne thereof came onely to king Philip. But the losse of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes with all the Countrie on that side the sea, (which followed sone after) was suche a buffet to Englande as happened not in more then an hundred yere before, and a dishonor wherwith this realme shall be blotted, vntyll God shall geue power to redubbe it with some like requitall to the French.

Saint Quintynes taken.

Doctor Weston. Doctor Weston beyng (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with Cardinall Poole, and other Bishoppes, because he was vnwilling to resigne his Deanery of Westminster to the Queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in olde time before) the religion of Monkes, whome in deede he fauoured not, although in all other thinges he stood with the Church of Rome. Neuerthelesse, by very importune suite or rather compulsion, he with his Colleges resigned the Deanry of Westminster. In recompence whereof, he was made Deane of Windsor, where not long after he was apprehended in aduiterye, and for that fact was by the Cardinall depriued of all his spirituall liuyngs, from whose sentence he appealed to the courte of Rome. For the followyng of which appeale, he sought secreatly to departe the realme: but he was

apprehended by the waye, and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner, vntill by the death of Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth came to the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and forthwith fell sicke and dyed. The common talke was, that if he had not so sodainly dyed, he woulde haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the Clergy (meaning the Cardinall) whiche was to haue taken vp king Henryes bodye at Windsor to haue brent it as many thought.

At this time, although open hostility and warre were betwene England and Fraunce, yet contrary to the auncient custome afore vsed, the towne of Calice and the Fortes there aboutes were not supplyed with any new accrues of souldiors, which negligence was not vnknowne to the enemie, who long before had practised the wynning of the sayd towne and countrye. The French king therefore beyng sharpely netteled with the late losse of Sainte Quintines, and a great peece of his countrye adioyning, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meete to let slippe this occasion: And hauing presently a full army in area- dinesse to employ where most aduauntage should appere, determined with all speede to put in proofe the enterprice of Calice, which long and many tymes before was purposed vpon. This practise was not so secreat, but that the Deputies of Calice and Guines had some intelligence thereof, and informed the Queene and her counsaile accordingly. Neuerthelesse eyther by wilfull negligence there, or lacke of credite, by the Queenes counsayle here: this great case was so slenderly regarded, as no prouision of defence was made vntill it was somewhat to late. The Duke of Guise being Generall of the French Army, proceeded in this enterprice with merueylous polecy. For approching the English Frontier vnder colour to vittayle Bulleyne and Arde, he entred the same vpon a sodaine, and tooke a litle Bulwarke at Sandgate by assaulte, and then deuided hys armye into two partes, sendyng one parte with certaine peeces of great artillery along the Downes by the sea side, towardes Rise Banke: & the other parte furnished also with battery peeces, marched strayte forth to Newnam Bridge: meaning to batter these two Fortris both at one tyme, which thing he did wyth such celerytie, that cōming thether very late in the euening: he was maister of both by the next Morning, whereat the first shot discharged at Newnam bridge, the head of the maister Gunner of ỹ peece, whose name was Horseley, was cleane striken of. The Capitaine cōsidering the great power of the French army, & hauing his Fort but slenderly manned to make sufficient resistaunce, fled to Calice: And by ỹ time he was come thether: the other part of ỹ Frēch army that went by ỹ sea side with their battery had woone Rice Banke, being abandoned to their hāds. The next day, the Frenchmen with fiue double & Cānones thre Culuerins began a battery from ỹ sand Hilles next Rice Bank, against ỹ towne of Calice & cōtinued the same by the space of two or three dayes vntill they made a litle breache of the wall, next vnto the Water Gate, which neuerthelesse was not yet assaultable, for that which was broken in the daye, was by them within the towne made vp againe in the night stronger then afore. But the batterie was not begonne there by the French, for that they entended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the Englishe to haue the lesse regarde to the defence of the Castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were asserteyned by their espyalles to win an easie entrye. So that whyle our people trauayled fondely to defende that counterfeyt breach of the towne wall: the Duke had in the meane season planted xv. double Cannons against the Castell, which Castell being considered by the rulers of the towne to be of no such force as might resist the battery of the Cannon (by reason it was olde and without any rampiers) it was deuised to make a trayne wyth certayne Barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the frenchmen should enter (as they well knewe that there they would) to haue fyred the sayde trayne and blowne vp the keepe, and for that purpose left neuer a man within to defend it. But the Frenchmen at their entry espyed the trayne and so auoyded the same, so that deuise came to no purpose, and without any resistaunce they entred the Castell, and thought to haue entred the towne by that waye: But by the prowes and hardy courage of syr Anthony Ager knight and Marshall of the towne with his souldiors they were repulsed and driuen backe

The Duke of Guise with a great Armye commeth toward Calice.

Newnam Bridge taken by the French.

Rice Banke taken by the French.

Calice besieged.

backe agayne into the Castell, and so hard followed after, that our men forced them to close and shut the Castell gate for their suretie, least it should haue beene recouered against them as it was once attempted by Sir Anthony Ager, who there with his sonne and heyre, and a Pursiuaunt at Armes called Calice with diuers other to the number of. xv. or. xvj. Englishmen lost their liues.

Sir Anthony Ager and his sonne slayne.

The same night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so encreased in the Castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force. The Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calice, sent a Pursiuaunt called Guynes vnto the Duke of Guise requiring composition, which after long debate was agreed vpon in this sort. First that the towne with all the great artillary, victualles, and munition, should be freely yelden to the Frenche king, the liues of the inhabitaunts onely saued, to whome safeconduyte should be graunted to passe where they lysted, sauing the Lorde Deputie with fiftie such other as the Duke should appoint to remaine prisoners, and be put to their raunsome.

Calice delyuered to the French.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entred and possessed the towne, and forthwith al the men, women, and children, were commaunded to leaue their houses, and to go into the two Churches of our Lady and Saint Nicholas vpon paine of death, where they remayned a great part of that daye, and one whole night, & the next day vntill three of the clock at after none, without eyther meat or drink. And while they were thus in the Churches, the Duke of Guyse in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, straightly charging and commaunding al & euery person that were Inhabitaunts of the towne of Calice, hauing about them any money, plate, or Iewels, to the value of one grote to bring the same forthwith, and laye it downe vpon the highe Aultars of the sayde Churches vpon paine of death, bearing them in hande also that they should be searched: By reason of which Proclamation there was made a great and sorrowfull offertory. And while they were at this offering within the Churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and ryfled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: But specially of ordinaunce, armor and other munition. Aboute two of the clocke the next day at after noone, beyng the seuenth of Ianuary, all the Englishe men (except the Lorde Deputie, and the other reserued for prisoners) were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, beyng garded through the armie with a number of Scottishe light horsemen. There were in this towne of Calice fiue hundred Englishe Souldiors ordinary, and no mo. And of the townes men not fully two hundred fighting men, (a small garrison for the defence of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children, as they were counted (when they went out of the Gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calice, Sir Raufe Chamberleyn Capitaine of the Castell, Harlestone Capitain of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander Capitaine of Newnambridge, Edwarde Grymstone the Comptroller, with other of the chiefe of the towne to the number of fiftie (as aforesayd) such as it pleased the Duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into Fraunce.

A greeuous Proclamation made by the Duke of Guyse against the inhabitaunts of Calice.

A sorrowfull offertory.

The garrison of souldiours that were in Calice.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrowe and losse of the towne of Calice, the which enterprice was begonne and ended in lesse then viij. dayes, to the great maruaile of the worlde, that a towne of such strength and so well furnished of all thinges as that was, should so sodainly be taken and conquered: But most specially in the winter season, what tyme all the Country about beyng marshe ground is commonly ouerflowen with water. The sayde towne was wonne from the French, by king Edward the thirde, in the tyme of Philip de Valoys then French king. And beyng in the possession of the kings of Englande two hundred. xj. yeres, was in the time of Philip and Mary, King and Queene of England, lost within lesse then. viij. dayes, beyng the most notable *forte* that Englande had: For the winnyng wherof king Edward aforesayde in the. xxj. yere of his reigne was faine to continue a siege one whole yere and more, wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe without some secrete trechery.

Here is also to be noted, that when Queene Mary and her Counsaile heard credibly of

the French mens sodaine approche to that towne, she with all speede possible (but somewhat to late) raysed a great power for the reskue thereof, which if winde and weather had serued, might happily haue brought succour thether in tyme. But such terrible tempestes then arose and continued the space of foure or fiue dayes together, that the like had not bene seene before in remembraunce of man, wherefore some sayde that the same was done by necromancy, and that the Deuill was raysed vp, and become French (the truth whereof is knowne to God) but very true it is that no ship could brooke the Seas by reason of those extreeme stormes and tempestes. And such of the Queenes shippes as did aduenture the passage, were so shaken and torne with violence of weather, as they were forced to returne with great daunger, and with the losse of all their tackle and furniture. Thus by negligence of the Counsail at home, conspiracie of traytors else where, force and false practise of enemyes, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempestes, of contrary wynds and weather, this famous Forte of Calice was brought againe to the handes and possession of the French. A terrible tempest.

So soone as this Duke of Guyse, contrary to all expectation, had in so few dayes gayned this strong towne of Calice (afore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage: prowde of the spoyle, and pressyng forwarde vpon his sodain fortune, without geuing long tyme to the residue of the Capitaynes of the fortes there, to breath vpon their businesse, the. xiij. day of the sayde Moneth, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his army from Calice vnto the towne and fort of Guynes, fiue myles distaunt from thence. Of which towne and Castell, at the same tyme, there was Capitaine a valiaunt Baron of England called William Lorde Gray of Wilton, who not without cause suspectyng a siege at hande, and knowyng the towne of Guynes to be of small force, as beyng without walles or Bulwarkes, compassed onely with a trench before the French mennes arriuall had caused all the inhabitauntes of the towne to aduoyde, and so many of them as were apt to beare armes, he caused to retire into the Castell, which was a place well fortifyed with strong and massy Bulwarkes of Bricke, hauyng also a high and mightie tower of great force and strength, called the Keepe. The towne being thus abandoned, the french men had the more easie approche to the Castell who thinkyng to fynde quiet lodgyng in those vacant houses entered the same without any feare. And beyng that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of Souldiours appoynted by the Lorde Gray, issued out by a posterne of the sayde Castell, and slue no small number of their sleepie ghestes, and the rest they put out of their newe lodgynges, and mauger the Duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fyre. That notwithstandyng the sayde Duke with all diligence began his trenches, and albeit the shot of the great Artillarie from the Castell was terrible, and gaue him great impechment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his awne person as a common Pioner or labourer. So that within lesse then three dayes, he brought to the number of. xxxv. battery peeces, hard to the brim of the Castell ditch to batter the same on all sydes, aswell foorthright as a crosse. But his principall battery he planted agaynst the strongest Bulwarke of all called Mary Bulwarke, thinkyng by gainyng of the stronger, to come more easily by the weaker.

His battery being thus begonne, he continued the same by y space of two dayes with suche terrible thundering of great artillarie, that by report of Rabutyne a Frenche wryter, there were in those few dayes discharged well nere to the number of eyght or nine thousand Canon shot. Through the violence whereof, by the twentie daye of the sayde Moneth, the sayde great Bulwarke was layde wyde open, and the breache made reasonable and easie ynough for the assault. Neuerthelesse, the sayde Duke beyng a man of warre, and nothing ignoraunt what deuises be commonly vsed in Fortes and townes besieged, to entrap and dammage the assaylaunts, afore he would put the persons of his good souldiours to the hazard of the assault, caused the breache to be vewed once or twice by certayne forwarde and skilfull souldiours, who mountyng the top of the breache brought report

report that the place was saultable. Neuerthelesse, to make the clyme more easie, he caused certayne Arquebussiers to passe ouer the diche, and to keepe the defendauntes occupied with shot, while certayne pyoners with mattockes and shouelles made the breache more playne and easie, which thing done accordingly, he gaue order to Mounsire Dandalot coronall of the Frenche footemen, that he with his bandes should be in readynesse to geue the assault when signe should be geuen. In which meane time the Duke withdrew himselfe to an higher grounde, from whence he might playnely discouer the behauiour as well of his souldiours in the assault geuing, as also of the defendauntes in aunswering the same. And perceyuing not so many of the Englishe part appearing for defence (as he looked for) gaue order forthwith that a regiment of his most forwarde Launceknightes shoulde mount the breache to open the first passage, and that Mounsire Dandalot with his bandes of the French should back them, which order was folowed with such whot haste and desperate hardinesse, that entring a deepe diche full of water, from the botome whereof to the top of the breach was well fortie foote, without feare eyther of the water beneath, or the fyre aboue, they mounted the breache. And where as ỳ Duke had prepared dyuers bridges made of planke bords borne vp with Casque and emptie pypes tyed one to another for his men to passe the sayde diche, many of the sayde assaylauntes without care of those bridges plunged into the water, and tooke the next waye to come to the assault, Which hotte haste notwithstanding, the sayde assaylauntes were in this first assault so stoutly repulsed and put backe by the defendaunts beyng furnished with great store of wylde fyre and other frycasyes for the purpose, that they were turned downe hedlong one vpon an other, much faster then they came vp, not without great waste and slaughter of their best and most braue souldiours, to the small comfort of the stout Duke, who (as is sayde before) stood all this while vpon a little hyll, to behold thys busynesse: wherfore not enduryng this sight any longer, as a man arraged ranne amongest his men, so reprouing some, and encouragyng other, that the assault was foote hot renued, with muche more vehemence and furie then before, and wyth no lesse obstinacie and desperation receyued by the defendaunts, wherby all the breache vnderneath was fylled with french carkasses. Thys notwithstanding, the Duke still redoubled his forces with freshe companies, and contynued so many assaultes one vpon an other, that at the last charge beyng most vehement of all the other, our men beyng tyred and greatly minished in their number by slaughter & bloudy woundes, were of fyne force driuen to auoyde, and gaue place of entry to the enemie, which was not done without a maruaylous expence of bloud on both sydes: For of the Frenche part there were slayne and perished in these assaultes aboue the number of eyght or nine hundred, and of the Englishe but little fewer, amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon the Spaniardes who tooke vpon them the defence of the sayde Mary Bulwarke, insomuch (as the report went) that of fyue hundred braue souldyours which king Philip sent thether for succours vnder the conduite of a valiant Capitayne Spanyard, called Mountdragon: there were not knowne to haue commen away any number worth the reckning, but eyther slayne, maimed or taken. These outrageous assaults were geuen to the Castell of Guynes on the daye of saint Sebastian the. xx. of Ianuary aforesayde. Afore the ende of which day, there were also gayned from the English two other principall Bulwarkes of the sayde Castell, which beyng likewise made assaultable by battery were taken by the Almaynes and entred into by the breaches.

The Lord Graye with his eldest sonne and the chiefe Capytaynes and souldiours of the sayde Garrison, who kept the inner warde of the Castell (where the most high and principal Tower called the Keepe stood) thinking themselues in small suretie there, beyng a place of the olde sort of fortification, after they sawe the vtter warde possessed by the enemie, and suche a number of the most forwarde souldyours consumed and spent, and no lykelyhood of any more ayde to come in time, by the aduise of the most expert souldiours there, concluded for the best to treat with the Duke for composition, according to

the

the which aduise he sent foorth two gentlemen with this message in effect. That the Duke beyng a man of warre, and seruing vnder a king, should not thinke it straunge if the Lord Gray beyng lykewise a man of warre and seruing his prince in lyke maner, did his deuour in well defending the place committed to his charge, so farfoorth as to answere and bide the assault: Considering that otherwise he could neuer saue his owne honor, neyther his truth and loyaltie to his prince: In respect whereof according to the lawe of armes, he required honourable composition, which message though it was well accepted of the Duke: yet he deferred his answere vntill the morow, what time the messengers repayring to him agayne, composition was graunted in this sort.

First, that the Castell with all the furniture thereof, aswell victuales, as great artillery, powder and all other municions of warre, shoulde be wholy rendered without wasting, hiding or minishment thereof.

Secondarily, that the Lorde Gray with all the Capitaines, Officers, and other hauing charge there, should remayn prisoners at the Dukes pleasure to be raunsomed after the maner of warre.

Thirdely, that all the rest aswell souldiors as other should safely depart with their armour and baggage to what partes it seemed them best: Neuerthelesse to passe without sounde of Drome or Trumpet or displaiyng of any Ensignes, but to leaue them behinde.

These condicions beyng receyued and approued on eyther partie, the day following, that is to wyt, the two and twentie day of the sayde Moneth of Ianuary, all the souldiors of the sayd fortresse, aswell English as Straungers with all the rest of the inhabitaunts and other, except the Lorde Graye Sir Arthure his sonne, Sir Henry Palmer knight, Mountdragon aboue named Capitayne of the Spanyardes and other men of charge reserued by the cõposicion, departed with their bag and baggages, from thence towards Flaunders. At whose issuyng foorth, there was esteemed to the number of eyght or nine hundred hable men for the warre, part English, part Burgonyons, with a small remnaunt of Spanyardes.

After the winning of this towne and Castell, the Duke aduising well vpon the place, and considering that if it shoulde happen to be regayned by English men, what a noysome neighbour the sãe might be to Calice now beyng French, and specially what empeachement should come thereby for the passage thether from Fraunce, considering also the nere standing thereof to the French kinges Fortresse of Arde, so that to keepe two garrisones so nigh together, shoulde be but a double charge, and not onely needelesse, but also daungerous for the cause afore rehersed. Vpon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillery victuales and other munition to be taken forth, and the Castell with all the Bulwarkes and other fortifications there, with all speede to be rased and throwne downe, and the stuffe to be caried away and employed in other more necessary places.

Then rested nothing within all the English Pale on that side vnconquered but the litle Castell or Pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art & industery of mannes hand, & beyng altogether of olde workemanship without Rampiers or Bulwarkes; yet neuerthelesse by the naturall scituation thereof, beyng on all sides enuironed with Fennes and Marshe groundes, it coulde not easely be approched vnto, eyther with great ordinaunce for the battery, or else with any armye to encampe there for a siege, hauing but one straight passage thereto by a narrow causye trauersed and cut thorough in diuers places, with deepe ditches alwayes full of water, which thing beyng well foreseene by Edwarde Lorde Dudley then Capitayne there, hauing as good cause to suspect a siege there as his neighboures had, afore the Frenchmennes comming to Guynes: caused all the Bridges of the sayde Causey beyng of woode to be broken, to geue therby the more impechement to the Frenche, if they shoulde attempt to approche the same, as shortly after they dyd, and kept dyuers of the passages: But to deliuer the Duke and his souldiors from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that

Hammes Castell.

Edward lord Dudley.

had charge to watche the sayde Cawsey, how the Capitaine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guynes, secretly the same night, had conueyed himselfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage ouer the Marrys into Flaunders: wherby the Duke beyng now past care of any further siege to be layde, in all that Frontier tooke order foorthwith to sease the sayd litle Forte into his handes, as it was easy to do, when there was no resistaunce.

1558 6

When this peece was once seazed by the French, then remayned there none other place of defence or strength of ỹ English on all that side the Sea for the safegard of the rest of the countrye, whereby the French king became wholy and throughly Lorde and Maister of all the English pale, for now (as ye haue heard) there was neyther towne, Castell, nor other Fortresse more or lesse on that side (sauing Bootes Bullwarke nere to Gravelyng which now king Philipe keepeth as his) but that it was eyther taken away by force, or else abandoned & left open to the enemy. And (as the Frenchmen write) beside the great riches of Golde and Siluer Coyne, Iewels, Plate, Woolles, and other Marchandise (which was inestimable there were found three hundred peeces of Brasse mounted on wheeles, and as many peeces of Iron, with such furniture of powder, pellettes, Armour, vittuals and other munitions of warre, skarcely credible.

Bootes Bullwarke.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the conquest of the noble towne of Calice, with all the Englishe fortresses and Countrey adioynyng made by the Duke of Guyse, the newes whereof when they came to the French king, no neede to aske how ioyfully they were receyued, not onely of him and all his Court, but also vniuersally through the whole Realme of Fraunce. For the which victorye there was (as the maner is) *Te deum* song, and bonefiers made euery where, as it is wont to be in cases of common ioy and gladnesse for some rare benefite of God, insomuch that shortly vpon thys conquest there was a publike assembly at Paris of all the states of Fraunce, who frankely in recompence of the kinges charges employed in winnyng of Calice and the places aforesayde, and for maintenaunce of his warres to be continued afterwardes, graunted vnto him three Millions of French crownes, whereof the Clergie of Fraunce contributed one Million besyde theyr dismes. And no maruaile though the French did highly reioyce at the recouery of Calice out of the Englishmens handes: For it is constantly affirmed of many, that be acquainted with the affayres of Fraunce, that euer sithen the same towne was first wonne by Englishe men, in all solempne Counsayles assembled to treat vpon the state of Fraunce, there was a speciall person appoynted to put them in remembraunce from tyme to tyme of Calice, as it were to be wished, that the like were vsed in Englande vntill it were regayned from the French.

Now semed euery day a yere to the French king vntill he personally had visited Calice, and his new conquered countrye: Wherefore about the ende of Ianuary aforesayde, he tooke his voyage thether accompanied with no small number of his Nobilitie. And immediatly vpon his arriuall there he pervsed the whole towne and euery parte thereof from place to place, deuising with the Duke of Guyse for the better fortification thereof, what should be added to the olde, and what should be made newe, and what should be taken a way. And after order taken for that businesse, he placed there a noble and no lesse valiaunt knight called Mounsier de Thermes to be Capitayne of the towne, and so departed agayne into Fraunce.

Mounsire de Thermes made Capitaine of Calice.

After the French kinges departure from Calice, he made great hast for the accomplishment of the mariage, mooued betweene Fraunces his eldest sonne called the Dolphin, and Mary Stewart daughter and sole heire of Iames the fift, late king of Scotlande, which Princes if Scottes had bene faythfull of promise (as they seldome be) should haue maried with king Edwarde the sixt: For the breche of which promyse began all the warre betweene England and Scotland, as you heard in the latter ende of the life of king Henry the eyght, and in the beginning of king Edward the sixt. This mariage (*though it* be not of my matter) I thought not to omit, for that many thinges were ment thereby, which thankes

thankes be to God neuer came to effect. But one speciall poynt was not hidden to the worlde, that by meane of the same, the realme of Scotlande shoulde for euermore haue remayned as vnited and encorporate to the Crowne of Fraunce, and that as the sonne and heire of euery French king doth succeede to the inherytaunce and possession of a countrye called the Doulphyn, and is therefore called Doulphyn. And like as the principailtie of Wales appertayneth to the eldest sonne of England, who therefore is called the prince of Wales. Euen so the Doulphyn & heire of Fraunce shoulde therby haue beene king of Scotland for euermore. Which name and title vpon this mariage was accordingly geuen to Fraunces Doulphyn and heire apparaunt of Fraunce to be called king Doulphyn. The meaning whereof was vtterly to exclude for euermore any to be king of Scotlande, but onely the eldest sonne of Fraunce. This memorable mariage was solempnized in the Citie of Paris, the. xxiiij. day of Aprill in the yere of Christ. 1558. with most magnifique pompe and triumph, and honored with the presense of the most part of the Princes, Prelates, Lordes, and Barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new aliaunce, which as it was much to the aduantage and benefit of Fraunce, so nothing coulde be more preiudice and derogation of the crowne to Scotland, as a deuise tending to the perpetuall abolicion and extinguyshment of the name and estate of kinges in that realme.

The mariage of the Queene of Scottes with the Dolphyn.

But now to returne to the matters of England, from which I haue in part digressed. The newes of this conquest of Calice, were not so ioyfully receaued in Fraunce, as they were generally greuous and displesant to the whole realme of Englande: But specially to Queene Mary, who beyng a Princes of heart and courage more then commonly is in womankinde, thought her selfe so muche touched in honor by the losse of her sayd towne and possessions on that side the sea, as shee counted her life yksome, vntill the same were eyther recouered agayne, or the losse redubbled with some like victory agaynst the French elsewhere. In respect whereof she ceased not to trauayle aswell with king Philip her housband, as with her owne priuie counsayle and the Lordes of the realme, what waye should be best to reuenge this iniurye, and specially now whilst the Frenche king was occupied in warre with king Philip, to endamage some of his countryes by way of inuasion and to surprise some of his townes vpon the sodayne. And among sundry deuises, none was thought so fyt to be attempted, as an Hauen towne in Brytaine called Brest, which in time of king Richarde the second and long before was kept and maintayned with an English garrison vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king agayne by composicion. This towne aswell for the conuenient situation, alwayes ready to receaue fresh succours and victualing out of England by Sea, as also for that it was knowne to the Queene and her counsayle at that present not to be furnished with any Garrison of Souldiers sufficient to repulse the power of a Prince vpon the sodaine, was thought the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherfore vpon this case well debated there was immediat order geuen to Edward Lorde Clynton then high Admirall of England, with all expedicion to prepare himselfe with all the Queenes shippes of warre, furnished with souldiors, munition and victuall, to ioyne with the Admyrall of king Philip, who had like order from the sayd king to ioyne with the Nauie of England, for the atchieuing of this enterprice. But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great Nauies by sea: it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidentes in the meane time by lande.

Brest in Britaine.

The Lorde Clynton Admirall.

Whiles king Philip beyng absent from the low countrye, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in Fraunce, Mounsier de Thermes the new Capitayne of Calice, beyng a man very expert in the warres (whose propertie is neuer to neglect any time of aduauntage) cast in his minde how during king Philippes absence, to do some singuler seruice to the Frenche king. And espiyng well the beastiality of the Fleminges his Neighbours, how litle they vnderstood the great weakning of their countrye by the losse of Calice, and that there was no new prouision made for the defence thereof more then was

Mounsire de Thermes Capitaine of Calice.

before, whilst Calice was Englishe, by the losse whereof, their Frontires was now become open for the French at all times to enter: He therefore taking out of Calice so many of his souldiors as might be spared from thence, adioyning to them all the forces of the French Garrisons in Artoys, Bullenoyse, and Picardy, whereof (besides the Souldiours of Calice being to the number of seuen hundred footemen, and three hundred light horsmen Scottish) there were assembled fourteene Ensignes of the Frenche, and high Dutch, wyth. xiij. or. xiiij. hundred Swart Rutters and men at Armes of Fraunce, amounting in the whole to the number at the least of. xiij. or. xiiij. thousand fighting men, entred into Flaunders with full determination to spoyle and waste all king Philips countrye along the Sea coast, and namely a proper Hauen towne called Dunkirck, and with like purpose to haue surprised the towne of Graueling if occasion woulde so serue.

This Capitayne following his enterprise, of a pollecy passing by the towne of Grauelyng, layde siege to a lite towne not far from thence called Berghes, which he wanne in a small time and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his Souldiors, where they founde many good booties. And without long staiyng they marched foorth to Dunkirck aforesayde, and planting a siege in lyke maner there, battered the same so sharpely with the Cannon, that within lesse then foure dayes he became Maister of the towne, which he in lyke maner put to the sack, where was found more plentie of spoyle and good booties, then in any place before, so far foorth as the meanest slaues and Lackeies came away riche. And after, setting the towne a fyre (whereby all the country about were meruelously put in feare) in his returne homewardes he tooke the streight way to Grauelyng. And staiyng his Army there certayne dayes by reason of sodaine sickenesse comming vpon him, there were daylie skirmishes betweene the French and the Garrison men of Graueling.

Dunkircke be sieged, taken & brent by the Frēch.

Countie Egmond.

During this pastime, the Countie Ayguemount (whome we call Egmond) Lieuetenaunt Generall for king Philip in the lowe countrye, with all hast possible assembled all the power aswell of king Philipes Garisons as also of men of warre in the low countrye to the number of. xiij. or xv. thousand footemen, and two or three thousand horsemen, whereof there were fiftene hundred Swart Rutters, determining so to affront the Frenche, that eyther they should passe no farther into the countrye, or at the least waye to empeach them from the siege of Grauelyng, whereof there was great apparaunce.

Mounsire de Thermes heering of this power assembled (though skarcely well recouered) made all possible hast toward Grauelyng, where he was no soner arriued, but that he saw his enemies ready raunged in the field. By reason whereof, leauyng of the pursuyng of his entended siege: his studie was now nothing else but how he might bring home his company in safegarde to Calice.

The Countie of Egmond, espiyng the Frenchmen bent to march away with the spoyle of the countrye, cut betweene them and home, placing his battailes in such order, that the Frenchmē had no way to passe, but vpon the Sandes betwene the towne & the sea: where as by good chaunce lay a great Fleete of Queene Maryes shippes of warre, within the daunger of whose Gunshot, the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iourney lay. And so beyng forced eyther to famishe or to fight at disaduauntage, Mounsier Thermes without staiyng any longer, caused his Vantgard to passe ouer the Ryuer somewhat neere the towne to auoyde the shotte of the Englishe shippes. And staiyng vpon the further side for the residue of his battayles there came such thicke Hayleshot of Artillery out of the towne of the one side and from the English shippes on the other side, that there was a full battery made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuerthelesse aboade without breaking order for the time, when sodainely appered before them two great trowpes of horsemen of. xv. hundred a peece, part Swart Rutters and part Burgonions, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges, vpon the French Vauntgard, who beyng well backed with their other battayles (whereof the most part had then passed the Riuer) stowtly repulsed these two first trowpes, though not

English shippes anoy the French.

A valiaunt onset geuen vpon the Frenchmen by Countie Egmond.

without losse of many their best souldiors. So thus both partes beyng at a staye, and seuered somewhat a sunder: The Countie Egmond himselfe with. xviij. hundred men of Armes, and his foote battayles following, afore the French had wel recouered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces together so terribly that he shokt al their battayle, and the number fell to a mayne flight without further tryall. So by that time that the footmen on eyther side came to the push of ỹ Pique, the Victory was sone had, by reason (as ỹ French men reporte) that the Almaynes beaten backe with artillery aswell of the towne as of the shippes aforesayde, brake their order and came not to the Shock, whereby the whole charge of the battayle rested vpon the French bandes onely. This fielde was foughten the. xiij. day of Iuly. 1558. vpon the Sea Sandes, nere to Graueling, wherein besides those that were slayne, beyng esteemed to the number of fiue thousand fighting men: There were taken prisoners Mounsire de Thermes Capitaine of Calice, Mounsire Senarpont Capitayne of Bulleyne, Mounsire Villebone Gouernor of Picardy, Mounsire Annebault, Mounsire Morailliers, and Mounsire Chanly, beside a multitude of Gentlemen, and valiaunt Capitaynes, and souldiors, but specially the bandes of Calice went to wrecke, so as very fewe returned home to bring tidinges: which gaue such a terror to the souldiors remayning in Calice: that is verily beleued that if the Admirals of Englande and Flaunders had bene present there wyth their Nauies as the sayd other fewe shippes of England were, and vpon this sodayne had attempted Calice with the ayde of the Countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calice might haue beene recouered againe with as litle difficultie & haply in as shorte a time as it was before gained by ỹ Duke of Guyse. But the sayde Admyrall as it appered, knew nothing thereof, wherefore folowing their prescribed course, and ioyning together at the place appoynted, sayled from thence with prosperous winde and wether, and by the. xxix. day of the same moneth, and in the sayd yere with seuen skore Shippes of warre appered by breake of the day before the hauen of Conquest commonly called Conquet in Britayne, standing vpon the mouth of the Riuer that commeth from Brest: At whose arriuall there (as the maner is) they sounded their Trumpetes, and with a thunderyng peale of great ordinaunce gaue alowde *Salue* to the Britaines. And by eyght of the clocke the same morning, maulgre all the power of the countrey being assembled there in Armes, with many peeces of great Artillery to defend the entery of their porte: The English men mannyng foorth their Shipboates, with many valiaunt Capitaines and souldiors, recouered landing and within short time became Maisters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to ỹ saccage with a great Abbey and many pretie townes and Villages nere there aboutes, where our men founde great store of pillage and good bootics. But the Flemynges beyng couetous of the spoyle, passing further into the lande, before they could recouer their shippes agayne, were encountred by the power of the Country, by whome there were slayne of them to the number of foure or fiue hundreth. The Admirals perceauing the power of the Countrie greatly to increase, and hauing intelligence that the Duke of Estamps the french kings Lieuetenaunt in Briteyne, was very neere comming on with a great number of horsemen and footemen, esteemed to be about twentie thousande (as the Frenchemen themselues affirme) thought not best to attempt any assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer aboade there. Wherefore after they had set fyre on the towne of Conquet and all the Villages thereabouts, they embarked themselues, and tooke the sea agayne with their booties all in safetie (except the Fleminges) thinking to doe some further exployt elsewhere vpon the coast. But by thys time there were such numbers of people raysed in all those partes for defence of the same coastes, that the Admyrals afterwardes attempting in dyuers places to lande their men, and finding eche where more apparaunce of losse then of gayne, returned home without atcheeuing their pretensed enterprise.

A great victory.

French Prisoners.

Conquet or Conquet taken & brant.

A great slaughter of Flemings.

In this meane whyle king Philip and the French king with two most puyssaunt armies affronted eche other neere vnto the water of Some, eyther of them being obstinately bent to driue the other out of the fielde, for which cause they entrenched their Campes. During which

1558
6

which time, there was nothing done betweene them worthie memorie, more then daylie skirmishes of no great accompt. Neuerthelesse the Countrie of Fraunce could not but susteyne extreme dammage in so long susteyning suche a maine multitude, specially of men of warre which those two mightie kinges had assembled. And day by day came freshe companies to eyther party, so as it was thought a thing impossible that suche two princes beyng so neere could depart without some cruell bloudy battayle to determine their quarelles: But God in whose handes are the hearts of kinges (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate mindes from warre to peace, which came chiefely to passe by the mediation of the Duches of Loreyn, who had bene a long and earnest trauayler to that ende, and neuer ceassed vntill by her intercession both the sayde kings appointed speciall Commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after dyuers conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies except the matter of Calice, wherof Queene Mary by her Ambassadors required restitution: But the French partie would in no wise here therof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to any good conclusion. King Phyllip thinking himselfe bound in honor to stand in that case with the Queene his wyfe, who for his sake had entred into a needlesse warre against Fraunce, and thereby lost her sayde towne with all the Countrie adioyning as you haue heard before, did therefore staye a long time, before he concluded peace with the French king.

Queene Marie seing no lykelyhood nor hauing any hope of the restitution of Calice, and considering also that most of her affayres had but hard successe, conceaued an inwarde sorrowe of minde, by reason wherof about September next shee fell sick of a hote burning Feuer, which sicknesse was common that yere through all the realme and consumed a maruailous number, as well noble men, as Byshops, Iudges, Knightes, Gentlemen and riche Farmours: But most of the Clergy and other auncient and graue persons. In which, whyle the Queene laye languyshing of a long sicknesse, and so continued vntill the. xvij. of Nouember next betweene the houres of fiue or sixe in the morning, and then ended her life in this world at her house of saint Iames beside Westminster, when she had reigned fiue yeres, foure Monethes and a. xj. dayes, and in the. xliij. yere of her bodily age. And the same day about sixe of the clock in the euening dyed Cardynall Poole, Legate of the Bishop of Rome, late afore made Archebishop of Caun-

The description of Cardinall Poole.

torbury, at his house ouer agaynst Westminster called Lambeth. This Cardinall was dissended of the house of Clarence, that is to saye, one of the younger sonnes of Margaret Countesse of Salsburie, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother to king Edwarde the fourth. The death of this sayde Queene made a maruellous alteration in this realme, namely in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the sixt it suffred a chaunge from the establishment of his time: So by the death of this Queene it returned into the former estate.

QUEENE ELIZABETH.

WHen true knowlege was had that Queene Mary was deceassed, who left her lyfe in this world the. xvij. day of Nouember as is before mencioned in the latter ende of her historie in the time of a Parliament, the Lordes that were assembled in the vpper house,

house, beyng resolued according to the lawes of the land to declare the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the sayde Queene Mary, to be very true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatly to the Speaker of the sayde Parliament, willing him with the Knightes and Burgesses of the nether house without delaye to repayre vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importaunce. Who beyng come thether, after silence made (as the maner is) the Archebishop of Yorke Chauncellor of Englande whose name was Nicholas Heithe Doctor in diuinitie, stoode vp and pronounced in effect these wordes folowyng. The cause of your calling hether at this time is to signifie vnto you, that all the Lordes here present are certainely certefied that God this present Morning hath called to his mercy our late soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, which happe as it is most heauy and grieuous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause an other way to reioyce with praise to almightie God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right Inheritrice to the crowne of this Realme, which is the Lady Elizabeth second Daughter to our late souereigne Lord of noble memorie King Henry the eyght, and sister vnto our sayde late Queene, of whose most lawful, right and title in the succession to the crowne (thanks be to God) we neede not to doubt. Wherefore, the Lordes of this house haue determined with your assentes and consentes to passe from hence into the Palace, and there to proclayme the sayde Ladye Elizabeth Queene of this Realme, without farther tract of time. Wherevnto the whole house aunswered with euident apparaunce of ioy, criyng, God saue Queene Elizabeth, long may Queene Elizabeth raigne ouer vs. And so this parliament being dissolued by the act of God, the sayde Lordes immediatly calling vnto them the Kings and principall Heraults at Armes, went into the Palace of Westminster, and directly before the hall doore in the fore noone of the same day, after seuerall sounding of Trumpets made in most solempne maner, proclaymed the new Queene, by thys name and title. *Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.* to the great comfort and reioysing of the people, as by theyr manors and countenances well appered. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the sayd Lords with all speede repayred into the Citye of London, where like Proclamation was made in their presence at the Crosse in Chepe, with no lesse vniuersall ioy, and thanks geuing to God of the hearers.

In this place I intende to conclude and ende thys my rude and vnlearned woorke, not worthye the name of a Chronicle, praiyng the gentle Reader to pardō me in that I do not passe forth with the declaration of the Historye of thys most gracious and vertuous Princes, in such maner as I haue done with other before, for diuers causes do moue me to stay here, not only for that my worke alredy is come to a full volume, but also for that her graces proceedings in her gouernement bene such and so great as require a larger discourse of matter. As first to consider how her Maiestie finding this realme in hostilitie with Fraunce, with how great felicitie and no lesse prouidence of counsayle shee brought both realmes to peace. And the towne of Calice before lost (as you haue heard) in the time of hir sister, by an honorable peace concluded with the French king, shee brought to passe eyther to haue the same againe restored within a certayne time prefixed, or else the sayde French king to forfeyt and paye vnto her certaine great sommes of money, reseruing neuerthelesse the right and title of the sayde towne and countrie to the realme of Englande. And perceyuing that by the losse of the sayde towne and by other occasions this realme was much disfurnished of Armour and munition: She of her high pollecy and with no small charges prouided a new furniture & store thereof in a much more large proporcion. And in like maner espiyng in time the subtill compasse of the French king in landing of men of warre in Scotland, whereof might haue ensued perill of inuasion into England that way, did nobly & prudently preuent the same to the vtter frustration of all his fine and secrete deuises: besides the quayling and disappointing the house of Guyse, of their attemptes in Fraunce, tending to the vtter destruction of all such in that realme as would not professe the Popes religion, wherein if the late Duke

had preuayled, it was not vnlike, but that he encoraged thereby, would haue made some further enterprise to the small quyet of this realme. Adde herevnto the benefite inestimable which this realme hath receiued by the conuerting of the base and copper monies into fine Siluer and Golde: but specially the most mercifull gouernement and rule shewen her comming to the state of Queene, wherein the euill doer hath not his free skope, nor the honest person kept from iustice: neyther yet any rigour or extremitie vsed in cases, though some of them haue nerely touched the suretie of her highnesse person.

These things I say with many other beyng of so great importaunce require to be handled in a higher maner of stile then is for me to write. And better is litle or nothing to be sayde by me in these and many other most honourable and Princely affayres, then for lacke of learning and eloquence in expressing, to darken or rather deface the excellencye of the same. And farther also, I am certified that there are sundrie men of excellent knowlege and learnyng, that purpose the setting foorth of her highnesse Historye, so that dutie bindeth mee hauing respect vnto the honor of her Maiestie and this noble Realme of Englande here to stay, referryng the desirous Reader that woulde vnderstande such particuler thinges as haue passed in the time of her Graces reigne, vnto suche briefe notes as are set foorth in the small Abridgements of Chronicles of our tyme.

And here most hartily beseeching Almightie God to preserue her Maiestie in most prosperous and honorable estate long to liue and reigne ouer vs, and also to keepe and preserue all her highnesse most honorable Counsellours and to prosper them in all their affayres both publique and priuate. I finishe and make an ende in the yere of our Lord 1568. the. xviij. day of Marche and in the. xj. yere of the reigne of this most noble and vertuous Princesse Elizabeth our most dread and souereigne Lady.

FINIS.

A TABLE

A TABLE

DECLARING THE REIGNES OF EUERIE KING OF THIS REALME,

SITHEN THE CONQUEST,

AND THE

YEARES OF OUR LORDE, AND MONETHES AND DAYES OF THEIR BEGINNING,

AND ALSO

THE NAMES AND SURNAMES OF ALL THE MAIORS, AND SHIRIFES OF LONDON,

WITH THE YERE AND DAYE OF THEIR ENTRANCE INTO THEIR CHARGE.

AND FOR THE BETTER VNDERSTANDING OF THIS TABLE, THE SAME IS DEUIDED INTO IIIJ. PARTES OR TITLES.

The first is the yeres of our Lorde, then the Monethes and dayes wherein euery King began his reigne, then the yeres of the Kings reigne, and lastly, the names of the Bayliffes, Shirifes and Maiors, placed iustly vppon the verie day of the Moneth, wherin euerie of them entred into their office. And for example, I would know in what yere of our Lorde King Henrie the. viij. began his reigne, and in what Moneth and daye, and who were then Shirifes and Maior of London. First I seeke out among the Kinges, and at the last, I finde King Henrie the. viij. and in the first title I finde the yeare of our Lorde that he began his reigne in, which was. 1509. and the. xxij. day of the Moneth of Aprill. And immediatly followeth the Moneth of September, and the. xxviij. daye, wherein George Monnoux and Iohn Ducket entred into their office of Shiriualtie, and likewyse foloweth in the same yere the Moneth of October the. xxviij. day, wherin Thomas Bradburie entred into his office of the Mayraltie of London. And thus may ye in like maner find a true accompt of the yeres of any King, Shirife, or Maior of London.

King Richard the first beginneth his reigne in the yeare. 1189.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1189	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Cornehill, Richard Riuerie. B.
1190	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Herlion, Roger Duke. B.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1191	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Willyam Hauershall, Iohn Bucknot. B.
1192	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Nicholas Duke, Peter Nowley. B.
1193	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Duke, Richard Fitzaleyn. B.
1194	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Willyam Fitzisabell, Willyam Fitzarnold. B.
1195	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Robert Besaunt, Iokell Iosue. B.
1196	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Gerard Antiloch, Robert Duraunt. B.
1197	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Blunt, Nicholas Ducket. B.
1198	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Constantine Fitzarnold, Robert le Beaw. B.

King Iohn beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1199.

1199	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Arnold Fitzarnold, Rich. Fitzbartholomew. B.
1200	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Dorcet, Iames Bartholomew. B.
1201	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Walter Fitzalis, Simon of Aldermanbury. B.
1202	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Norman Blundell, Iohn of Ely. B.
1203	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Water Browne, Willyam Chamberlaine. B.
1204	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Hauerill, Hamond Brond. B.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and Dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Bayliffes.
1205	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wolgraue, Richard of Winchester. B.
1206	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Holyland, Edmond Fitz Gerrard. B.
1207	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Winchester, Edmond Hardell. B.
Here came in the first Maior and Sherreues of London.			
1208	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Peter Duke, Thomas Nele, Sherreues.
	October. 28.		Henry Fitzalwin, Maior.
1209	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Peter le Iosue, Willyam Blound, S.
	October. 28.		Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1210	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Adam Whetley, Stephen le Gras, S.
	October. 28.		Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1211	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Fitz Pet, Iohn Garlond, S.
	October. 28.		Henry Fitzalwin, M.
1212	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Randolph Eyland, Constantyne le Iosue. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Fitzalwyn. M.
1213	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Martyn Fitzalys, Peter Bate. S.
	Octo. 28.		Roger Fitzalwyn. M.
1214	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Salomon Basyng, Hugh Basyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Roger Fitzalwyn. M.
1215	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 6.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Trauers, Andrew Newland. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Hardell. M.

King Henry the thirde beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1216.

1216	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Benet Couentrye, Wylliam Bluntmers. S.
	Octo. 19.	1	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Octo. 28.		Iames Alderman, Salomon Basyng. M.
1217	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Bokerell, Raufe Hollyland. S.
	Octo. 19.	2	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1218	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Waylle, Iosenus Spycer. S.
	Octo. 19.	3	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1219	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Wymbledye, Iohn Waylle. S.
	Octo. 19.	4	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1220	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Reynger, Ioseus le Iosue. S.
	Octo. 19.	5	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1221	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Reynger, Ioseus le Iosue. S.
	Octo. 19.	6	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1222	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Rychard Reynger, Thomas Lambert. S.
	Octo. 19.	7	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Serle. M.
1223	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Ieyner, Thomas Lambert. S.
	Octo. 19.	8	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Reynger. M.
1224	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Trauers, Andrew Bokerell. S.
	Octo. 19.	9	
	Octo. 28.		Rychard Reynger. M.
1225	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Roger Duke, Martyn Fitzwylliam. S.
	Octo. 19.	10	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Reynger. M.
1226	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham. S.
	Octo. 19.	11	
	Octo. 28.		Rychard Reynger. M.
1227	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Bokerell, Henry Cobham. S.
	Octo. 19.	12	
	Octo. 28.		Roger Duke. M.
1228	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Walter Winchester, Robert Fitz Iohn. S.
	Octo. 19.	13	
	Octo. 28.		Roger Duke. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1229	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Fitzwylliam, Iohn Woodborne. S.
	Octo. 19.	14	
	Octo. 28.		Roger Duke. M.
1230	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Mighell of saint Eleyn, Walter of Enfeld. S.
	Octo. 19.	15	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1231	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Edmonton, Gerrard Bat. S.
	Octo. 19.	16	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1232	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symond Fitzmare, Roger Blont. S.
	Octo. 19.	17	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1233	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Ashwy, Iohn Norman. S.
	Octo. 19.	18	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1234	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Gerrard Bat, Robert Ardell. S.
	Octo. 19.	19	
	Octo. 28		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1235	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Cobham, Iordane Couentrie. S.
	Octo. 19.	20	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1236	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Toleson, Gerrard Cordwayner. S.
	Octo. 19.	21	
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Bokerell. M.
1237	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wyllhall, Iohn Goundresse. S.
	Octo. 19.	22	
	Octo. 28.		Rychard Reynger. M.
1238	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Reymond Bongey, Raufe Ashwy. S.
	Octo. 19.	23	
	Octo. 28.		William Ioyner. M.
1239	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Gysors, Myghell Tony. S.
	Octo. 19.	24	
	Octo. 28.		Gerrard Bat. M.
1240	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Voyle, Thomas Duresme. S.
	Octo. 19.	25	
	Octo. 28.		Reymond Bongey. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1241	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Fitz Iohn, Raufe Ashye. S.
	Octo. 19.	26	
	Octo. 28.		Reymond Bongey. M.
1242	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Hugh Blont, Adam Basyng. S.
	Octo. 19.	27	
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Ashye. M.
1243	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Spycer, Nicholas Bat. S.
	Octo. 19.	28	
	Octo. 28.		Mighell Tony. M.
1244	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Cornehill, Adam Bewly. S.
	Octo. 19.	29	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1245	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symon Fitzmary, Lawrence Frowyke. S.
	Octo. 19.	30	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1246	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Voyle, Nicholas Bat. S.
	Octo. 19.	31	
	Octo. 28.		Piers Alyn. M.
1247	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Ioye, Geoffrey Wynton. S.
	Octo. 19.	32	
	Octo. 28.		Mighell Tony. M.
1248	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Hardell, Iohn Toleson. S.
	Octo. 19.	33	
	Octo. 28.		Roger Fitzroger. M.
1249	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Humffrey Basse, Wylliam Fitzrichard. S.
	Octo. 19.	34	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Norman. M.
1250	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Lawrence Frowyke, Nicholas Bat. S.
	Octo. 19.	35	
	Octo. 28.		Adam Basyng. M.
1251	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Durham, Thomas Wynborne. S.
	Octo. 19.	36	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Toleson. M.
1252	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Northampton, Richard Picard. S.
	Octo. 19.	37	
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Bat. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1253	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Belyngton, Raufe Ashwy. S.
	Octo. 19.	38	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Hardell. M.
1254	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Oystergate, Henry Walmode. S.
	Octo. 19.	39	
	Octo. 28.		Richarde Hardell. M.
1255	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Mathew Bokerell, Iohn Minor. S.
	Octo. 19.	40	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Hardell. M.
1256	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Ewell, Wylliam Ashwy. S.
	Octo. 19.	41	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Hardell. M.
1257	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Fitzrichard, Robert Cathelion. S.
	Octo. 19.	42	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Hardell. M.
1258	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Adrian, Robert Cornehill. S.
	Octo. 19.	43	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1259	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Brown, Richard Couentrie. S.
	Octo. 19.	44	
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard. M.
1260	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Northampton, Richard Pickard. S.
	Octo. 19.	45	
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard. M.
1261	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Philip Walbroke, Richard Tayler. S.
	Octo. 19.	46	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1262	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Mountpiller, Osborne Buckcessell. S.
	Octo. 19.	47	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1263	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Lamforde, Edward Blont. S.
	Octo. 19.	48	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1264	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Peter Armiger, Gregory Rokesley. S.
	Octo. 19.	49	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fitzthomas. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1265	March. 25.	*	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas de la foorde, Gregory Rokesley. S.
	Octo. 19.	50	
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Fitzrichard. M.
1266	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Adrian, Lucas Bitencote. S.
	Octo. 19.	51	
	Octo. 28.		Alyen Zowche. M.
1267	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas of Basyng, Robert of Cornehill. S.
	Octo. 19.	52	
	Octo. 28.		Aleyn Zowche. M.
1268	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam of Durham, Water Haruie. S.
	Octo. 19.	53	
	Octo. 28.		Aleyn Zowche. M.
1269	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Hadstock, Anketill de Aluerne. S.
	Octo. 19.	54	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fitzthomas. M.
1270	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Walter Potter, Iohn Taylor. S.
	Octo. 19.	55	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Adrian. M.
1271	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley, Henry Walleys. S.
	Octo. 19.	56	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Adrian. M.
1272	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Paris, Iohn Bedyll. S.
	Octo. 19.	57	
	Octo. 28.		Walter Heruie. M.

* King Edward the first beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1273.

	Nouem. 16.	1	
1273	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Horne, Walter Porter. S.
	Octo. 28.		Walter Haruie. M.
	Nouem. 16.	2	
1274	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Nicolas Wynchester, Henry Couentrie. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Walleys. M.
	Nouem. 16.	3	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1275	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Luke Batencourt, Henry Frowyke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	4	
1276	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Borne, Raufe Blont. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	5	
1277	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert de Brasy, Raufe Fenour. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	6	
1278	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Adrian, Water Langley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	7	
1279	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Basyng, Wylliam Mercer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	8	
1280	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Boxe, Raufe Moore. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	9	
1281	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		William Faringdon, Nicholas Winchester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	10	
1282	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Mazerer, Nycholas Wynchester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem. 16.	11	
1283	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Blont, Hawkyn Betuell. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem. 16.	12	
1284	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iordane Goodchepe, Martine Boxe. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Waleys. M.
	Nouem. 16.	13	
1285	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Cornehill, Robert Rokesley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Gregorie Rokesley. M.
	Nouem. 16.	14	
1286	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Walter Blont, Iohn Wade. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. Custos.
	Nouem. 16.	15	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1287	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Crosse, Wylliam Hawteyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Sir Iohn Briton. C.
	Nouem. 16.	16	
1288	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Herfford, Thomas Stanes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	17	
1289	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Betayne, Iohn of Cauntorburie. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	18	
1290	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Fowlk of S. Edmonds, Salomon Langford. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	19	
1291	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Romayne, Wylliam de lyre. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	20	
1292	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Blont, Hamond Boxe. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	21	
1293	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Ball, Ellice Russell. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	22	
1294	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Rokesley, Martyn Awbrey. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Sandwiche. C.
	Nouem. 16.	23	
1295	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Boxe, Richard Gloucester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Sir Iohn Briton. C.
	Nouem. 16.	24	
1296	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Donstable, Adam Harlyngbury. S.
	Octo. 28.		Sir Iohn Briton. C.
	Nouem. 16.	25	
1297	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Sulffe, Adam of Fullam. S.
	Octo. 28.		Sir Iohn Briton. C.
	Nouem. 16.	26	
1298	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn of Stortford, Wylliam of Stortford. S.
	Octo. 28.		Sir Iohn Briton. C.
	Nouem. 16.	27	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1299	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Resham, Thomas Sely. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Walleys. M.
	Nouem. 16.	28	
1300	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Armencer, Henry Fringrith. S.
	Octo. 28.		Elice Russell. M.
	Nouem. 16.	29	
1301	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Luke Hauering, Richard Champneys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Elice Russell. M.
	Nouem. 16.	30	
1302	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Caller, Peter Bosham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
	Nouem. 16.	31	
1303	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Hugh Pourt, Symond Parys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
	Nouem. 16.	32	
1304	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Combmartyn, Iohn of Burford. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
	Nouem. 16.	33	
1305	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Roger Paris, Iohn Lyncolne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
	Nouem. 16.	34	
1306	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Reynold Doderill, Wylliam Causon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
	Nouem. 16.	35	

King Edward the second beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1307.

1307	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Belet, Godfrey de la Conduyt. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.
1308	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Nicholas Pygot, Michel Drury. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Blont. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1309	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Basyng, Iohn Butteler. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1310	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Iames of saint Edmondes, Roger Palmer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Romayne. M.
1311	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Crop, Peter Blackney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Rosham. M.
1312	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Merwood, Richard Wylforde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1313	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Lambyn, Adam Lutkyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1314	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Adam Burden, Hugh Bayton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1315	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn of Abyngton, Hamond Chickwell. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gisors. M.
1316	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Hamond Goodcheape, Wylliam Redyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn of Abyngdon. M.
1317	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Caston, Raufe Palmer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Wengraue. M.
1318	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Priour, Wylliam Furner. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Wengraue. M.
1319	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Pountney, Iohn Dallyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Wengraue. M.
1320	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Abyngdon, Iohn Preston. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1321	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Reynold at the Conduyt, Wyllia Prodham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
1322	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Constantine, Richard Hackney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
1323	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Grantham, Richard of Ely. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
1324	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	18	
	Septem. 28.		Adam Saresburie, Iohn of Oxford. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Faringdon. M.
1325	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	19	
	Septem. 28.		Benet Fullham, Iohn Cawston. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
1326	March. 25.		
	Iulie. 7.	20	
	Septem. 28.		Gilbert Morden, Iohn Cotton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Breteyn. M.

King Edward the thirde beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1327.

	Ianu. 25.	1	
1327	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Rotyng, Roger Chauncelour. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Breteyn. M.
	Ianu. 25.	2	
1328	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Darcy, Iohn Hawden. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hamond Chickwell. M.
	Ianu. 25.	3	
1329	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symon Fraunces, Henry Combmartyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Grantham. M.
	Ianu. 25.	4	
1330	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Lazer, Richard Gisours. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symond Swaland. M.
	Ianu. 25.	5	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and Dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1331	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Ely, Thomas Whorwood. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symond Swaland. M.
	Ianu. 25.	6	
1332	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Mockyng, Andrew Awberey. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Pountney. M.
	Ianu. 25.	7	
1333	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Pyke, Iohn Husband. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Preston. M.
	Ianu. 25.	8	
1334	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Hamond Wylliam Hasard. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Pountney. M.
	Ianu. 25.	9	
1335	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Kyngston, Walter Turke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Reignold at Conduyt. M.
	Ianu. 25.	10	
1336	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Walter Morden, Richard Vpton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Reynold at Conduyt. M.
	Ianu. 25.	11	
1337	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Brickleswoorth, Iohn Northhall. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Pountney. M.
	Ianu. 24.	12	
1338	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Walter Neale, Nicholas Graue. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Darcy. M.
	Ianu. 25.	13	
1339	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Thorney, Roger Frosham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Awbrey. M.
	Ianu. 25.	14	
1340	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Marys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Awbrey. M.
	Ianu. 25.	15	
1341	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Lucas, Bartholo. Marys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Awbrey. M.
	Ianu. 25.	16	
1342	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Barkyng, Iohn Rokesley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Oxenford. M.
	Ianu. 25.	17	

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1343	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Lufkyn, Richard Kyslyngbury. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symon Fraunces. M.
	Ianu. 25.	18	
1344	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Stuard, Iohn Aylesham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hamond. M.
	Ianu. 25.	19	
1345	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Geoffrey Wychyngham, Thomas Legget. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hamond. M.
	Ianu. 25.	20	
1346	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Edmond Hempnall, Iohn Gloucester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Lazer. M.
	Ianu. 25.	21	
1347	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Croydon, Wylliam Clopton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Geoffrey Wychyngham. M.
	Ianu. 25.	22	
1348	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Bramson, Richard Basyngstoke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Legget. M.
	Ianu. 25.	23	
1349	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Picard, Symon Wolseley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Lufkyn. M.
	Ianu. 25.	24	
1350	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Bury, Raufe Lynne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Turke. M.
	Ianu. 25.	25	
1351	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Not, Wylliam Worcester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Kyllyngbury. M.
	Ianu. 25.	26	
1352	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wroth, Gybbon Stayndrop. S.
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Aubery. M.
	Ianu. 25.	27	
1353	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Peache, Iohn Stodeney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Fraunces. M.
	Ianu. 25.	28	
1354	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Welde, Iohn Lytle. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Fraunces. M.
	Ianu. 25.	29	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1355	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Tottyngham, Richard Smert. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Legget. M.
	Ianu. 25.	30	
1356	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Forster, Thomas Brandon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symon Fraunces. M.
	Ianu. 25.	31	
1357	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Nottyngham, Thomas Dosell. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Pickard. M.
	Ianu. 25.	32	
1358	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Candishe, Bartho. Frostlyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Stody. M.
	Ianu. 25.	33	
1359	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Barnes, Iohn Burys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Lufkyn. M.
	Ianu. 25.	34	
1360	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symon Bedyngham, Iohn Chichester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symond Duffeld. M.
	Ianu. 25.	35	
1361	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Denys, Walter Burney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Wroth. M.
	Ianu. 25.	36	
1362	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Holbeche, Iames Tame. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Peche. M.
	Ianu. 25.	37	
1363	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn of saint Albones, Iames Andrew. S
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Candishe. M.
	Ianu. 25.	38	
1364	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Croydon, Iohn Hiltoft. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Notte. M.
	Ianu. 25.	39	
1365	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symon Mordant, Iohn of Motforde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam of Bury. M.
	Ianu. 25.	40	
1366	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Bukylswoorth, Iohn Dreland. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Lufkyn. M.
	Ianu. 25.	41	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1367	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Warde, Wylliam Dickman. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Lufkyn. M.
	Ianu. 25.	42	
1368	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Torgold, Wylliam Dickman. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iames Andrew. M.
	Ianu. 25.	43	
1369	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Adam Wymbyngham, Robert Gyrdeler. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symond Mordon. M.
	Ianu. 25.	44	
1370	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Pyele, Hugh Holdiche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Chichester. M.
	Ianu. 25.	45	
1371	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Walwoorth, Robert Gayton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Barnes. M.
	Ianu. 25.	46	
1372	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Hatfielde, Adam Staple. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Barnes. M.
	Ianu. 25.	47	
1373	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Philphot, Nycholas Brembre. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Piele. M.
	Ianu. 25.	48	
1374	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Aubery, Iohn Fisshye. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Bury. M.
	Ianu. 25.	49	
1375	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Lyons, Wylliam Woodhouse. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Walwoorth. M.
	Ianu. 25.	50	
1376	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Hadley, Wylliam Newport. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Warde. M.
	Ianu. 25.	51	

King Richard the second beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1377.

1377	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Northampton, Robert Laund. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Staple. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1378	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Andrew Pickman, Nycholas Twiford. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Brember. M.
1379	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Boseham, Thomas Cornewallys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Philpot. M.
1380	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Helysdon, Wylliam Baret. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hadley. M.
1381	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Walter Ducket, Wylliam Knight hood. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Walwoorth. M.
1382	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Rote, Iohn Hynde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Northampton. M.
1383	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Adam Bawme, Iohn Sely. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Northampton. M.
1384	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Wynchecombe, Iohn Moore. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Northampton. M.
1385	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Nicholas Exton, Iohn Frenche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Brember. M.
1386	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Organ, Iohn Churchman. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Brember. M.
1387	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Stonden, Wylliam Moore. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Exton. M.
1388	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Venour, Hugh Fostalse. S
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Exton. M.
1389	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Austyn, Adam Gathil. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Twyford. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1390	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Walcote, Iohn Loueney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Venour. M.
1391	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Fraunces, Thomas Vyuent. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Bawme. M.
1392	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Cadwoorth, Henry Vamer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hynde. M.
1393	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Gilbert Mansfielde, Thomas Newton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Stonden. M.
1394	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	18	
	Septem. 28.		Drewe Barentyne, Richard Whytyngdon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hadley. M.
1395	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	19	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Bramton, Thomas Knolles. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Frenche. M.
1396	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	20	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Elice, Wylliam Sherynghām. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Moore. M.
1397	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	21	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Wylford, Wylliam Parker. S.
	Octo. 28.		Adam Bawme. M.
1398	March. 25.		
	Iune. 21.	22	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Askam, Iohn Woodcock. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Whitynglon. M.
	March. 25.		
1399	Iune. 21.	23	

King Henry the fourth beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1399.

Septem. 28.			Iohn Wade, Iohn Warner. S.
Septem. 29.		1	
Octo. 28.			Drew Barentyn. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1400	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Waldern, Wylliam Hyde. S.
	Septem. 29.	2	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Knolles. M.
1401	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wakell, Wylliam Ebot. S.
	Septem. 29.	3	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Fraunces. M.
1402	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Venour, Iohn Fremyngham. S
	Septem. 29.	4	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Chadwoorth. M.
1403	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley. S.
	Septem. 29.	5	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Walcot. M.
1404	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Fawconer, Thomas Poole. S.
	Septem. 29.	6	
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Askam. M.
1405	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Lowche, Stephyn Spylman. S.
	Septem. 29.	7	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Hynde. M.
1406	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Barton, Wylliam Cromer. S.
	Septem. 29.	8	
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Woodcock. M.
1407	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Wotton, Geoffrey Brooke. S
	Septem. 29.	9	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Whyttyngton. M.
1408	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Pomfret, Henry Halton. S.
	Septem. 29.	10	
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Stonden. M.
1409	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Duke, Wylliam Norton. S.
	Septem. 29.	11	
	Octo. 28.		Drew Barentyn. M.
1410	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Lawe, Wylliam Chicheley. S.
	Septem. 29.	12	
	Octo. 28.		Richard Marlow. M.
1411	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Penne, Thomas Pyke. S.
	Septem. 29.	13	
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Knolles. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1412	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Raynewell, Wylliam Cotton. S.
	Septem. 29.	14	
	Octo. 28.		Robert Chicheley. M.

King Henry the fift beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1413.

	March. 20.	1	
1413	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Leuenhinde, Wylliam Seuenock. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Waldren. M.
	March. 20.	2	
1414	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Sutton, Iohn Mychell. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Cromer. M.
	March. 20.	3	
1415	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Michell, Thomas Alleyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Fawconer. M.
	March. 20.	4	
1416	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Cambridge, Alyn Euerard. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Wotton. M.
	March. 20.	5	
1417	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Wodyngton, Iohn Couentrie. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Barton. M.
	March. 20.	6	
1418	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Reade, Iohn Gedney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Marlow. M.
	March. 20.	7	
1419	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Barton, Iohn Parnes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Seuenock. M.
	March. 20.	8	
1420	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Whyttyngham, Iohn Butler. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Whytyngton. M.
	March. 20.	9	
1421	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Butteler, Iohn Welles. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Cambridge. M.
	March. 20.	10	

THE TABLE

King Henry the sixt beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1422.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	
1422	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Goslyn, Wylliam Weston. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Chicheley. M.
1423	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Estfield, Richard Tattersale. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Waldren. M.
1424	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Iames, Thomas Wadforde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Cromer. M.
1425	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Symon Seman. Iohn Bywater. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Michell. M.
1426	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Mildred, Iohn Brokle. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Couentrie. M.
1427	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Arnoldes, Iohn Higham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Raynewell. M.
1428	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Frowyke, Robert Otley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gydney. M.
1429	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Dushouse, Iohn Abbot. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Barton. M.
1430	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Russe, Raufe Holand. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Estfielde. M.
1431	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Walter Chertsey, Robert Large. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Wotton. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1432	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Aderley, Stephyn Browne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Welles. M.
1433	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Olney, Iohn Paddesley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Parneys. M.
1434	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Chalton, Iohn King. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Brockley. M.
1435	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Barnewell, Symon Eyre. S.
	Octo. 28.		Roger Otley. M.
1436	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Catwoorth, Robert Clopton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Frowyke. M.
1437	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Morsted, Wylliam Gregorie. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Michell. M.
1438	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Chapman, Wylliam Hallys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Estfield. M.
1439	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	18	
	Septem. 28.		Hugh Dicket, Nicholas Ewe. S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Browne. M.
1440	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	19	
	Septem. 28.		Robert Marshall, Philip Malpas. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Large. M.
1441	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	20	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Sutton, Wylliam Wetynghale. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Paddesley. M.
1442	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	21	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Combrys Richard Riche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Clopton. M.
1443	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	22	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Bewmond, Richard Norden. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Thyrley. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1444	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	23	
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Wylforde, Iohn Norman. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Catwoorth. M.
1445	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	24	
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Foster, Hugh Wiche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Frowyke. M.
1446	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	25	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Darby, Godfrey Feldyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Symon Eyre. M.
1447	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	26	
	Septem. 28.		Robert Horne, Godfrey Boloyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Onley. M.
1448	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	27	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Abraham, Thomas Scot. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gydney. M.
1449	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	28	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Catlow, Wylliam Marrow. S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Browne. M.
1450	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	29	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Hulyn, Thomas Canyngs. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Chalton. M.
1451	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	30	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Middleton, Wylliam Dere. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nycholas Wyforde. M.
1452	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	31	
	Septem. 28.		Mathew Philip, Christopher Warton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Gregorie. M.
1453	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	32	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Walderne, Thomas Cooke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Norman. M.
1454	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	33	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Felde, Wylliam Taylor. S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Foster. M.
1455	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	34	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Young, Thomas Mulgraue. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Marrow. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherrenes and Maiors.
1456	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	35	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Steward, Raufe Verney. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Canynges. M.
1457	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	36	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Edward, Thomas Reyner. S.
	Octo. 28.		Godfrey Boloyne. M.
1458	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	37	
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Iosselyn, Richard Medtham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Scot. M.
1459	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	38	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Plommer, Iohn Stocker. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Hulyn. M.
1460	March. 25.		
	August. 31.	39	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Flemyng, Iohn Lambert. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Lee. M.

King Edward the fourth beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1461.

	March. 4.	1	
1461	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Lock, George Ireland. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hugh Wiche. M.
	March. 4.	2	
1462	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Hampton, Bartholomew Iames. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Cooke. M.
	March. 4.	3	
1463	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Basset, Thomas Mustchamp. S.
	Octo. 28.		Mathew Philip. M.
	March. 4.	4	
1464	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Tate, Iohn Stone. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Ioslyn. M.
	March. 4.	5	
1465	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Weuer, Wylliam Constantyne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Verney. M.
	March. 4.	6	

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1466	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Browne, Henry Brice, I. Stockton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Young. M.
	March. 4.	7	
1467	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Humffrey Heyford, Thomas Stalbroke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Oulgraue. M.
	March. 4.	8	
1468	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Symon Smith, Wylliam Hariot. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Taylor. M.
	March. 4.	9	
1469	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Gardyner, Robert Drope. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Lee. M.
	March. 4.	10	
1470	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Crosby, Iohn Warde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Stockton. M.
	March. 4.	11	
1471	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Alyn, Iohn Chellye. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Edward. M.
	March. 4.	12	
1472	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Browne, Thomas Bledlowe. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Hampton. M.
	March. 4.	13	
1473	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Stocker, Robert Bellysdon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Tate. M.
	March. 4.	14	
1474	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Edmond Shawe, Thomas Hill. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Drope. M.
	March. 4.	15	
1475	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Hugh Prince, Robert Colwiche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Basset. M.
	March. 4.	16	
1476	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Richard Rawson, Wylliam Horne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Iosselyn. M.
	March. 4.	17	
1477	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Henry Colet, Iohn Stocker. S.
	Octo. 28.		Humffrey Heyford. M.
	March. 4.	18	

The yeres o four Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1478	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Herdyng, Robert Byfelde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Gardyner. M.
	March. 4.	19	
1479	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Ham, Iohn Warde. S.
	Octo. 28.		Bartholomew Iames. M.
	March. 4.	20	
1480	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Danyell, Wylliam Bacon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Browne. M.
	March. 4.	21	
1481	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Tate, W. Wykyng, R. Chawry. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Haryot. M.
	March. 4.	22	
1482	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Whyte, Iohn Mathew. S.
	Octo. 28.		Edmond Shawe. M.
	March. 4.	23	

King Edward the fift beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1483.

1483	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 9.	1	

King Richard the thirde beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1483.

	Iune. 22.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Norland, Wylliam Martyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Byllysdon. M.
1484	March. 25.		
	Iune. 22.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Chester, T. Briteyn, Raufe Astry. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Hill. M.
1485	March. 25.		
	Iune. 22.	3	

King Henry the seuenth beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1485.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	August. 22.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Tate, Iohn Swan. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hugh Brice. M.
1486	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Percyuall, Hugh Clopton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Colet. M.
1487	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Fenkyll, Wylliam Remyngton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Horne. M.
1488	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Isaac, Raufe Tynley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Robert Tate. M.
1489	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Capell, Iohn Brooke. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Whyte. M.
1490	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Cote, R. Reuell, Hugh Penberton. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Mathew. M.
1491	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Wood, Wylliam Browne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Hugh Clopton. M.
1492	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Purchace, Wylliam Welbeck. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Martyn. M.
1493	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Robert Fabian, Iohn Wynger. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Astry. M.
1494	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Alwyn, Iohn Warner. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Chawry. M.
1495	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Knéeswoorth, Henry Sommer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Colet. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1496	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Shawe, Richard Haddon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Tate. M.
1497	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Bartholomew Rede, Thomas Wyndought. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Purchace. M.
1498	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Bradbury, Stephyn Ienyngs. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Percyuall. M.
1499	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Iames Wylfoord, Richard Brond. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Alwyn. M.
1500	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Hawse, Wylliam Stede. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Redyngton. M.
1501	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Lawrence Aylmer, Henry Hede. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Shawe. M.
1502	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	18	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Keble, Nycholas Nynes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Bartholomew Rede. M.
1503	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	19	
	Septem. 28.		Christopher Hawes, R. Wattes. T. Granger. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Capell. M.
1504	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	20	
	Septem. 28.		Roger Acheley, Wylliam Browne. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Wynger. M.
1505	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	21	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Shore, Roger Groue. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Kneeswoorth. M.
1506	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	22	
	Septem. 28.		W. Copynger, T. Iohnson, W. Fitzwilliam. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Haddon. M.
1507	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	23	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Butteler, Iohn Kyrkbie. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Browne. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1508	March. 25.		
	August. 22.	24	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Armew, Richard Smyth. S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Ienyngs. M.

King Henry the eyght beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1509.

1509	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	1	
	Septem. 28.		George Monoux, Iohn Ducket. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Bradbury. M.
1510	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Mylborne, Iohn Rest. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Keble. M.
1511	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Nicholas Shelton, Thomas Myrfyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Roger Acheley. M.
1512	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Robert Holdernes, Robert Fenrother. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Copynger. M.
1513	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Dawes, I. Bridges, Roger Basfoord. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Browne. M.
1514	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	6	
	Septem. 28.		Iames Yarfford, Iohn Mondy. S.
	Octo. 28.		George Monox. M.
1515	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	7	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Worley, Richard Gray, W. Bailye. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Butteler. M.
1516	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	8	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Seymour, Richard Thurston. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Rest. M.
1517	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	9	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Baldry, Richard Symon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Exmew. M.

THE TABLE.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1518	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	10	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Alyn, Iames Spencer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Myrffyn. M.
1519	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	11	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wilkynson, Nicholas Partridge. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iames Yarfford. M.
1520	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	12	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Skeuyngton, Iohn Keble. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Bruge. M.
1521	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	13	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Briteyn, Thomas Pargetour. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Mylborne. M.
1522	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	14	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Rudston, Iohn Champneys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Mondy. M.
1523	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	15	
	Septem. 28.		Mighell Englishe, Nicholas Ienyngs. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Baldry. M.
1524	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	16	
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Dodmer, Wylliam Roche. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Bailye. M.
1525	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	17	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Calton, Christopher Askew. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Allyn. M.
1526	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	18	
	Septem. 28.		Stephyn Pecock, Nichas Lambert. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Seymer. M.
1527	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	19	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Hardy, Wylliam Hallys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iames Spencer. M.
1528	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	20	
	Septem. 28.		Raufe Wareyn, Iohn Long. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Rudston. M.
1529	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	21	
	Septem. 28.		Mighell Dormer, Walter Champion. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Dodmer. M.

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1530	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	22	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Dauncie, Iohn Choppyng. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Pargetour. M.
1531	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	23	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Gresham, Edward *Altham*. S.
	Octo. 28.		Nicholas Lambert. M.
1532	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	24	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Reynold, I. Martyn, Ni. Pyncheon, S.
	Octo. 28.		Stephyn Pecock. M.
1533	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	25	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Forman, Thomas Kytson. S.
	Octo. 28.		Christopher Askew. M.
1534	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	26	
	Septem. 28.		Nycholas Lewson, Wylliam Denham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Champneys. M.
1535	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	27	
	Septem. 28.		Humfrey Monmouth, Iohn Cotes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Alleyn. M.
1536	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	28	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Paget, Wylliam Bowyer. S.
	Octo. 28.		Raufe Warreyn. M.
1537	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	29	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Gresham, Thomas Lewyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Gresham. M.
1538	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	30	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Wylkynson, Nicholas Gibson. S.
	Octo. 28.		Walter Forman. M.
1539	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	31	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Fayrry, Thomas Huntlow. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Hollys. M.
1540	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	32	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Laxton, Martyn Bowes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Roche. M.
1541	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	33	
	Septem. 28.		Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley. S.
	Octo. 28.		Mighell Dormer. M.

The yeres of our Lord	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1542	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	34	
	Septem. 28.		Henry Hoblethorn, Henry Amcotes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Coates. M.
1543	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	35	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Toules, Richard Dabbes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Bowyer. M.
1544	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	36	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Wylfoord, Andrew Iud. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Laxston. M.
1545	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	37	
	Septem. 28.		George Barnes, Raufe Allyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Martyn Bowes. M.
1546	March. 25.		
	Aprill. 22.	38	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Ieruys, Thomas Curtys. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Hoblethorne. M.

King Edward the sixt beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1547.

	Ianu. 28.	1	
1547	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Whyte, Robert Chertsey. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Gresham. M.
	Ianu. 28.	2	
1548	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Lock, Iohn Ayleph. S.
	Octo. 28.		Henry Amcotes. M.
	Ianu. 28.	3	
1549	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Yorke, Richard Turck. S.
	Octo. 28.		Rowland Hill. M.
	Ianu. 28.	4	
1550	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Austyn Hynde, Iohn Lyon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Andrew Iud. M.
	Ianu. 28.	5	
1551	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Lambert, Iohn Cowper. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Dabbes. M.
	Ianu. 28.	6	

The yeres of our Lord.	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the King.	Sherreues and Maiors.
1552	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Garet, Iohn Maynard. S.
	Octo. 28.		George Barnes. M.
	Ianu. 28.	7	

Queene Marie beginneth hir reigne in the yere. 1553.

1553	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Offley, Wylliam Hewet. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Whyte. M.
1554	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	2	

King Phyllip beginneth his reigne in the yere. 1554.

	Iuly. 25. P.	1	
	Septem. 28.		Dauid Woodroffe, Wylliam Chester. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Lyon. M.
1555	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	3	
	Iuly. 25. P.	2	
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Leigh, Iohn Machym. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Garrard. M.
1556	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	4	
	Iuly. 25. P.	3	
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Harper, Iohn Whyte. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Offley. M.
1557	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	5	
	Iuly. 25. P.	4	
	Septem. 28.		Richard Malory, Iames Altham. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Curteys. M.
1558	March. 25.		
	Iuly. 6. M.	6	
	Iuly. 25. P.	5	
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Halse, Richard Champion. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Leigh. M.

Queene Elizabeth beginneth hir reigne in the yere. 1559.

The yeres of our Lord	Monethes and dayes.	The yeres of the Queene.	Sherreues and Maiors.
	Nouem. 17.	1	
1559	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Lodge, Roger Martyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Hewet. M.
	Nouem. 17.	2	
1560	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Christopher Draper, Thomas Rowe. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Chester. M.
	Nouem. 17.	3	
1561	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Alexander Auenon, Humffrey Baskeruyle. S.
	Octo. 28.		Wylliam Harper. M.
	Nouem. 17.	4	
1562	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Wylliam Alener, Richard Chamberleyn. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Lodge. M.
	Nouem. 17.	5	
1563	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Edward Bankes, Rowland Heyward. S.
	Octo. 28.		Iohn Whyte. M.
	Nouem. 17.	6	
1564	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Edward Iackman, Lyonell Ducket. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Malorie. M.
	Nouem. 17.	7	
1565	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Iohn Ryuers, Iames Hawes. S.
	Octo. 28.		Richard Champion. M.
	Nouem. 17.	8	
1566	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Ri. Lambert, Ambros Nycholas, Iohn Lang. S.
	Octo. 28.		Christopher Draper. M.
	Nouem. 17.	9	
1567	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Thomas Ramsey, Wylliam Bond. S.
	Octo. 28.		Roger Martyn. M.
	Nouem. 17.	10	
1568	March. 25.		
	Septem. 28.		Robert Hardyng, I. Olepb, Iames Bacon. S.
	Octo. 28.		Thomas Rowe. M.
	Nouem. 17.	11	

GENERAL INDEX.

AARON, i. 18.
Abbeys suppressed, ii. 454.
Abbot Egelsyne, i. 155.
Abdon, i. 21.
Abdemonaples, i. 94.
Abell, i. 2, 3, 4.
——— Bachelor in diuinitie, ii. 474.
Abessam, i. 21.
Abia the sonne of Roboam, i. 33.
Abimelech, i. 21.
Abram, i. 14, 15, 17.
Absolution geuen to the parliment house, ii. 551.
Achab, i. 33.
Achiud, i. 28, 107.
Acte for vnlawfull assemblies, ii. 524.
Adam and Eue, i. 25.
Admonition to the iustices of peace, ii. 506.
Adrian an Englyshman Bishop of Rome, i. 194.
Adrian a Cardinall of Rome, ii. 182.
Aduenturers, ii. 329, 352.
Aecius, i. 73.
Aelon, i. 21.
Aeneas, i. 23.
Affrica, i. 9.
Aganippus, i. 36, 37.
Agatha Harolds wife, i. 153.
Ages of the world, i. 55, 56, 57.
Agilbert, i. 96.
Agnes Duches of Norffolke, ii. 477.
Aioth, i. 2.
Albert Duke of Holland, i. 521.
Albanact, i. 24.
Albion, i. 23, 25, 28.
Alcaron, i. 94.
Aldermen, i. 253.
Aldroenus, i. 73.
Alexander Archbyshope of Yorke, ii. 453.
—— —— Bishope of Rome, i. 151. ii. 183.
—— —— Bishop of Lincolne, i. 187.
—— —— King of Scottes, i. 241, 289.
—— —— Ramsey, i. 214.
Alectus, i. 66.
Algarus reconciled, i. 147. Banished, i. 148. And Reconciled againe, i. ib.
Alianor mother to king Rychard the first, i. 219.
Almaricus a traytour, i. 131.
Alpes, i. 12.
Alpine the king of Scottes, i. 105.
Alphred had his eyes put out, i. 142, 147.
Alsoulen college, i. 626
Alured, i. 109, 111.
Amasones, i. 13.
Amasia slaine, i. 35.
Ambassadours, i. 333, 335, 337, 338.
Amberkleth a Scot, i. 101.
Ambicion, ii. 83.
Ambresbury, i. 127.
Amery a knight, i. 383.
Ammon, i. 38.
Ammonites, i. 16.
America, i. 63, 71.
Amram, i. 18.
Andrewe Erle of Carlisle hanged, i. 316.
——— Forgusa a traytoure, i. 453.
——— Barton a pirate, ii. 242.
Androgius, i. 50.
Androgeus, i. 52, 53.
Angles, i. 75.
Anglia, i. 105.
Angusian Scot, i. 70.
Anna, i. 96.
Anne of Cleue maryed to king Henrie the eight, ii. 467. Deuorced, ii. 474. Died and was buried, ii. 555.
Anne Boleyne beloued of king Henrie the eight, ii. 419. Made Marchiones, ii. 441. Maried to king Henrie the eight, ii. 445. Published Queene, ii. 445. Crowned, ii. 448. Sent to the tower, ii. 456. Behedded, ii. ib.
Anselme Archbishop of Canturburie, i. 181. Dyeth, i. 182.
——— Archbishop of Yorke, i. 173.
Antheus, i. 12.
Anticipation, ii. 356.
Antonimus, i. 89.
Anthony, Bastard sonne of Phylip duke of Burgoyne, ii. 10.
——— Woodwyle lord Ryuers, ii. 83. Committed to warde, ii. 85. Behedded, ii. 86.
——— Kingston knight apprehended, ii. 554.
——— Agar and his sonne slaine at Calice, ii. 558.
Appeales to Rome forbidden, ii. 445.
Aquyteyn lost, i. 651.
Archebyshops of Cauntorburie are named by the pope Legati nati, i. 196.
Arde Castell buylded, ii. 475.
Arden murdered, ii. 525.
Argenton, i. 174.

INDEX.

Archimalus, i. 51.
Archebyshoppes, i. 65, 99, 102.
Archigallo, i. 148.
Archflamin, i. 33.
Arke of Noe, i. 7.
Arians, i. 76.
Aristeus, i. 48.
Armes of Fraunce quattered with Englande, i. 346.
——— of kynge Rychard, i. 468.
Army sent into Spaine, ii. 244.
——— into Fraunce, ii. 247.
——— into Scotland, ii. 487, 491, 505.
Arques Castell, i. 226.
Arthgall the first Erle of Warwicke, i. 83.
Arthur, i. 82.
——— Prince of Wales, ii. 163. Affied to Kathyryn daughter of Ferdinand kyng of Spaine, ii. 222. Dead, ii. 625.
Arthure sonne of Geoffrey Plantagenet, i. 230. Hys pedigree, i. 232. His death, i. ib.
Articles concluded betweene the Scottes and Frenchmen against Englande, i. 104.
——— betweene king Henry the sixt and Rycharde duke of York, and the duke slaine, i. 669, 671.
——— exhibited in parlement against king Richarde the second, i. 173.
——— of agreement betweene the Frenche king, and Henry the fift king of England, i. 536.
——— of peace with Fraunce, i. 399. ii. 53.
——— in the behalf of the Emperour, ii. 372.
——— or conditions offred to the king of England by the Duke of Orleaunce, i. 403.
——— proponed by the Percies against kynge Henry the fourth, i. 490.
——— proponed against William Duke of Suffolke, i. 638.
——— published by the Duke of Gloucester against Henry bishop of Winchester, i. 563. And the bishops aunswere to the same, with the determination of the parlement, which were Arbitrators betweene them, i. 564, 565, 566, 567.
——— proponed to the Justices, i. 435.
——— against Mortimer, i. 332.
——— against Cardinall Wolsey, ii. 425, 431. Hys description, ii. 432. Dead, ii. ib.
——— against the clergy, ii. 438.
Art of fishing, i. 98.
Arviragus, i. 60, 61.
Asa, i. 33.
Aschanius, i. 24.
Asclepiodatus, i. 67.
Ashedowne, i. 109.
Asia, i. 9.
Aske, rebell in the north, ii. 461. Taken, ii. ib. Executed, ii. 462.
Assaracus, i. 24.
Assises, when they were first ordeyned, i. 215.
Athalia, i. 34.
Athelstane, hys decde, i. 116, 117.
Augustus Cesar, i. 54.
Augustyn called S. Augustyn, 172.
Aurelj, i. 80, 82.
Aurelius Conanus, i. 85.
Austyn the monke, i. 35.
Austyn came to preach, i. 89.
Austynes Oke, i. 90.
Aydayne Scot, i. 91.
Azarias, i. 37.

B.

Babell or Babilon, i. 2, 11.
Baffeling what it is, ii. 272.
Baliioll College in Oxford, i. 289.
Bailiefes rule the Citie of London, i. 220.
Bamborough Castell, i. 175.
Barachias, i. 40.
Barbary, i. 12.
Barke Ager, ii. 497.
Barkeshire or Bareokeshire, i. 108.
Barkley Castell, i. 117.
Barley, i. 11.
Barnet field, ii. 37.
Barnard College, i. 626.
Barnes a Docter, ii. 474.
Barels of Golde, ii. 391.
Barons warre, i. 260, 263, 265. Assemble at Sherborne, i. 313. Flie and are taken, i. 314. Executed, i. 315.
Bassianus Caracalla, i. 66.
Basingstoke, i. 109, 114.
Bathe, i. 38.
Battaile Abbey in Sussex, i. 152.
Battaile of Agincourt, i. 518.
——— at S. Albons, i. 653, 672.
——— at Bannury, ii. 15.
——— of Chastillion, i. 630.
——— of Crauant, i. 552.
——— of Cressey, i. 370.
——— of Estreueylen, i. 298, 310.
——— of Euesham, i. 272.
——— of Fankerck, i. 299.
——— of Fongiers in Briteyn, ii. 174.
——— of Furneyes in Flaunders, i. 298.
——— of Herrings, i. 579.
——— of Lewys in Sussex, i. 270.
——— of Liuelles, ii. 3.
——— of Lincolne, where Mawde the empresse had a great victorie, i. 188, 189.
——— of Methfen, i. 305.
——— of Northampton, i. 665.
——— of Otterborne, i. 457.
——— of Poytiers, i. 388.
——— of Shrewesburie, i. 490.
——— of Sluce, i. 347.
——— of Solomoe Mosse, ii. 488.
——— of Stoke, ii. 168.
——— of Tewkesburie, ii. 42.
——— of Towton, i. 675.
——— of Vernoyle, i. 556.
——— of Vyron Fosse, i. 344.
——— of Wakefielde, i. 671.
Beaulieu in Hampshire, ii. 39.
Beda, i. 101.
Belinus, i. 42, 43, 44, 45.
Belvnsgate, i. 44.
Bell Castell taken, ii. 345.
Benevolence, ii. 107, 185.
Berinus, i. 84.
Bernulphus, i. 104.
Berwick wonne, i. 295. Yeelded to ye Scottes, i. 311. Recouered, ii. 76.

Berwick Castell taken, i. 336. Recouered by the Scottes, i. 414. Recouered againe by the Englishmen, i. 416.
Bertrand slue king Rycharde the first, i. 230.
Beuerley, i. 508.
Bishop of Duresme made Erl, i. 222.
Bishoppes, i. 65, 88, 91, 95.
——— became great purchasers, i. 222.
——— deposed and restored, ii. 535.
——— depriued, i. 163.
Blacketh field, i. 647. ii. 208.
Blacksmith, ii. 206.
Blackwell hall, i. 41.
Bladud, or Baldud, i. 34.
Blank chartres, i. 471.
Blaunchetaque, i. 369.
Bledud, i. 50.
Bledgabredus, i. ib.
Blewe beard, i. 639.
Bloode rayned, i. 37.
Bloody flux, i. 128.
Blore heath, i. 661.
Bokyngham Castle, i. 115.
Boleyn besieged, ii. 189. Recouered, ii. 492. Geuen vp againe to the French kyng, ii. 525.
Bootes Bulwarke, ii. 562.
Borne Bishop of Bathe, ii. 536.
Boston brent, i. 285.
Boswoorth fielde, ii. 155.
Bowe Church steple, i. 282.
Bowyer Maior of Bodwin, ii. 519.
Brasen Serpent, i. 38.
Brent Heath, i. 647.
Brentforde of Braynefoorde, i. 134.
Brennus, i. 42, 43, 44, 45.
Brest geuen vp, i. 461.
Bridewell, i. 185.
Briteyn and Britones, i. 28, 49, 64.
——— decayed, i. 85.
Brithricus, i. 103.
Brigthwaldus, i. 100.
Browne, i. 108.
Brucinall king of Leycester, i. 92.
Brute, i. 14, 24, 25.
——— Greeneshielde, i. 33.
Bull hyde, i. 75.
Burdet put to death, ii. 107.
Bulwarkes made by king Henry the eight, ii. 465.
Burgh, i. 28.
Buriall of king Henry the fift, i. 549.
Burye, ii. 514.
Buterlage, what it is, i. 261.
Buylding of Saint Iames, ii. 439.

C.

Cadwalader, i. 99.
Cadwallyn, i. 92, 95.
Cadwane, i. 92. 94.
Caine, i. 3, 4, 5, 6.
Calabre, i. 83.
Calice besieged, i. 377. Wonne, i. 382. Solde, i. 383. Defended, i. ib. Besieged by the duke of Burgoyn, i. 609. Defended, ii. 557. Besieged by the Duke of Guise, and wonne from the Englishe, ii. ib.
Cambria, i. 28.
Cambridge, i. 47, 95.
Cambre, i. 24.
——— besieged, i. 343.
Cane besieged and taken, i. 353.
Canutus, i. 137.
——— a Dane, i. 167.
Caumtorburie, i. 34, 53. Brent, i. 196. Besieged, i. 131.
Cap of Maintenaunce, ii. 281.
Capteyne Cobler, ii. 459.
Capeuus, i. 50.
Caporus, i. 51.
Caraseus, i. 66.
Caratack king of Scottes, i. 59.
Caraticus, i. 88.
Cardinall Bembricke, ii. 285.
——— Campeius, ii. 295, 413. Hatt receaued, ii. 287.
——— Poole, ii. 465, 538, 548. Made Archbishop of Caumtorburie, ii. 554. Dyeth, ii. 566.
——— Wolsey, ii. 305, 312, 319, 371, 374, 376, 378, 395, 396, 404, 407, 416, 419, 420. Made bishopp of Durham, ii. 337.
Carlisle made a bishops sea, i. 186.
Cassibelan, i. 51.
Castell of Maydens, i. 33.
Castels destroyed and rased to the grounde, i. 194.
Catagrimus, i. 76, 77.
Catellus, i. 50.
Catesby, ii. 97.
Catigrinus, i. 77.
Cealmus, i. 87.
Cecilius, i. 47.
Cerdicus, i. 83.
Chapman, ii. 475.
Chalenge, ii. 10.
Chalons castell, i. 229.
Charles the Balde, i. 106.
——— Sixt Frenche king, i. 550. Dead, i. ib.
——— the fift Emperoure receaued in London, ii. 333.
——— de Bloys Duke of Briteyn, i. 383.
——— the French king deceased, i. 550.
——— the seuenth proclameth himselfe king of Fraunce, i. ib.
——— the fift Emperour, ii. 300.
——— landeth in England, ii. 302.
——— Duke of Burgoyn maried to the Ladye Margaret, sister to king Edward ye fourth, ii. 10.
——— Duke of Burgoyne slayne, ii. 66.
——— Duke of Suffolke, ii. 344, 350. Dyeth, ii. 491.
Cherimus, i. 50.
Chester, i. 115.
Chesshire men gard the king, i. 464.
Chichester, i. 52.
Chirbrough, i. 394.
Chrisostome, i. 72.
Christening in Ryuers, i. 93.
Christes Church in Caumtorburye, i. 89.
Christian king of Denmarke, ii. 340.
Christians persecuted, i. 68.

Christopher Urswike, ii. 171.
Christopher Moresby, i. 515.
Churches in England, ii. 339.
Cicile duchesse of Yorke deceased, ii. 201.
Cimbelinus, i. 54.
Circumcision, i. 15.
issa, i. 80.
Citizens geuen away by the kyng to the prince, i. 274. Forced to flie the cytie, i. 275. Banished for euer, i. 288. Spoyle Citizens, i. 278.
Ciuile battail, i. 38.
—— sedition, i. 485.
—— warre, ii. 108.
Clare hall in Cambridge, i. 402.
Clergie, i. 602.
Clito, i. 105, 115.
Clotheus, i. 50.
Cloto Duke of Cornewall, i. 41.
Coill, i. 50.
Coillus, i. 64, 67.
Colbrand a gyaunt, i. 118.
Colchester, i. 67.
Colemore, i. 77.
Colyngborne executed, ii. 138.
College of Eton, ii. 46. Called the kynges College, ii. ib.
Colleges in Oxforde, ii. 234.
Colwolphus, i. 92.
Combate, i. 137, 430, 470, 628.
Comaundements, i. 20.
Commissioners, ii. 345.
Communion in both kinds, ii. 500.
Commotion, ii. 13.
Companions, i. 402.
Compeigne, i. 588.
Conarus, i. 64.
Conduyt, i. 493.
——— in Fleetstreete, i. 616.
——— in Gracious strete, ii. 187.
Congallus, i. 74.
Conranus, i. 80.
Conspiracye, i. 17. Againste kinge Henry ye fourth, i. 480.
Constantyne, i. 68, 69, 75. Scot, i. 73, 107, 116, 118, 133.
——— the Sonne of Arnulph, i. 249.
——— an Isle in Normandy, i. 303.
Constantius, i. 68, 73.
Contention for the Primacye, i. 165, 183, 214, 222.
——— in the Election for the Archbishop of Cauntorburie, i. 252.
——— for the Election of the pope, i. 216.
Conwall Scot, i. 88, 105.
Conuecation at London, i. 182.
Coronation of William conquerour, i. 1.
——— of king Henry the sixt at Westminster, i. 585.
——— at Paris, i. 591.
——— of Queene Katherin, i. 543.
——— of Queene Elizabeth wyfe to king Henry the seuenth, ii. 172.
Conquet taken and brent, ii. 565.
Corbreid Scot, i. 61.
Cordella, i. 36, 37.
Corfe castell, i. 126, 328.
Corineus, i. 29.
Corine, i. 24.
Cornewall, i. 24.
Countesse of Salisbury, i. 354.
Councelours contemned, i. 32.
Counsaylours to king Henry the eight, ii. 235.
Counsayle at Notingham, i. 434, 464.
——— of Constance, i. 508.
——— of Laterane, i. 241.
——— of the Citye of London, called the common Counsaile, i. 232.
Court Legantine, ii. 296, 338.
Couentrie, i. 167.
——— made free, i. 148.
Countie Aguemonde, ii. 538.
Coyne aduanced, i. 33.
——— and abashed, ii. 525.
Cranmer arreigned and condemned of Treason, ii. 538.
Crathlyn Scot, i. 68.
Cratweld a hangman hanged, ii. 463.
Creation of the World, i. 1.
——— of man, i. 1.
——— of Dukes, i. 468.
Crekynforde, i. 80, 114.
Creplegate, ii. 187.
Crickland, i. 114.
Crosses of Blood, i. 103.
Croytoy brent, i. 37.
Cuthert Tonstall byshop of London, ii. 355.
Cuthbert, i. 401.
Culpepper executed, ii. 476.
Culyle kyng of Scottes, i. 125.
Canedagius, i. 37.
Cuppes of Iron, i. 93.
Cutwolphus, i. 88.
Cussing, i. 244.

D.

Dampart, ii. 476.
Dane Gelt, i. 129. Released, i. 186, 187. Discharged, i. 142, 143.
Danes made tributarye to England, i. 46. Landed in Norfolke and Suffolk, i. 105, 109. Discomfited, i. 108, 115, 120, 127, 129, 130. Are chased, i. 162.
Daniell the Prophet, i. 40, 41.
Darwent a riuer, i. 77.
Dauid anoynted kyng, i. 30.
—— King of Scottes, i. 352.
—— brother to Llewellyne prince of Wales hanged, i. 287.
—— sonne of Malcolne king of Scottes, i. 190.
—— Prince of Wales, i. 252.
Dearth of Corne, i. 233, 288.
Debora or Delbora, i. 21.
Defiance made to the Emperour, ii. 403.
Degrees of poore, ii. 530.
Demetrius, i. 48.
Deposition of kyng Edward the secõd, i. 326.
Deuotion, i. 106.
Deyra, i. 94.
Dionyce Morbeck knight toke the Frenche king, i. 39[illegible]
Dinellus, i. 51.
Diram executed, ii. 476.

Disgrading of a knight, ii. 4.
Displeasure betweene king Edward ye fourth, and the Erle of Warwicke, ii. 8. The Erle slaine, ii. 38.
Dissention among the Barons, i. 272.
——— betweene the King and the Parliament, i. 432.
Dissimulation, i. 78, 134, 138, 163.
Distruction of the Temple, i. 39.
——— of the Iewes, i. ib.
Diuision, i. 128.
——— betweene Lancaster and Yorke, i. 652, 658.
Dixmew Fielde, ii. 179.
Doctor Bele, ii. 290.
Donald Scot, i. 65, 68, 95, 99, 106, 113.
Donkerke brent by the Frenche, ii. 564.
Donstone, i. 122, 125, 126, 127, 128.
Dorchester, i. 95.
Douer brent by ye Frenche, i. 290.
Drie Summer, i. 387.
Drinke, i. 11.
Dronkennesse, i. 74.
Duffus kinge of Scottes, i. 125.
Duke of Buckingham conspireth against king Richard, ii. 133. Behedded, ii. 135.
Dalua Prince in Spaine, ii. 246.
Dulcane king of Scottes, i. 141.
Dunbarre, i. 295.
Duresme besieged by the Scottes and brent, i. 333.
Durante the popes Legate, i. 227.

E

Earthquake, i. 183, 254.
Ebbing and flowing, i. 505.
Ebrank, i. 32.
Edeir Scot, i. 54.
Edenborough, i. 33. Castell taken, i. 536, ii. 491.
Edgar, i. 122.
——— Atheling, i. 155.
——— the sonne of Malcolme king of Scottes, i. 173.
Edine a Scot, i. 101.
Edmond Dudley, ii. 228, 236.
——— de la Poole Erle of Suffolke, ii. 224, 229.
——— Boner Bishop of London, ii. 535.
——— Crowchback secod sonne to king Edwarde the thirde, i. 281.
——— Ironside, i. 133.
——— Erle of Kente slaine, i. 500.
——— the Martyr, i. 108.
——— Mortimer apprehended, i. 485.
——— died without issue, i. 489.
——— brother to king Henry the sixt, created Erle of Richmonde, i. 651.
——— Erle of Lancaster, i. 294. Created Duke, i. 297.
——— Sha Goldsmithe, ii. 78, 102.
——— of Woodstock, i. 317. Aprehended, i. 331.
Edolfe Erle of Chester, i. 78.
Edricus a traytor, i. 130, 133, 136, 138, 139.
Edward, i. 113, 116, 126, 143.
——— Confessor, i. 143.
——— the sonne of Edmonde Ironside, i. 133.
——— Longshank, i. 252.
——— of Carnauan the first sonne of Edward the first, i. 287.
——— Le bruze slaine, i. 316.
Edward Prince of Wales and eldest sonne of king Edward ye third, commonly called the black Prince, i. 358.
——— the first sonne of Prince Edward, i. 403.
——— the sonne of kyng Henry the sixt borne, i. 651.
——— the sonne of Richard the thirde dieth, ii. 121.
——— Erle of Warwicke, ii. 68.
——— Plantagenet Erle of Warwicke, ii. 157, 166.
——— behedded, ii. 220.
——— Lord Woodayle, ii. 173.
——— Pownings knight, ii. 200, 242.
——— Haward Lord Admyrall dyeth, ii. 252.
——— Boughen Duke of Buckyngham accused, ii. 309. Attached, ii. 310. Arreigned, condempned and executed, ii. 311.
Edward Duke of Sommerset complained vpon by the Lords, ii. 522. Committed to the Tower, ii. 524. Deliuered from thence, ii. 525. Againe committed to the Tower, ii. 526. Condemned and executed, ii. 526, 529.
Edward Lord Hastings, ii. 98, 99. Hys discription, 99.
Edward Countney created Erle of Deuonshire, ii. 535, 552.
——— Lord Dudley capitayne of Hammes, ii. 561.
——— ye first crowned at Westminster, i. 283. Dieth, i. 307. Hys discription, i. ib.
Edward ye secod crowned, i. 308. Taken and imprisoned, i. 324. Deposed, i. 326. Murthered, i. 328. His discription, i. 308.
Edward the third borne, i. 309. Deposed his father, i. 326. Reigneth King, i. 327. Goeth into Fraunce, i. 334. Is made Vicar of the Empire, i. 341. Coyned Golde and Siluer in Andwarpe, i. 342. Conquereth Calice, i. 382. Dieth, i. 411. His issue, i. ib.
Edward the fourth proclamed king, i. 674, ii. 1, 80. Taken prisoner, ii. 17. Escapeth, ii. ib. Flieth, ii. 24. Landeth againe in England, ii. 32. Possesseth againe the crowne, ii. 36. Passeth with a great army into Fraunce, ii. 50. Returneth againe, ii. 63. He dyeth, ii. 82. His discription, ii. 79. Discription of his Concubynes, ii. 101.
Edward the fift, ii. 79. Commeth to London, ii. 83. Murthered, ii. 118.
Edward the sixt borne, ii. 462. Crowned, ii. 500. Dyeth, ii. 533.
Edwyn Erle of Middle England, i. 155.
——— and Edwinus, i. 86, 92, 93, 121.
Egbert, i. 102, 104, 105.
Egelred, i. 127.
Egelwinus bishop of Duresme, i. 164.
Egelfride, i. 98.
Egipt, i. 13.
Egiptians, i. 14.
Elanius, i. 47.
Eldadus, i. 50.
Eldolus, i. 51.
Eledancus, i. 50.
Elfricus a traytor, i. 128.
Elidurus, i. 47, 49.
Elgina the wife of king Edmonde, i. 120.
Eliud, i. 50.
Elizabeth daughter to king Henry the eyght borne, ii. 449. Committed to the Tower, ii. 544. Remoued

to Woodstock, ii. 548. Restored to the possession of the Crowne of this realme, ii. 567.
Elizabeth wife to king Henry the seuenth, daughter of king Edward the fourth, and mother to king Henry ye eyght borne, ii. 9.
Elizabeth Barton called the holy Mayde of Kent, ii. 450.
Elizabeth Tilney, ii. 476.
——— Blont, mother of the Duke of Rychemonde, ii. 382.
Elianor Cobham Duchesse of Gloucester, i. 622. Wife to Humfrey called the good Duke of Gloucester, i. ib. Wife to king Henry the second, i. 193.
Ella king of Deira, i. 80, 86.
Elphegus Archbyshop of Caunturburie stoned to death, i. 132.
Eluthерus bishop of Rome, i. 64.
Ely made a Bishops sea, i. 182.
Emirianus, i. 50.
Emma the Queene, i. 132, 136. Banished, i. 141. Accused of incontinency, i. 143, 146.
Enfleda, i. 93.
England, i. 40, 104.
——— made tributarie to the bishop of Rome, i. 240.
Englishe Marchauntes receaued into Andwarp with possession, ii. 212.
Englefielde, i. 180.
Enoch, i. 3, 6.
Entercourse betweene the house of Burgoyne and Englande, ii. 212.
Epistle Exhortatorie, ii. 508.
Erle Baldwin, i. 188.
—— of Salisbury slaine, i. 577.
Ercombert, i. 95, 97.
Ermingstreete, i. 43.
Esau, i 16.
Esay the Prophet, i. 38.
Esquires made in London, ii. 505.
Estreuelyn Castle, i. 352.
Estrild, i. 29, 30.
Ethelbert, i. 79, 89, 91, 107.
Ethelburga, i. 103.
Ethelfridus, i. 86, 88.
Ethelard, i. 101.
Ethelwald, i. 106, 108.
Ethelwolph, i. 105.
Ethodus, i. 64, 66.
Euelinus, i. 53.
Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man, i. 93.
Eugenius Scot, i. 70, 85, 100.
Europa, i. 19.
Eustace the sonne of king Stephen, i. 192. Drowned, i. ib.
——— Bishop of Ely, i. 226.
——— Erle of Tirwyn, ii. 477.
Euill Maie day, ii. 291.
Ewyn Scot, i. 54.
Exactions, i. 471.
Excester, i. 52, 109.
Exceter besieged by Perkin, ii. 213.
——— College, i. 339.
Exham fielde, ii. 3.
Exmewe, ii. 453.
Extortion, i. 80.

Ezechiell, i. 39.

F

Fable, i. 71.
Faith decayed, i. 88.
Famine, i. 100, 162, 167, 175, 311.
Faulques Erle of Angiers, i. 185.
Felony, ii. 537.
Fergus Scot, i. 40, 47, 72, 103.
Feuthias Scot, i. 40.
Fernehurst Castle taken, ii. 347.
Feribrig, i. 675.
Ferex and Porex, i. 40.
Ferguard Scot, i. 99.
Fetherstone Bachelor of Diuinitie, ii. 474.
Fincomarke Scot, i. 70.
Findocke Scot, i. 68.
Fines for fornication, i. 176.
Fyre, i. 128.
First fruites and tenthes given to king Henry the eyght, ii. 453.
Fishing, i. 98.
Flaundyrs drowned, i. 182.
Flatterers, i. 138.
Flyes, i. 37.
Floddon Fielde, ii. 273.
Flood in Holland and Zeland, ii. 444.
—— of Noe, i. 7, 8.
Folkemote, i. 256, 258, 262, 263, 285.
Forest of Windsore, i. 177.
——— made by William Conquerour, i. 163, 164.
Forging of Iron, i. 6.
Forte of Boleyne, ii. 493.
Fortune frowneth, i. 180.
Fosse, i. 43.
Fraunce, i. 12.
Fraunces the Frenche king, ii. 504.
——— Lord Louell, ii. 107.
——— Duke of Burbon, ii. 346.
——— Bygod knight, ii. 461.
Frenchmen enter into Scotland, i. 437, 440.
——— Inuade England, i. 656.
Frederike Emperour, i. 216. Submitteth himselfe to the Pope, i. ib.
Fremingham Castell, i. 108.
Frewaryn, i. 250.
Fria, i. 75.
Friday, i. ib.
Frost, i. 501.
Frowdes, ii. 476.
Fryer forest, ii. 462.
Fryer Pynky, ii. 103.
Fulgen, i. 50.
Furius Camillus, i. 45.

G

Galates, i. 45.
Gallacia, i. ib.
Gallogrecia, i. ib.
Ganders feast in Rome, i. ib.
Gard for the king, i. 73.
Garet a bachelor in diuinitie, ii. 474.
Gauell, i. 156.
Gauestone beheaded, i. 309.
Gaule Celtique, i. 12.
Gedeon, i. 21.

Gedwoorth forest, i. 336.
Gentlemen that came in with William the Conquerour, i. 156.
Geoffrey of Charney knight, i. 383.
——— Poole, ii. 464.
——— the sonne of king Henry the second, made Bishop of Lincolne, i. 217.
——— Plantagenet, i. 191, 192.
——— duke of Clarence, ii. 1. Drowned in a butt of Malmsey, ii. 68, 81.
——— Carew knight, drowned, ii. 493.
——— Ferrers maister of the kings pastimes, ii. 527.
——— Pollard knight, slaine, ii. 495.
Germanus, i. 76.
Gerorcius, i. 50.
Geta, i. 66.
Giauntes, i. 12.
Giftes corrupt the wise, i. 318.
Gilbert Middleton knight, i. 311.
——— Bishop of London, i. 198.
Giles Bishop of Herfforde, i. 236.
—— Lord Dawbeney, ii. 231.
Gitrus, i. 111.
Gysors Castell,
Glasing, i. 97.
Glamorgan fielde, i. 37.
Gloucester, i. 60.
Gobyn a grace, a Frenchman, i. 369.
Goffare king of Poytynymes, i. 24.
Godfrey of Harecourt knight, i. 363, 373.
Godina, the wife of Leofricus freed Couentry, i. 148.
Gogmagog, i. 25.
Golden Fleece, i. 588.
Gonorilla, i. 35.
Gonnes ennented, i. 429.
Gorbodian, i. 38.
Gorbodug, i. 40.
Gorbomanus, i. 47, 49.
Goodwin an Erle, i. 139, 142, 145, 146.
Granado recouered from the Turkes, ii. 186.
Grantbridge, i. 95.
Grantham, i. 47.
Grape, i. 9.
Graueseud brent, i. 416.
——— Bishop of London, i. 459.
Gray Friers first came into England, i. 185.
Great Conduyt in Cheape, i. 287. ii. 70.
Gregory bishop of Rome, i. 89.
Griffin a Rebell, i. 143, 147.
——— slaine, i. 148.
Griffith the sonne of Llewellyn prince of Wales, i. 254.
Grime Scot, i. 133.
Gualo the Popes Legate, i. 244.
Gualter Manney knight, i. 384.
Guillamore, i. 81.
Guy of Warwicke, i. 118, 119.
Guyderus, i. 59.
Guyot of Guy an Almayn, ii. 244.
Guyld hall buylded, i. 499, 504.
Guylforde Dudley Lord condemned of Treason, ii. 538.
Guynes taken by the Frenche, ii. 560.
Gurgurcius, i. 50.
Gurgustus, i. 38.
Gurguintus, i. 45.
Gurmundus, i. 88.
Guanus, i. 71.
Gwendolyn, i. 24, 29, 31.
Guilthdacus, i. 42.
Guyntelinus, i. 46.

H.

Habren, i. 30.
Haddington, ii. 505, 506.
Halfe pence & farthings lacke in England, i. 285.
Ham, i. 7.
Hamo, i. 59.
Hardikinitus, i. 141.
Hardyngham Castel brent, ii. 343.
Harflew, i. 512, 513.
Harold, i. 141, 150.
——— Harfagar slaine, i. 150.
Hartes hall, i. 333.
Hedgecoote field, ii. 16.
Hedding besieged, ii. 330.
Hegeley Moore, ii. 3.
Heli, i. 22, 24, 51.
Helyes Prophecy, i. 33.
Hengist, i. 75, 79.
Henuinus, i. 36.
Henry the first crowned, i. 179. Had a fall from a horse and dyed, i. 186.
Henry the Second crowned, i. 193. Was punished with roddes by Monkes, i. 214. And hath a sonne named Henry borne, 194. Who was crowned king in hys fathers life, i. 215. And the sayde sonne rayseth warre agaynst his father, i. ib. And the sayde sonne is once agayne crowned with his wife, i. 219. And shortlie dyed, i. ib. And soone after the father dyed in Normandy, i. ib.
Henry the thirde crowned, i. 247. Crowned againe, i. 249. Maried his daughter to Alexander king of Scottes, of whome he toke homage for all Scotland, i. 255. Maried his eldest sonne Edward to Alianour the Kings sister of Spaine, i. ib. The king taken by his Barons, i. 270. Hee was the first who kept a Parliament of the three Estates, i. 271. Died, i. 283.
Henry the fourth, firste Erle of Darby, banished, and after the death of his father was Duke of Lancaster, i. 471. Returneth out of Fraunce, i. ib. And claimeth the crowne, i. 477. And is possessed of the same, by the name of Henry the fourth, ib. And crowned king, i. 478. Marieth Iane Duchesse of Bryteyn, i. 488. Purposeth a voyage to Ierusalem, but dieth in Westminster, i. 506. His issue, i. ib. His discription, i. ib.
Henry the fift crowned, i. 507. Claymeth the crowne of Fraunce, i. 508. Winneth a great victorie at the battayle of Agincourt, i. 516. Marieth the Ladie Katheryn Daughter to the French king, and is proclamed heire and Regent of Fraunce, i. 536. He dyeth, i. 547. His discription, i. 548.
Henry the sixt borne at Windsore, i. 545. Proclamed king, i. 549. Iames Stuart king of Scottes, doth homage vnto him for Scotland, i. 553. Crowned at Westminster, i. 585. In Paris, i. 591. Returneth out of Fraunce, i. 595. Discription of king Henry the sixt, i. 628. And a discription of his wife, i. ib. Rychard duke of Yorke claymeth the crowne, i. 646. The birth of Prince Edward, king

Henry the sixts sonne, i. 651. Division betweene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, i. 652, 658. King Henry flieth, and deliuereth the towne of Barwicke vnto the Scottes, i. 677. Taken and committed to the Tower, ii. 5. Restored againe to the crowne, ii. 27. Is againe committed to the Tower, ii. 30. Is murthered, ii. 45, 81.
Henry the seuenth, first Erle of Richemonde, ii. 64, 65. Landeth at Milforde hauen, ii. 147. Claymeth the Crowne, and slayeth Richarde the thirde in the fielde, ii. 156. And there was crowned, ii. 157. Againe crowned at Westminster, ii. 158. Maried to the Ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the Fourth, ii. 159. He dyeth, ii. 232. And is buried at Westminster, ii. 232, 237. His discription, ii. 232.
Henry the eyght, secõd sonne to king Henry the seauenth borne, ii. 187. Created Duke of Yorke, ii. 223. Proclaimed Prince of Wales, ii. 226. Proclamed king of this Realme, ii. 235. Maried the Ladye Katheryn his Brothers wife, ii. 237. Crowned, ii. ib. Taketh ye Popes part, ii. 243. Passeth into Fraunce with a great army, ii. 254. Besiegeth Tirwyne, ii. 259. Defieth the king of Scottes, ii. 260. Tirwine yeelded, ii. 265. Besiegeth Tornay, ii. 267. The Scottish king slaine, ii. 275. Tornay yeelded, ii. 278. Returneth into England, ii. 279. Receaueth from the Pope a Cap of maintenaunce and a Sworde, ii. 281. Marieth his second sister to Lewys ye Frenche king, ii. 282. Meeteth with the Emperour at Calice, ii. 308. Writeth against Luther, ii. 316. And is made defender of the faith, ii. ib. Receaueth from the Pope a rose of Golde, ii. 366. Named Supreame head, ii. 432. Meeteth with the French king at Calice, ii. 444. Marieth Ladie Anne Bulleyne, ii. 445. Banisheth the Pope with all his authoritie, ii. 453. Deuorced from Queene Katheryn ii. 446. He hath the first fruites and tenthes giuen to him of the Clergie, ii. 453. Maried to Ladie Iane Seymor, ii. 456. Maryed to the Ladie Anne of Cleue, ii. 471. Deuorced, ii. 474. Maried to the Ladie Katheryn Hawarde, ii. 476. Proclamed king of Irelande, ii. 477. And maried to the Ladie Katheryn Parre, ii. ib. Besiegeth Boleyne and winneth the same, ii. 492. He dyeth, ii. 499. His discription, ii. ib.
Henry Duke of Normandy, i. 191.
——— the sixt of that name Emperour, i. 223.
——— sonne of king John borne, i. 245.
——— Grace a dieu a Ship, ii. 250.
——— duke of Herreford banished, i. 471.
——— Lord Scroop beheadded, i. 511.
——— Hotspurre slaine, i. 492.
——— Mortimer, i. 515.
——— Erle of Warwicke made Duke of Warwicke, i. 625.
——— Duke of Sommerset submitteth himself to king Edward the fourth, ii. 2. Renoseth king Edward, ii. ib. Beheadded, ii. 3.
Henry Archbishop of Canturburie, ii. 226.
——— Erle of Deuonshire created Marques of Exceter, i. 583.
——— Gra. Duke of Suffolke apprehended and executed, ii. 544.
——— Beningfield knighte, ii. 548.
Henry Bishop of Winchester made Cardynall, i. 571.
Hereford Castle, i. 115.
Hide of land what it is, i. 167.
Hierome Boneuise, ii. 243.
Hide Mede, i. 118.
High waies, i. 41.
Hilarius bishop of Chester, i. 198.
Hirelda, i. 53.
Historiographers, i. 101.
Holy land, i. 359.
Homages of the Scottes, i. 187, 196, 291, 297, 295, 335, 337, 339, ii. 483.
Homage and fealtie done by the Frenchmen, i. 592.
Holmes capitaine of rebels, ii. 514.
Homelyes, ii. 500.
Homffrey Duke of Gloucester made Protectour of England, i. 548, 549, 551, 624.
Homfrey Browne knight, ii. 472.
——— Arondell Capitayne of Rebells, ii. 514.
Horsus, i. 75, 77.
Hospitall of Saint Bartholomews first founded, i. 180, 499.
——— of saint Katheryns founded, i. 252.
Hospitalls of Christ, S. Thomas the Apostle, & Bridewell, ii. 530, 531.
Hubba, i. 108.
Hubert of Burgh chief Iustice of England, i. 251.
——— Archbishop of Canturburie, i. 232.
Hugh Erle of Shrewsburie slayne, i. 177.
——— Mortimer a Rebel, i. 195.
——— Spencer the father and Hugh Spencer the sonne, i. 312, 315, 323, 324.
Hugo de Mendosa, ii. 408.
Hugh Ferringdon, Abbot, ii. 467.
——— Latimer bishop of Worcester, ii. 463, 544.
Humber, i. 29.

I

Iacke Cade, i. 640. Slaine, i. 643.
——— Shepharde, i. 421.
——— Strawe, i. ib.
Iacob, i. 16.
Iago or Lago, i. 39.
Iair, i. 21.
Iaphet, i. 7.
Iames Lord Audeley, i. 392.
——— Pipe knight, i. 397.
——— Prince of Scotland, i. 499.
——— I. King of Scottes murthered, i. 615.
——— II. King of Scottes slaine, i. 669.
——— III. king of Scottes, ii. 71, 158, 180, 181.
——— Tyrell, ii. 117.
——— Fines Lord Saye Beheadded, i. 642.
——— Twychet Lord Audeley, ii. 207. Drawne and hanged, ii. 209.
——— IV. king of Scottes slaine in Battaile, ii. 275.
——— Erle of Desmond, ii. 477.
——— Leirmouth a scot, ii. 479.
——— Hales knight, ii. 537.
——— V. King of Scottes dyed of pensiuenesse, ii. 488.
——— Wilford capitaine of Hamington, ii. 505.
Iane Seymore maried to king Henry the eyght, ii. 456. Brought a bed and dyed, ii. 462. Daughter of the Duke of Suffolke proclamed Queene, ii. 535. Condemned of Treason, ii. 538. Executed, ii. 543.

Iaques bastarde of Burbon, i. 524.
—— Dartuell, i. 348, 360, 361.
—— of Ormond, i. 515.
Iasper created Duke of Pembroke, i. 651. Flyeth, ii. 46.
Idlenesse, i. 74.
Ido king of Bernicia, i. 85.
Idolatrous images suppressed, ii.
Idwall, i. 50.
Iechonias, i. 39.
Iehoram, i. 34.
Iepthe, i. 21.
Ieroboam, i. 32.
Ierusalem, i. 10, 31. Destroyed, i. 39. Repared, i. 46. Vtterly destroyed, i. 63.
Iesus, i. 57.
Iethro, i. 19.
Iewe, i. 100.
Iewes crucifyed a Child, i. 190. Were compelled to burie all in one place, i. 217. Slaine and murthered, i. 220. Condemned for crucyfieng a childe, i. 256.
Iewettes, i. 75.
Ignorance mother of superstition, i. 227.
Iherom of Prague, i. 508. A Bachelor of Diuinitie, ii.
Indulph Scott, i. 125.
Innogen, i. 24.
Innocent bishop of Rome the thirde of that name, i. 240.
Insurrection at Norwich, i. 628. At Couentrie, ii. 336. In Suffolke, ii. 379. In Lincolnshire, ii. 457. And in the North, ii. 459. In Westmerland, ii. 461. In Cornwall, ii. 514.
Iniunctions, ii. 500.
Ioachas, i. 38.
Ioachim, i. 39.
Iohn king of England crowned, i. 230. Sailleth into Normady, i. ib. Taketh homage of the Scottes, i. 231. Looseth Normandy, i. 232. Banisheth the Monkes of Cantorburie, i. 234. The Pope writeth to king Iohn, i. ib. He is interdicted and all his realme, i. 236. He is acurssed, i. 237. Submitteth himselfe to the Pope, i. 240. England made tributarie to Rome, i. ib. The interdiction released, i. 241. Barons of Englande rebell against king Iohn, i. 243. Death of king Iohn, i. 246. Discription of king Iohn, i. 247.
Iohn Duke of Burgoyne, i. 496, 501.
—— Baliol king of Scottes resigneth the kingdome of Scotlande to king Edwarde the first, i. 296. Sent to the Tower of London, i. 297.
Iohn Duke of Bedforde, i. 502, 524, 548, 551.
—— Mowbray duke of Norfolke, i. 570.
—— Cornyn a good knight murthered, i. 305.
—— Cardinall of Rome, i. 185.
—— of Henault knight, i. 319, 328, 330.
—— Erle of Northumberlan, i. 496.
—— Ferrers of Groby, i. 515.
—— Poydras, i. 311.
—— Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, i. 548, 471.
—— The Frenche king, i. 490.
—— Copland taketh the king of Scottes, i. 377.
—— Mynsterworth knight, i. 411.
—— Wall a rebell, i. 417.
Iohn Holland, i. 423.
—— Holland Duke of Excester, i. 479.
—— Holland erle of Huntingdon, i. 524.
—— Goleford knight, i. 456.
—— Salisbury knight, i. ib.
—— Beauchamp knight, i. ib.
—— Fortham B. of Ely, i. ib.
—— Bush knight a flatterer, i. 465.
—— Wiclyffe, i. 508.
—— Husse, i. ib.
—— Oldcastle, i. 508, 527.
—— Hosvalton, i. 515.
—— Buchet, i. 589.
—— Lord Talbot, i. 598.
—— Created Erle of Shrewesburie, i. 623. Slaine, i. 650.
—— Mortimer, i. 641.
—— Duke of Alanson, i. 659.
—— Conyers a rebell, ii. 14.
—— Erle of Oxforde taken prisoner, ii. 46.
—— Greene a murderer, ii. 117.
—— Dighton, ii. 118.
—— Morton bishop of Ely, ii. 169, 206, 226.
—— of Chamber a murtherer, ii. 176. Taken and bedded, ii. 177.
—— Wyndham behedded, ii. 225.
—— Wallop knight, ii. 281, 352.
—— Rest Maior of London, ii. 291.
—— Lincolne, ii. 289.
—— Russell knight, and after Lord Priuie Seale and Erle of Bedford, ii. 346, 465.
—— Iokyn, ii. 371.
—— Fisher bishop of Rochester, ii. 423. Behedded, ii. 453.
—— Beche Abbot, ii. 467.
—— Shelton knight, ii. 472.
—— Neuell knight, ii. 475.
—— Dudley first Erle of Warwicke, and Duke of Northumberland, ii. 354, 520, 534.
Ionicus, i. 10.
Ioseph, i. 17.
Iosephus, i. 19.
Iosias, i. 38.
Iosua, i. 20.
Ireland Inhabited, i. 46.
Isaac, i. 16.
Isabell daughter to the frenche kinge, i. 403. The wife of king Edwarde the first, i. 317, 319, 321.
Iselande, i. 87.
Italy, i. 13.
Iubilee at Rome, i.
Iudges, i. 20.
—— and Iustices condemned, i. 457.
Iudith daughter to Charles the Frenche king, i. 106.
Iulius Caesar, i. 12, 52, 53.
Iurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, i. 458.
Iustes holden in Smithfield, i. 395. At Oxforde, i. 480.
Iustus a Preacher, i. 90.

K

Katheryn mother to king Henry the sixt, i. 611.
—— Daughter to king Ferdinand maried to Arthure Prince of Wales, ii. 222. Maryed to king Henry yᵉ eyght, ii. 237. Deuorced, ii. 446.

Katheryn Hawarde marieth with king Henry ye eyght, ii. 475. Behedded, ii. 476.
——— Tilney, ii. ib.
——— Countesse of Bridgewater, ii. 477.
——— Parre maried to king Henry the eyght, ii. ib.
Kenelwoorth Castell, i. 276, 329.
Kenneth Keir Scot, i. 106, 127.
Kenulph, i. 101.
Kenwalcus, i. 95, 97.
Kickneldes streete, i. 43.
Kilbridge Castell, i. 337.
Kimarus, i. 47.
Kimbelinus, i. 54.
Kimmacus, i. 39.
Kingilsus, i. 84, 97.
Kynadus scot, i. 123.
Knights Fee in land, i. 167. Made, ii. 502.
Krekers, ii. 352.

L

Lambert Symenell, ii. 163, 167.
Lancton bishop of Chester, i. 300, 301.
Laudfranke Archebishop of Canturburie, i. 163, 164.
Landes belonging to the crowne are taken in againe, i. 194.
Lauiny, i. 24.
Laurence Ducket hãged in Bowe church, i. 287.
Laundersey, ii. 489.
Lawe giuen, i. 20.
Lawes altered, i. 160. Made against ruffyans and theeues, i. 187.
Lawyers pleade in Frenche, i. 403.
League betweene Fraunce and Scotlande, i. 104.
Lechery, i. 34, 101, 102.
Legion of knights, i. 60.
Leigh, ii. 475.
Leicester, i. 35, 37.
Lent, i. 95.
Leofricus, i. 140. Freed Couentrie, i. 147.
Leonard Lord Gray, ii. 474
Letters from the Pope to the king, i. 301. And from the king to the Pope, i. 302. And from the Nobles to the Pope, i. 303.
Lewes the French kings sone, i. 243. The Frenche king dieth, ii. 286. Dolphin of Vienna, i. 615. The French king a great dissembler, ii. 71. Duke of Orleaunce, i. 503, 504. Murdered, i. 501.
Llewellyn Prince of Wales, i. 233, 256.
Letany for the Pope, ii. 394.
Leyer, i. 35.
Leyll, i. 33.
Libia, i. 12.
Liberties of London, i. 169, 254, 257, 275, 287.
Lilla a traytour, i. 92.
Lion king of Armony, i. 449.
Lions kept in the Tower, i. 219. And they all dyed, i. 614.
Lionell the sonne of king Edward the third, i. 343. Duke of Clarence, i. 402.
——— Vere Duke of Ireland, i. 453.
Lithe taken and spoiled, ii. 490.
Little Iohn, i. 221, 222.
Lincolne, i. 95.
Lynnen and wollen, i. 6.
Locryne, i. 28, 29.
Loegria, i. 24, 28.
London, i. 28, 33, 65, 128. Besieged, i. 134. A great part brent, i. 167. In the Chamber of ye Prince, ii. 108.
Londricus, i. 62.
Longland bishop of Lincolne, ii. 393.
Lord Dacres arreigned and aquyted, ii. 453.
—— Dane or Lurdane, i. 129.
—— Hastings, ii. 98, 99, 101.
—— Hungerford beheaded, ii. 474.
—— Stanley wounded, ii. 99.
—— Sturton hanged, ii. 555.
Losecote fielde, ii. 19.
Losse vpon losse, i. 406.
Loth or Lot, i. 14.
Louiers, i. 366.
Lucifer, i. 2.
Lucius first christian king in Briteyne, i. 63.
Lud, i. 34.
Ludgate, i. 5.
Ludhurdibras, i. 34.
Lugtake Scot, i. 63.
Lupus a bishop, i. 76.

M

Maces of syluer and gilt, i. 342.
Madan or Madian, i. 31.
Maddock hanged, i. 294.
Magdelen a counterfeter of king Rycharde the second, i. 481.
Maglanus, i. 36.
Mahomet, i. 94.
Maior and Shrieues of London, i. 245.
Malcolme Scot, i. 120, 121, 140. King of Scottes, i. 162, 172, 194.
Malta an Isle, ii. 430.
Male assise Castle, i. 184.
Maldwyn Scott, i. 99.
Malgo, i. 87.
Manasses, i. 38.
Margaret Iordane the witch of Ely, i. 622.
Margaret the wife of king Henry the sixt, taken prisoner and brought to London, ii. 43. Duches of Burgoyne, ii. 164, 190. Eldest daughter of king Henry the seuenth, ii. 217. And sister to king Henry the eyght, ii. 287. Affied to the king of Scots, ii. 223. Maried, ii. 226. Maried agayne, ii. 287.
Margaret Mother to king Henry the seuenth, ii. 200. Duches of Sauoye, ii. 240. The daughter of the Queene of Scottes, ii. 287. Countesse of Salisburie, ii. 465. Behedded, 475.
Margaret Bamy, ii. 476.
Marcurus Erle of Northumberland, i. 155, 164.
Mary Sister to king Henry the eyght, ii. 282. Affied and maried to the Frenche king, ii. ib. Maried to Charles Duke of Suffolke, ii. 286.
Mary the eldest daughter to king Henry the eyght, borne, ii. 288. Proclaymed Queene, ii. 534. Refuseth the first fruites, ii. 553. Proclaymeth warre agaynst the French king, ii. 555. Looseth Calice, ii. 558. Dieth, i. 567.
Mary the daughter of the king of Scottes, ii. 488. Promised to king Edward the sixt, ii. ib. Conueyed

into Fraunce, ii. 521. Maried to the Dolphyn, ii. 563.
Mary the Virgin, i. 55.
—— Rose drowned, ii. 493.
Marriages made, ii. 525, 532.
Marius, i. 62.
Maros an Abbey in Scotland brent, i. 439.
Martia, i. 46.
Martian lawes, i. ib.
Martyn Sward, ii. 167, 169.
Marte kept at Calice, ii. 196, 394.
Mathanias, i. 39.
Mathew of Westminster, i. 92.
——— Redman, i. 428.
——— Spert, ii. 178.
Mawde Empresse, i. 187, 190.
Maximianus, i. 71.
Maximilian taken prisoner, ii. 178. Serued king Henry the eight, ii. 261. Dieth, ii. 299.
Maynus Scot, i. 49.
Measures made and refourmed, i. 179.
Melchisedech, i. 9.
Melga, i. 71.
Melinus king of Candy, i. 12.
Melitus, i. 90.
Memphis, i. 18.
Mempricius, i. 32.
Merkam chief Iustice of England, ii. 107.
Merton a towne, i. 109.
Message sent to the Rebells, ii. 515.
Meserfielde battaile, i. 96.
Metellane Scot, i. 54.
Midsummer Watch, ii. 505.
Middlemore, ii. 45.
Mighelmas terme kept at saint Albones, ii. 490.
Mighell Ioseph, ii. 206, 208.
——— de la poole, i. 431, 434, 454.
——— Stanhop knight, ii. 529.
Miles forest, ii. 118.
—— Partridge knight, ii. 529.
Milleyne yeelded to the French king, ii. 371.
Minstrels banished, i. 91.
Miracle feyned, i. 630.
Miracles, i. 7, 90.
Moabites, i. 10.
Mogallus, i. 63.
Molde the daughter of Margaret queene of Scottes, i. 161.
Molyners slaine, i. 455.
Money first coyned in England, i. 65. Salueth sores, i. 255, 319.
Monkes religion, i. 98. Slaine, i. 86. Tithed, i. 132.
Monsters, i. 245.
Mordak scot, i. 101.
Mordred, i. 84.
Morgan slaine, i. 37, 50.
Morgannus, i. 37.
Morian king of Briteyn, i. 50.
Morindus, i. 47.
Mortalitie, i. 97.
Moreyn of Cattle, i. 167.
Morton bishop of Ely, ii. 122.
Mortimers taken and committed to the Tower, i. 314.
——— Crosse, i. 672.
Moses, i. 18. 20.
Mottons of Golde, i. 397.
Mountsire de Thermes made Capitayne of Calice by the Frenche king, ii. 564.
Muinucius, i. 41.
Murder, i. 102. 103, 126. Vnnaturall, i. 40. Vpon Murder, i. 264.
Musick, i. 6.
Muskelborough fielde, ii. 502.
Muster in London, ii. 465.
Mutterell besieged, ii. 492.

N

Nachor, i. 14.
Nathalack, i. 67.
Nemroth, i. 10.
Nero the Tyrant, i. 61, 62.
Newbolt hanged, ii. 243.
Newgate builded, i. 499, 551. Brente, ii. 554.
Newe Castell vpon Tyne, i. 166.
Newe Troy, ii. 28.
Newnam bridge lost, ii. 557.
Nicholas Dagwoorth knight, i. 456.
——— Carew knight, ii. 464.
——— Ridley bishop of London comitted to the Tower, ii. 535, 544. Brent, ii. 553.
——— Throkmorton knight, ii. 547.
——— Hare knight, ii. 472.
——— Hethe Archebishop of Yorke, ii. 553.
Nimus, i. 11.
Nobilitie, i. 13.
Noe, i. 7. Hys Arck, i. 8.
Noemiah, i. 6.
Normans cruelly murthered, i. 142.
Normandy lost, i. 668.
Noryngcourt Castell, i. 228.
Northamton, i. 60.
Nottingham counsaille, i. 451.
Norwiche spoyled, i. 277.
Nudigate, ii. 453.

O

Obseruaunt Fryers, ii. 371.
Obstinacy in rebels, ii. 519.
Ochorias, i. 34.
Octa, i. 76, 80, 81.
Octauius, i. 69.
Octobome a Legate, i. 252.
Odo bishop of Bayon, i. 171.
Olbion, i. 26.
Olyuer Mauney a valiant knight, i. 545.
Onichites, i. 117.
Oration, i. 188. Of the Erle Arondell, i. 206. Of Thomas Audeley, ii. 422. Of Erle Baldwyn, i. 188. Of the Duke of Buckyngham made to the Citizens of London, ii. 107. Of king Henry the seuenth, ii. 152. Of king Henry ye eight, ii. 595 Of Sir Thomas Moore, ii. 421. Of king Richard the third, ii. 151.
Order of the Garter, i. 359.
Orchades, i. 87.
Orleaunce besieged, i. 577.
Osmond bishop of Salisburie, i. 166.
Osirus, i. 11.
Oricus, i. 94, 109.

Oswold or Oswy, i. 94.
Otes, i. 11.
Othe to the Pope, ii. 440. To the king, ii. ib.
Otho Emperour, i. 117.
Othoniell, i. 21.
Outmus, i. 50.
Oxford, i. 109.
Owen Glendour, rebelleth, i. 484, 487. Dyeth, i. 493.
—— Tether, i. 611.

P

Palle what it is, i. 164.
Palme Sunday fielde, i. 676.
Pandrasus, i. 24.
Pandolph the Popes Legate, i. 237, 244.
Paradice, i. 1.
Parasites, i. 37.
Pardon granted to the citizens of London, i. 275.
Parliment, i. 139. At Northamton, i. 276, 331. House newes made at Westminster, 466. At Winchester, i. 226, 273. At Oxforde, i. 268. At Norham, i. 292. At Cantorburie, i. 301. At Salisburie, i. 331. At Brussels, i. 346. At Roan, i. 586. At Shrewsbury, i. 287, 468. At Bury, i. 629. At Couentrie, i. 664. At Leycester, i. 562. At Yorke, i. 312, 315. At Westminster, i. 282, 285, 304, 313, 325, 335, 347, 387, 405, 410, 432, 456, 492, 464, 502, 523, 613, 654, 666.
Parishe Churches in England, ii. 339.
Pascentius, i. 76, 81.
Paskall Bishop of Rome, i. 183.
Passage forboden, i. 102.
Patrike a fryer, ii. 219.
Paule the Apostle, i. 59.
Paules brente, i. 167, 623. And in the thirde yere of yᵉ reigne of Queene Elizabeth which was the yere of our Lord, 1560.
Paulinus, i. 90, 94.
Pembroke hall in Cambridge, i. 409.
Penall lawes, i. 124.
Penance, i. 143.
Penaunce enioined to the King, i. 213.
Penda, i. 95, 96, 111.
Pencioners, ii. 467.
Penisellus, i. 51.
Perducas Dalbret knight, i. 426.
Peredurus, i. 49.
Perkyn Warbeck, ii. 201, 202, 203, 204, 213, 214, 215, 217, 220.
Periurie, i. 186.
Persecution, i. 89.
Pestilence, i. 74, 175, 312, 386, 497, 598.
Peter pence, i. 101, 105, 240.
Peter Wakefield a false Prophet, i. 239.
—— Landoys, ii. 140.
—— Hialas ambassadour from Spaine, ii. 211.
Petillus Cerealis, i. 63.
Pichtes, i. 46.
Philip the Frenche king, i. 220. Dyeth, i. 386.
—— Archduke of Austriche, ii. 228.
—— Duke of Burgoyne, ii. 9. 11.
—— Commines, ii. 21.
—— Hall, i. 515.
Philip Daughter of the Erle of Henauld maried to Edward the third, i. 330. Dyeth, i. 405.
Philip Malpas alderman of London, i. 642, 673.
—— Mounsire, ii. 185.
—— Prince of Spaine maried to Queene Marie, ii. 548.
Pierce of Gaueston, i. 300, 309.
Pirates, i. 500.
Pirrhus, i. 51.
Plague, i. 100, 101, 126.
Pletynger, i. 80.
Plymouth spoiled by yᵉ Frenchemen, i. 494.
Plough, i. 11.
Ploughshares, i. 143.
Pope Iohn deposed, i. 508.
—— Abolished, ii. 453.
Porex, i. 50.
Portchester, i. 69.
Portgreues, i. 220.
Portesmouth, i. 81.
Possessions in Fraunce, i. 663, 664.
Pountboise besieged, i. 616.
Powell a doctor, ii. 474.
Poysoning, i. 103.
Premunire, ii. 537.
Presidents are dangerous, ii. 377.
Priamus, i. 23.
Pride, i. 37.
—— of Priestes, i. 176.
Pridwen, i. 83.
Priestes, i. 126. Put from their wifes, i. 181, 185.
Primacie of Cauntorburie, i. 164.
Printing, i. 661.
Princes are subiect to time, i. 193.
Princess Dowager, ii. 445.
Prince Edwarde commonly called the blacke Prince, i. 388.
Prisoners exchaunged, i. 190.
———— pardoned, ii. 535.
Pritannia, i. 27.
Probate of Testaments, ii. 424.
Procession, i. 89.
Promoters, i. 226. ii. 228, 231, 236.
Promision for the Poore in London, ii. 530.
Ptholomeus, i. 48.

Q

Quarentyne taken, i. 364.
Queene Elizabeth the wife of king Edwarde the fourthe inconstant, ii. 143. Taketh Sanctuarie, ii. 86.
—— Katheryn Deuorced, ii. 446.
—— Maries oration at the Guildhall, ii. 539.
Queenes abaced, i. 103. Restored, i. 106.
Quenehithe farmed, i. 254.

R

Rachell, i. 16.
Radcocke Bridge, i. 454.
Ragan, i. 35.
Ragman, i. 331.
Rambowe, i. 9.
Raufe Ausane knight, ii. 329.
—— Egerton, ii. 475.
—— Elderkar, ii. 495.
—— Ratcliffe knight, i. 454.
—— Shaa Doctor, ii. 102, 105.

Raufe Vernon, i. 454.
Raunsome of the Frenche king, i. 400.
Rebellion in Normandy, i. 160. In England, i. 171, 417. In Lyncolne, ii. 162. In Lyncolneshire, ii. 457. In Cornwall, ii. 205. In Yorkeshire, ii. 475. In Kent, ii. 26, 538.
Redugius, i. 51.
Redyng, i. 108.
Redwallus, i. 82.
Rees Prince of Wales, i. 172, 227.
Reformation in Apparell, i. 541.
Regin king of Britons, i. 50.
Regull, i. 79.
Reignold Bereson, i. 212.
——— Braye, ii. 130.
——— Fitzvre, i. 212.
——— of Greystoke, i. 515.
——— Pecock Bishop of Chichester, i. 637.
——— Erle of Chester, i. 248.
——— Bishop of Durham, i. 179.
Reynes besieged, i. 399.
Religion decased, i. 99.
Restwold, ii. 476.
Reuengementes, i. 151.
Roane, i. 83.
Rhoan besieged, i. 527. And wonne, i. 531.
Rhodes first recouered, i. 309. Besieged, ii, 335. Lost, ii. 337.
Richarde the first called Ceure de Lion borne, i. 195. Proclaimed king, i. 220. Goeth into the Holy land, i. 222. Charged by the French king wyth many offences, i. 224. Taken & raunsomed, i. 226. Saileth into Normandy, i. 228. Wounded to death, i. 229.
Richard the sonne of Prince Edward, which afterwarde was king Richarde the seconde, i. 404. Maketh great Prouision for the defence of England, i. 445. Sayleth into Ireland, i. 471. Submitteth himselfe to ye Duke of Lancaster, i. 472. Resigneth the crowne, i. 475. And is deposed, i. 477. Murdered, i. 488.
Richard the thirde crowned, ii. 113. Murdered hys Nephewes, ii. 118. Procureth the death and destruction of hys wife, ii. 144. Slain in y fielde, ii. 156. Hys description, ii. 81.
Richard Erle of Arondell, i. 453, 463, 467.
——— Beauchampe Erle of Warwicke Regent of Fraunce, i. 493. Slaine, i. 616.
Richard Beauforde Byshop of Wynchester, i. 633.
——— Briton, i. 212.
——— Erle of Cambridge behedded, i. 512.
——— Castell Shoomaker, ii. 431.
——— Erle of Cornewall, i. 256, 283.
——— Empson, ii. 228, 236.
——— Farmer Grocer, ii. 473.
——— Foxe bishop of Excester, ii. 170. Is made bishop of Durham, ii. 209, 211, 216.
——— Lord Grave apprehended, ii. 86.
——— Duke of Gloucester made Protector, ii. 88.
——— Honne) ii. 285.
——— Hulden a rebell, ii. 14.
——— Lyon, i. 421.
——— Neuell Erle of Warwicke sent to conclude a mariage for king Edward the fourth, ii. 6. The mariage concluded in Fraunce, ii. 7. But king Edwarde refuseth the same and marieth with the Ladie Elizabeth Greye, who was the daughter of the Duches of Bedford, ii. 77. Displeasure betweene the Duches of Bedforde and the Erle of Warwicke, ii. 8. Taketh king Edward prisoner, ii. 17. Is slaine, ii. 38.
Richard Pace secretarij, ii. 403.
——— Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, i. 570. Made regent of Fraunce, i. 606. Claymeth the Crowne, i. 646, 678. Slaine, i. 671.
——— Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward y^ fourth, ii. 190.
——— De la Poole, ii. 281.
——— Ratclyffe knight, ii. 102, 137.
——— Scroope Archebishop of Yorke behedded, i. 490.
——— Symonde a Prieste, ii. 165.
——— Whityng Abbot, ii. 467.
——— Whittyngton, i. 499.
Richeborough, i. 89.
Richemonde the Kinges Palace, ii. 165.
Risebanke lost, ii. 557.
Rimo, i. 50.
Ripon Abbey, i. 121.
Riwallo, i. 37.
Robert Acron knight, i. 508.
——— de Arthoys Erle of Richemonde, i. 319, 337, 350.
——— Baldocke, i. 315.
——— of Bolsme Erle of Shrewsbury, i. 181.
——— Bowes knight, ii. 505.
——— le Bruze, i. 305, 306, 310, 328, 334.
——— Canell knight, i. 426.
——— king of Cicile, i. 349.
——— Clyfforde knight, ii. 194.
——— Curthoyse, i. 171, 185.
——— Grosthead Bishop of Lincolne, i. 251.
——— Erle of Gloucester, i. 190.
——— Ket, ii. 521.
——— Knolles knight, i. 397, 405.
——— Losaunge bishop of Thetford, i. 177.
——— Duke of Normandie, i. 180.
——— Erle of Northumberland, i. 174.
——— Packington, ii. 461.
——— Sale a valyaunt knight, i. 424.
——— Tresilian chiefe Iustice, i. 434, 453.
——— hanged, i. 456.
——— Veere Duke of Irelande, i. 431.
Robynhood, i. 221.
Robyn Mendmarket, i. 497.
——— Ryddesdale, ii. 16.
Roboham, i. 32.
Rochell yelden to the Frenche king, i. 407.
Rochester, i. 52.
——— Bridge, i. 498.
Rodian, i. 51.
Roger Claringdon, i. 488.
——— Leyborne knight, i. 273.
——— Mortimer, i. 431, 560.
——— Erle of March condemned and executed, i. 332.
——— Bishop of Salisburie, i. 187.
——— Vaugham knight, behedded, ii. 44.
Rokesborough in Scotland, i. 337.

Romack Scot, i. 70.
Rome Skot, i. 101, 105.
——— Redeemed, i. 140.
Rome, i. 28, 39, 53.
Romulus, i. 39.
Rouowen, Hengestes daughter, i. 76, 77.
Rosamond, i. 215.
Rose brought from Rome, ii. 266.
Roydon, ii. 475.
Rye brente, i. 408, 412.
Ryoll besieged, i. 316.
Ryon Castell taken, i. 290.

S

Sabrina, i. 30.
Sainte Quintines taken, ii. 556.
Salomon, i. 31, 32.
Saltstone, i. 16.
Sampson, i. 21.
Samuell, i. 22.
Samulius, i. 51.
Sangar, i. 21.
Sanctuarie, ii. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.
Saracens, i. 15.
Sarisbury, i. 52.
——— Vse, i. 166.
——— Minster builded by king Iohn, i. 249.
Saruch, i. 14.
Satrahell, i. 65.
Sauoy, i. 12.
——— brente, i. 421.
Saul the first king of Israell, i. 22, 23.
Saxons, i. 74, 75.
Scottes, i. 187, 298, 299, 300, 376, 396, 406, 437, 440, 656. ii. 479, 480, 483. When they first inhabited Scotland, i. 40. And why they were first so named, i. 62, 70. Conquered, i. 106, 116, 140. Rebell, i. 146. Conquered agayne, i. 196.
Sebastian Gaboto, ii. 532.
Sebertus, i. 82, 91.
Sem, i. 7.
Semiforde bridge, i. 150.
Senones, i. 45.
Septon now called Shaftesbury, i. 127.
Serapis, i. 12.
Sergeaunts feast, ii. 474.
Sergius a monke, i. 94.
Serpent of brasse, i. 38.
Seth, i. 3, 4.
Seuerus, i. 65.
Seuerne, i. 44.
Sewarde Erle of Northumberland, i. 147.
Shaftesbury, i. 34.
Sheepe transported into Spaine, ii. 9.
Shene brente, ii. 221.
Shipps sent to seeke straunge Regions, ii. 393.
——— arrested, ii. 406.
Shores wife, ii. 100.
Sicester, i. 88.
Sigebert or Sigisbert, i. 95, 101.
Sigismonde Emperour, i. 521.
Sillus, i. 51.
Sisillus, i. 38, 46.
Skanage, i. 261.
Skelton, ii. 340.
Sodom, i. 16.
Sodomy, i. 32, 88
Soluathius, i. 103.
South Saxons, i. 81.
Southampton, i. 60.
——— brente, i. 348.
Spanyards inhabited Ireland, i. 46.
Stanesmore, i. 62.
Staple of wolles, i. 387.
Statute of Mormayne, i. 285.
Stamford, i. 35.
Stephen king of Englande, i. 186. Is taken, i. 189.
——— Langton made by the Pope Archebishop of Cauntorburie, i. 233. Excommunicated, i. 242. Dyed, i. 251.
Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester made Chauncelour, ii. 535. Dyeth, ii. 553.
Sterling money, i. 107.
Stigande Archebishop of Cauntorburie, i. 155, 163.
Stockes market in London buylded, i. 502.
Stonehenge, i. 103.
Straunge sights, i. 177, 182, 231, 316.
Straungers aduoyded the realme, i. 194. Punished, i. 288.
Sturton a Lorde hanged, ii. 555.
Subsidies are odious, i. 347, 571.
Submission of the Scottes, i. 293, 294.
Swanus king of Denmarke, i. 162.
Sweating sicknesse, ii. 160, 412.
Synod of the Clergie, i. 166.
Symon, i. 80.
——— Swynstead a monke, i. 246.
——— of Langiers a fryer, i. 399.
——— Burley knight, i. 456.

T

Tattersall, ii. 475.
Taxes beget rebellion, i. 181, 222, 404, 407.
Tempest, i. 172, 185, 197, 217, 351.
Temple buylded, i. 31.
——— destroyed, i. 39.
Tentes Portatiue, i. 6.
Thames frosen, i. 101, 281.
Thamps, i. 27.
Temis ford, i. 115.
Thare, i. 14.
Theobald Archebishop of Cauntorbury dyeth, i. 192, 193.
Theodorus, i. 99.
Theomancius, i. 54.
Thetford, i. 77, 82.
Thola, i. 21.
Thomas Abell, ii. 437.
——— Arondell knight, ii. 529.
——— Archbishop of Cauntorburie, i. 459. Banished, i. 466. Retourneth, i. 471.
——— Audeley speaker of the Parlement, ii. 422. Keeper of the great seale, ii. 441. Made Chauncelour, ii. 445.
——— Becham Erle of Warwicke, i. 453. Arrested, i. 462. Banished, i. 468.
——— Becket, i. 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211. Slaine, i. 212.
——— Broughton knight, ii. 165.
——— Duke of Clarence, i. 495, 502. Slaine, i. 543.

Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Cauntorburie, ii. 445. 536, 544, 554.
—— Cooke Alderman, ii. 107.
—— Cromwell, ii. 426. Made maister of the Iewel house, ii. 446. Knight of the Garter, ii. 462.
—— Erle of Essex, ii. 471. Committed to the Tower and executed, ii. 473.
—— Marques Dorset, ii. 107.
—— Duke of Excester, i. 302. Dyeth, i. 571.
—— Fitzgararde knight, ii. 459.
—— Fitzwilliam recorder of London, ii. 110.
—— Fowke, i. 397.
—— Fines Lorde Dacres of the south, ii. 476.
—— Flamocke, ii. 206. Hanged, ii. 209.
—— Gerardyn, ii. 104.
—— Duke of Gloucester, i. 453. Apprehended, i. 463. Murdered, i. 468.
—— Gray knight, i. 511.
—— Harman hanged, ii. 475.
—— Haward made Lord Admyrall, ii. 252. Giueth battaile to the Scottes, ii. 270. Dyeth Duke of Norfolke, ii. 377.
—— Duke of Lancaster behedded, i. 315.
—— Mountacute Erle of Salisburie, i. 451.
—— Mowbraye Duke of Norfolke banished, i. 470.
—— Duke of Norffolke, ii. 538. Sent against sir Thomas Wyatt, and shortlie after dyed, ii. 539.
—— Palmer knight, ii. 505.
—— Neuell rebelleth, ii. 43.
—— Percie Lorde stuard, i. 472.
—— Pickering, i. 515.
—— Philips, ii. 46.
—— Moore knight, ii. 322. Made Chancelour, ii. 421. Discharged of the Chancelorship, ii. 441. Behedded, ii. 454.
—— Seymour knight and Lorde Admyrall attainted and executed, ii. 506.
—— Stafford, ii. 102.
—— Treuet knight, i. 456.
—— Wolsey made the kings Almoner, ii. 250. Archebishop of Yorke, ii. 256. His discription, ii. 279. Looke more in this worde Cardynall.
—— Wriothesley Erle of Southampton, ii. 499.
—— Wyatt knight rebelled, ii. 538. Arreigned, ii. 545. Executed, ii. 547.
—— Wage knight, i. 328.
Thong Castle, i. 79. 79.
Thustane Abbot of Glascenburie, i. 167.
—— Archbishop of Yorke, i. 183, 187.
Tiberius, i. 97.
Tirrannie, i. 101.
Tirwyn besieged, ii. 259. Burned, ii. 265.
Tochester, i. 115.
Toll of the hounde, ii. 439.
Tokens sent from the bishop of Rome, i. 93
Tooth that is straunge, i. 5.
Tostus a cruell murderer, i. 149.
Totnesse hauen, i. 24.
Tottenhall, i. 145.
Tourney besieged, i. 349. Yeelded, ii. 278. And restored to the Frenche, ii. 298.
Towers and Towraine, i. 24.
Traffique in Flaunders forbidden, ii. 196.
Trayherne, i. 69.
Treason, i. 78, 79, 82, 84, 105, 126, 143. Will breake forth, i. 165, 481, 497.
Trees, i. 11.
Treyport burned, ii. 494.
Tribute, i. 53, 240. Released, i. 131.
Trinity Abbey in Norwiche brente, i. 283. Hall in Cambridge, i. 387.
Troy, i. 12, 28.
Troylebaston, i. 200.
Troynouant, i. 28, 40.
Truce, i. 137. With Fraunce, i. 251. With Scottes, i. 252.
Turkes are cruell, ii. 427.
Typheus, i. 12.

V.

Variaunce betweene king John and the Archebishop of Yorke, i. 231. Betweene the constable of the tower, and the Citie of London, i. 264. Betweene the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester, i. 502, 622.
Vespasianus, i. 60.
Victorie vpon the Scottes, i. 294.
Victories of king Henry the fift, i. 524, 525, 527, 544.
Vigem, i. 50.
Vigenius, i. 49.
Vienna assalted, ii. 429.
Vincentius Gallus, i. 160.
Vine planted, i. 9, 11.
Viron Fosse battayle, i. 345.
Voruger, i. 75. Depriued, i. 76, 78.
Vortimer, i. 76, 77.
Vortiporius, i. 87.
Vowe, i. 96.
Vffa, i. 82.
Vlmes Castell, i. 174.
Vnnaturall warre, i. 180.
Vniuersitie of Louevne founded, i. 575.
Vrian, i. 50.
Vrsula, i. 91.
Vtter, i. 80, 82.

W.

Wales, i. 24. Deuided into shires, i. 286. Rebell, i. 292.
Walbroke, i. 67.
Walgraue, ii. 476.
Walref Duke of Northumberland, i. 166.
Wall of stone, i. 72.
Wallo or Galla, i. 99.
Wallyngfoorde Castell, i. 188.
Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, i. 319, 322.
—— Selby knight, i. 311.
—— bishop of Wynchester, i. 236.
Waatonnesse banished out of the court, i. 179.
Wardes and marriages, i. 133. Graunted to the king, i. 249.
Wardemote, i. 251.
Warre with the Scottes, i. 335. 485. ii. 500.
Warres betweene king Rufus and his brother Robert, i. 173. With Fraunce, i. 183. 253. 333, 340, 404, 427. 510, 511. ii. 319, 328, 489.
Warwell, i. 127.
Werwike, i. 46.

Wassale, i. 76.
Wat Tiler, i. 421.
Wednesday, i. 76.
Weights and measures, i. 277.
Welles Colege, i. 101.
Welshmen, i. 100.
Westminster, i. 65, 91.
——— Hall buylded, i. 176.
West Saxons, i. 83.
Wheate, i. 11.
White Gosneborough, i. 96.
Whittington Colege, i. 449.
Wigmore, i. 115.
Wilbaldowne, i. 87.
William Duke of Normandy, i. 146, 150.
——— Conquerour crowned, i. 155. Sayleth into Normandie, i. 160. Set great taxes on the people, i. 161. Builded foure Castelles, i. ib. He dyed, i. 168. Hys discription, i. ib.
William Rufus Crowned, i. 170. Buylded Westminster hall, i. 176. Slayne, i. 177. His discription, i. 178.
Wylliam Erle of Henault, i. 362.
——— byshop of London, i. 169, 236.
——— Thracy, i. 212.
——— kyng of Scottes, i. 196. Made a roade into Englande, i. 214.
——— Longchampe Byshop of Ely, i. 225.
——— wyth the long bearde, i. 226. Hanged, i. 227.
——— de Bruce hanged, i. 251.
——— Walleys made Capytaine of Scotlande, i. 298, 301.
——— Serle a murderer of the Duke of Gloucester, i. 496.
——— Mountague knight, i. 354.
——— Elman knight, i. 456.
——— Scrope Erle of Wiltshire highe Treasorer of England behedded, i. 472.
——— Huddleston, i. 515.
——— Hull, i. 515.
——— Lister a rebell, i. 423.
——— de la poole Marques of Suffolke, i. 626. Made duke of Suffolke, i. 627. Behedded, i. 640.
——— Brandon knighte the father of Charles Brandon, that afterwarde was duke of Suffolke, ii. 154.
——— Erle Doughlasse murdered, i. 669.
Wylliam Stanley knight behedded, ii. 198.
——— Briton, i. 212.
——— Skenyngton knyghte, ii. 352.
——— Lock mercer, ii. 451.
——— Kit a rebell, ii. 521.
——— Lord Parr created Erle of Essex, [illegible].
——— Lorde Haward, ii. 476.
——— Thomas a rebell, ii. 54[illegible]. [illegible] executed, ii. 547.
——— Compton knight, ii. 412, 422.
——— Asby, ii. 476.
——— Paulet knighte comptroller of the kynges house, ii. [illegible]. Made lorde Treassorer, ii. 464. Made Erle of Wiltshire, & afterwarde created Marques of Wynchester, ii. 526.
Wylliam Chester knight, ii. 531.
——— Erle of Pembroke, ii. 541.
——— Thorne, i. 155.
——— Barley knight, ii. 194.
——— Fetherstone named himselfe kynge Edwarde the sixt, ii. 552.
Win Bishop of Winchester, i. 96.
Winchecombe, i. 102.
Wine, i. 9.
Wines common, i. 63.
Woden, i. 75.
Woodnes fielde, i. 115.
Woodstock parke, i. 185.
Wolstane bishop of Worcester, i. 163.
Wolnerhampton, i. 60.
Wolues destroyde 123
Worcester brente, i. 183.
Women are wilye, i. 125.
Wrestling, i. 53.
Wyatt rebelleth, ii. 539, 541, 545, 547.
Wynsore castell, i. 338.
Wynslade a rebell, ii. 514.
Wyersone castell, i. 228.

Y.

Yarmouth, i. 84.
Yeomen of the crowne, ii. 160.
Yorke, i. 33, 63. Taken, i. 121. And the country about it destroyed, i. 162.

Z.

Zacharias slaine, i. 34.

FINIS.

G. Woodfall, Printer,
Paternoster-row, London.

00030856

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018